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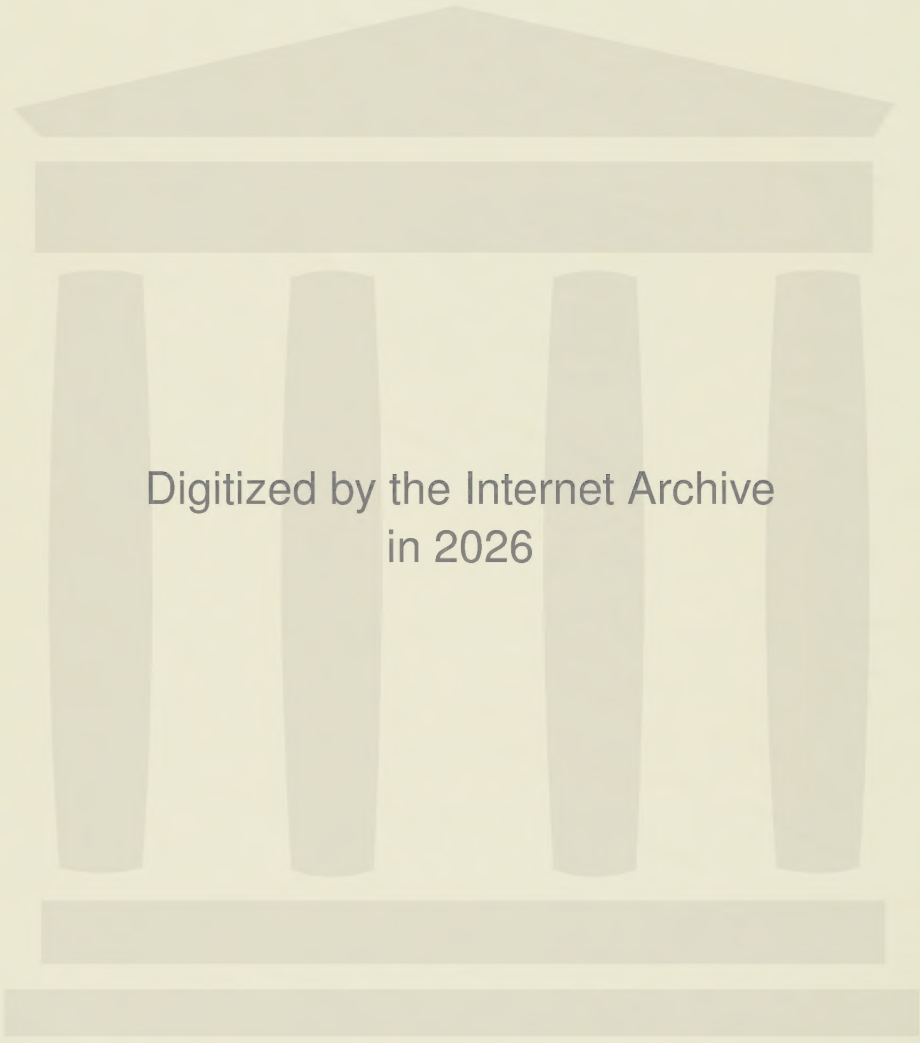

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WEST VIRGINIA
AND ITS PEOPLE

BY

THOMAS CONDIT MILLER

AND

HU MAXWELL

VOLUME I

NEW YORK
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1913

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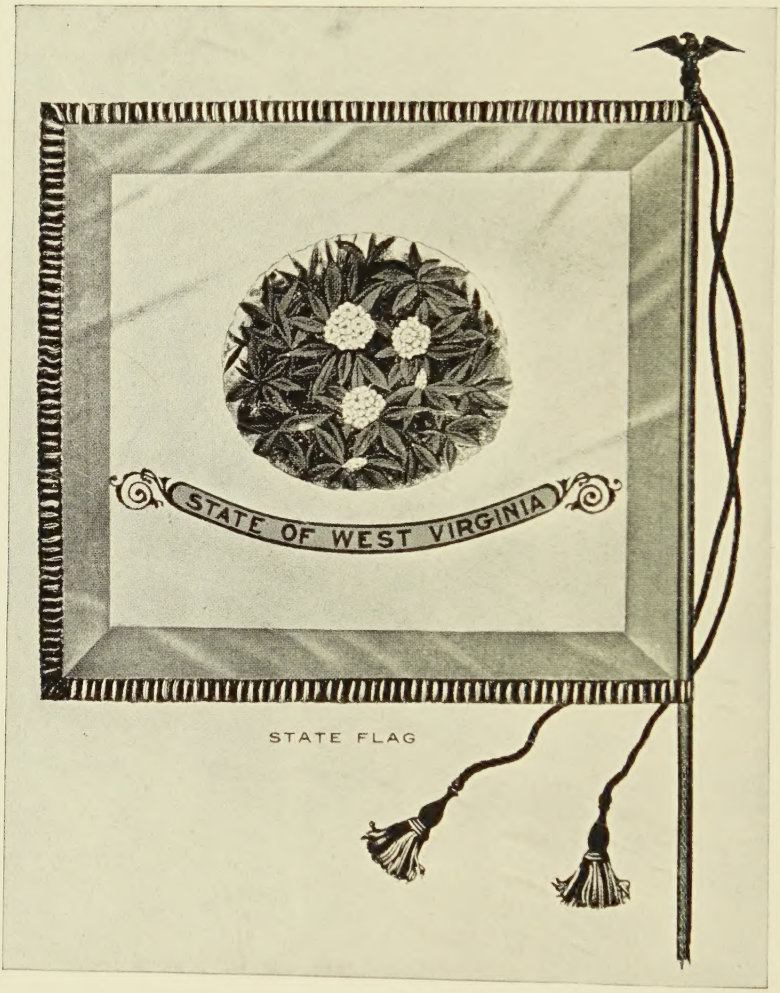

STATE FLAG.

FOREWORD

The present work, "West Virginia and Its People," is, it is believed, assuredly the most elaborate and comprehensive ever written with reference to the historic region of which it treats, and will prove an invaluable contribution to the literature not only of the State but of the Nation.

The territory now known as West Virginia was settled by a peculiarly sturdy people, principally Scotch-Irish and English—men, and women, too, of brawn and brain and conscience, their hearts fervent in reverence of God and love of religious and political liberty, who had voluntarily separated themselves from their native lands in order to enjoy the privileges which had been denied them there. For the greater number plain farmers and humble mechanics, with few lettered men among them, yet were they men of no ordinary mold. Great as was their strength of character, and broad (for the times) as was their mental scope, yet were they building far better than they knew. Simple and clean in their lives, the homes which they made were humble, but they were the seat of all the domestic virtues, and the children they reared inherited the athletic frame, rugged constitution and noble principles of their forbears. The fathers laid the foundations of civilization, erecting the church and the school. Their children, in their own day, aided in the establishment of a free national government. Among them were some who fought on various glorious Revolutionary battle fields. Descendants of these laid down their lives in Mexico. In yet later days, another generation bore a splendid part in the most heroic struggle of the age, consecrating with their blood many a hardfought field, among them the most supremely momentous one known to American history—that of Gettysburg. Again, during the Spanish-American War, sons of West Virginia were engaged in upholding the honor of the National Flag.

In each generation, and at every stage of progress, the people of West Virginia have had the services of men of the loftiest character and highest capability—in the arts of peace, in statesmanship, in affairs, and in letters. Nor have their accomplishments been bounded by their native field. Crossing the mountains, they pushed their way into the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi, and to the Far West, creating new commonwealths, building up new communities, planting, wherever they went, the institutions of religion and education, leading into channels of thrift and enterprise all who gathered about them or into whose midst they came, and proving a power for ideal citizenship and good government.

The narrative, at once heroic and pathetic, is not only a noble heritage, but an inspiration to those of the present and of the future, giving emphasis to the pregnant words of Martineau: "To have had forefathers

renowned for honorable deeds, to belong by nature to those who have bravely borne their part in life, and refreshed the world with mighty thoughts and healthy admiration, is a privilege which it were mean and self-willed to despise. It is as a security given for us of old, which it were falsehearted not to redeem, and in virtues bred of a noble stock, mellowed as they are by reverence, there is often a grace and ripeness wanting to self-made and brand-new excellence. Of like value to a people are heroic traditions, giving them a determinate character to sustain among the tribes of men, making them familiar with images of great and strenuous life, and kindling them with faith in glorious possibilities."

In the present "West Virginia and Its People," the history of this famous region is faithfully narrated from the earliest settlement down to the present time, and it will be a general reference book for the entire State. The narrative is as complete as research could make it. Every topic entering into it has had due attention and adequate space. In addition to the historical narrative proper, covering the State as a civil division, chapters are given to social customs, the early mode of living, the making of roads, the erection of public buildings from time to time, the newspapers, the old inns, historic churches, schools and academies, etc.

These ends have been conscientiously and intelligently conserved through the valuable aid of Professor Thomas Condit Miller and Mr. Hu Maxwell, both of whom have been lifelong students along historical lines. Mr. Miller has been for forty-five years engaged in educational work in West Virginia, eight years as State Superintendent of Free Schools, and is the present principal of the Shepherd College State Normal School; and is an active member of the American Historical Association, of the West Virginia Historical Society, and the Marion County Historical Society. He has exercised general advisory powers in the preparation of the work, and his chapter on Education is especially meritorious. The larger part of the historical writing has devolved upon Mr. Maxwell, an author of great ability, and who, as for many years an expert member of the United States Forest Commission, has performed work of immense value in the conservation of the water and timber resources not only of the State of West Virginia but of the United States. permanence. The portion relating to the Civil War is by Mr. W. L. Clark.

As a proper accompaniment to such a narrative history as is here in the making, is the department of Ancestral and Personal History, and its purpose is to present many of the most important family records of West Virginia. History proper, of necessity, is a narrative of what has been accomplished by people in the mass, and can take little note of individuals. Here begins the mission of the genealogist and investigator of the personal lives of those who have borne the heat and burden of the day, in tracing whence and from whom they came, in portraying their deeds, and the spirit with which they were actuated, and holding up their effort as an example to those who come after. The story of such achievements is a sacred trust committed to the people of the present, upon whom de-

volves the perpetuation of the record. The custodian of records who places his knowledge concerning the useful men of preceding generations, and of their descendants who have lived lives of honor and usefulness, in preservable and accessible form, performs a public service in rendering honor to whom honor is due, and inculcating the most valuable lessons of patriotism and good citizenship. This fact finds recognition in the warm welcome given in recent years to Ancestral and Family Histories. Such are in constant and general demand, and are sought for in the great libraries, by book, magazine and newspaper writers and lecturers, from foreign lands, as well as from all portions of our own country. Such a work as this now in hand will possess an especial value for those who, out of a laudable pride, seek to trace their descent from those who battled for the making of the United States, and aided in bringing the nation to its present prominent position.

THE PUBLISHERS.

ERRATA—Page 199; on vote for ratification of ordinance of secession, for 400 read 4,000.

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History of West Virginia

STATE COAT-OF-ARMS.

INTRODUCTION

The history of the territory now embraced in West Virginia covers a period of about one hundred and eighty years, from the first coming of civilized man until the present time. Back of that there was a little history connected with the Indians' occupation of the territory; and still back of that was utter darkness with which history cannot deal, though tradition throws upon it a little light which may be accepted at tradition's usual value. The geographical position and physical features of the region fit it for history of rich development. Events of importance and of varied significance are apt to occur where mountains and valleys, stored with natural resources, are occupied by an energetic people. Many a time a country's topography is the most powerful factor in shaping its history, but it must always be borne in mind that topography alone is worth little. Otherwise, West Virginia would have had an enduring history before white men came, for it had the same topography thousands of years ago that it has now; its mountains formed the same parallel ridges then with the same valleys between, and the same rivers, the same hills. The soil was as fertile then as now, the forests as dense, the same wealth of buried minerals; but one thing was lacking—civilized men. The result was that long trains of ages glided away and left no history. It was only as yesterday that the first white men crossed the Blue Ridge and the Potomac and built their cabins, and then history began.

The Indians who occupied the region since time immemorial left no record that the investigator can interpret with certainty, except the fact that such people were once here and passed away. Beyond that the only light is the uncertain glimmer of tradition. The stone-heaped graves, the soil-banked mounds, a few camp sites, an old field here and there, stone axes and mauls, and many flint arrows and spear points, are the things which natives left behind when they took their departure. The Indians were gone when the first white men came. Those who subsequently made war upon the white pioneers between the Blue Ridge and the Ohio river, were not inhabitants of what is now West Virginia. They came chiefly from beyond the Ohio river to harrass the settlers who undertook to occupy the vacant land.

The part of West Virginia east of the Alleghany mountains was settled earlier than the region between the mountains and the Ohio river. That was the natural course of events; for the east lay nearer and more convenient to the inhabited parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania from which the early settlers came. They had but to cross the Blue Ridge which was nowhere difficult of passage, or ford the Potomac, which was easy to do, and they were in the land which they had come to possess; while, to reach the transalleghany country they not only found it necessary to cross the eastern part of West Virginia but also to pass over a formidable range of mountains. That range was a serious barrier in the path of emigrants toward the west, and the story of how it was mastered by them forms an entertaining chapter in West Virginia's history. It brings in an account of the trail made across the ranges and through the thickets of spruce and laurel by buffaloes and other animals, and by Indians who at one time passed to and fro across the mountains on their hunting excursions and war journeys.

Those paths and trails which led the earliest settlers into the region beyond the mountains, were widened into roads, one after another,

during many years. Some thus in course of time became fine highways, such as the National road from Cumberland to Wheeling, the Northwestern turnpike from Winchester to Parkersburg, the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike, and that further south crossing the Alleghanies into Greenbrier county. Later, some of the important railroads between the east and the west followed so closely the routes which had marked former Indian trails, that the coincidence was clearly not accidental.

The first great crisis which the earliest West Virginians had to face was the French and Indian war. Those disastrous years, beginning with the struggle for possession of the site of the future Pittsburgh and ending with the defeat of Pontiac, had little to do with the part of West Virginia between the Alleghany mountains and the Ohio river, because that territory was not then inhabited. The successful outcome of the war, however, gave that region to the English and to the Virginians, and prepared the course of its future history. The settlements east of the Alleghanies were less fortunate. They were almost broken up by the French and Indians who made raids into that region from their stronghold at the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers, then Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburgh.

The road which General Braddock built as he led his army west to its destruction in 1755, afterwards became an important highway over the Alleghany mountains into western Pennsylvania, and hundreds, perhaps thousands, of emigrants who went west over that road, found their way southward into West Virginia, before, during, or immediately after the Revolutionary War. This gave the road an important place in our early history.

The ten years of peace which followed the close of the French and Indian war and the defeat of Pontiac, saw the frontier line of settlements advance over the Alleghany mountains and entirely across the state to the Ohio river. The average rate of advance of the frontier line during that period was about seventeen miles a year. Such a spectacle had never before been seen. The wave of civilization was rolling across the wilderness toward the west. It had nothing to encounter between the mountains and the Ohio except the wilderness, for the region was without Indian inhabitants. The check came in 1774 when the tribes in Ohio became alarmed. They feared that the rush of settlers would not stop at the Ohio, but would cross the river and continue to the west, driving the Indian farther toward the setting sun. The white men gave the Indians abundant reason for that fear. The savages decided to strike before too late. In the summer of 1774 small parties crossed the Ohio and attacked exposed settlements. Though the number of Indians in those raids was probably less than one hundred, they spread such alarm that large regions were depopulated. A thousand white people fled eastward across the Monongahela in one day. The head chief of the Indians, Cornstalk, raised an army and crossed the Ohio river. The next day he attacked an army of Virginians at Point Pleasant, and after a memorable battle was forced back across the Ohio, where he sued for peace. That was known as the Dunmore war, because the commanding general was Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia.

That brought events down to the very beginning of the Revolution. Six months after the battle at Point Pleasant occurred the clashes at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts. Some historians have argued that the Dunmore war was really the beginning of the Revolution. Few hold that view now, although Indians who fought at Point Pleasant used powder procured at Detroit, a British post.

Without doubt the British Government, at the time of the Dunmore war, had already taken measures to strengthen its hold in the west—with

a view to curbing Virginia and other colonies—by extending the province of Quebec south to the Ohio river. That is known in history as the Quebec Act. Virginia refused to recognize it, and the outcome of the Revolutionary war put an end to the scheme of extending Canada so as to include the present states of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

West Virginians fought both east and west in the Revolution. Soldiers marched six hundred miles to join Washington at Boston, and others crossed the Ohio and fought Indians who were threatening and occasionally attacking the frontiers. Still others went down the Ohio under George Roger Clark and captured the British garrison at Vincennes, and thus cleared Indiana and Illinois of British who had made allies of the Indians and were spurring them on to attacks on the frontiers. In addition to West Virginians who served as soldiers in distant campaigns, there was a citizen soldiery which did not go far from the settlements but was always ready to hurry to any threatened point to drive away marauding Indians.

After the Revolution, and even before that period, land speculation was very active west of the Alleghanies. A number of prominent Revolutionary soldiers, and those of the French and Indian war, became owners of West Virginia lands. Washington's possessions at one time amounted to about thirty thousand acres. He was never able during his lifetime to make much money out of his western lands, but they formed a large part of his estate at the time of his death.

A good many schemes were put forward at one time or another for forming states, provinces, or colonies west of the Alleghany mountains to include territory wholly or partly in West Virginia. Some of those schemes were visionary and impractical; others did not fall much short of successful issue. The dates of some of these projects—approximate dates only—were 1749, 1768, 1778, and 1830. The two earliest of these, Virginia did not oppose, and offered little objection to the third; but that of 1830 and that which culminated successfully in 1863, were very objectionable to the part of Virginia east of the Blue Ridge.

The early settlers of the region now embraced in West Virginia were of several nationalities, but chiefly English, German, and Scotch-Irish. Many of the Scotch-Irish and Germans came into West Virginia by way of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and some of the English from that direction also; but most of the early English settlers moved westward from lower Virginia. In later years a good deal of New England blood was diffused through West Virginia. Later immigration, however, was comparatively small; for the settlers passed on to Ohio, Kentucky, and further west, preferring the lands, the laws, and the general opportunities further west to those in Western Virginia.

The early church history in West Virginia contains much of interest. After the Virginia legislature in 1785 passed the act making all religions free and equal before the law, there was friendly and commendable rivalry among the different denominations to organize churches in the new western territory. The declaration that every man should be free to profess and by argument to maintain whatever opinion he pleased in matters of religion, and that no man should be forced to contribute to the support of any denomination, met hearty approval in West Virginia, where the most asked for by any church was that it be given the same chance that all other churches had.

The educational struggle was long and severe, and progress was slow, Virginia was one of the most backward of the states in establishing free schools, and while West Virginia remained a part of Virginia, it was held back by state laws which the people west of the mountains had little hand in placing on the statute books. Free schools west of the Alleghanies

would have come slowly, even had West Virginia been free to act as she pleased, for the early settlers were generally poor, and they could not have contributed much to educational purposes. Even after the formation of West Virginia into a separate state, free schools had a hard struggle for years to make much headway.

General prosperity began with the development of the state's natural resources, and that was delayed a long time. Want of transportation facilities was the principal cause of the long delay in putting the forest and mineral resources on the market. It was for many years impracticable to send the agricultural products to market. There were only poor roads over the mountains east, and the distance was great, while westward, where the Ohio river and its tributaries furnished water transportation, there were poor markets for what the farmers could raise, because the southwestern country had its own farm crops. Lack of transportation facilities, and consequent inability to sell their wheat, corn, and rye, was the principal cause of the Whiskey Insurrection which disturbed southwestern Pennsylvania and the northwestern Virginian counties in 1794. The farmers, being unable to sell their grain, wished to manufacture it into whiskey which would pay transportation charges; but under the excise laws they were unable to do this.

The building of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad was one of the greatest events in the history of West Virginia. It opened a market and inaugurated an era of development which has gone on increasing until the present day. The opposition which eastern Virginia, through the legislature, offered to that enterprise would have better fitted the time when farmers within a few miles of London petitioned against repair of roads, fearing that farmers farther away might take advantage of them to haul their products to London.

No state has boundary lines more irregular than are those which delimit West Virginia. Almost every line has a history of its own, and, first and last, the history extends over a period of at least two hundred years. The first of the lines was the Potomac river, which marked the northern boundary of Lord Fairfax's land; and thus became the boundary line between Virginia and Maryland from Harper's Ferry to the western line of Maryland; and West Virginia inherited it from Virginia. There are more than a thousand miles of line enclosing the state, more than half of which follows the banks of rivers.

The long period of peace between the close of the Revolution and the beginning of the Civil war was broken only twice in West Virginia, and not seriously on either occasion. The territory now embraced in the state sent about three thousand soldiers to fight the British in the War of 1812. Half of these went east, and half west. Many of those who marched east died of disease at Norfolk. The detailed history of the others is not well known. Those who went west saw service in northern Ohio and western Canada. The state furnished about one-tenth as many soldiers for the Mexican war as for the War of 1812. It stood ready to furnish more but they were not needed.

The Civil war was, of course, the crisis in West Virginia's history. The four years of tremendous struggle saw the western territory break away from the east and become a state. It was and is the only instance since the Union came into existence where a state was divided to form another state. The division was accomplished in a lawful, regular, constitutional way amid the storms of passion and war; but, for all that, the action was peculiar, and occurred under circumstances which were never known before, and, let it be hoped, may never be repeated. The western part of Virginia had long wished to be free from the rule of the old state. There was no harmony between the sections. There never had been

harmony. All the elements were antagonistic. The mountain people had wished for separation during forty years but the politicians of the old state would not let them go; and continued to overtax them, and to deny them political rights, and to refuse them anything like an adequate share of internal improvements. The murmuring of the western people grew to anger as the years went by. In 1830 they would have cut off thousands of square miles of Virginia's territory and annexed it to Pennsylvania or Maryland. Virginia's politicians—the men who ruled its policy and shaped its destiny—would not so much as permit a scheme for division to reach the legislature; and the men beyond the mountains bided their time. The bell struck the hour in 1861, and the time for separation had come.

With Virginia actively opposed to a division of her territory, it is doubtful if the new state could ever have been formed, had not the Civil war brought the occasion. As it was, with Virginia's opposition removed by her act of secession, and with the necessities of war calling loudly for the new state, its formation and its admission into the Union were brought about with difficulty, and the issue was in doubt for two years.

The war did not decide the issue—the new state came before Gettysburg. It came at a time when the South looked for victory, and the North was fighting what appeared to be a losing game. It is, therefore, incorrect to suppose that West Virginia came into the Union as spoils of war.

The new state's part in that war, in proportion to its ability, measured up with the part of any northern state. The army which West Virginia sent into the field to fight for the Union was larger than that with which Hannibal invaded Italy, or that with which Alexander the Great set out to conquer the world. The mountaineers were among the best troops in the war. Averell's cavalry, which was a marvel of swiftness, perseverance, and endurance, was made up largely of West Virginians. The rapidity with which those mounted troops moved among the mountains, and struck in rapid succession blows a hundred miles apart, brought consternation among the enemies who opposed them. The West Virginians did not sit in idleness and call upon the government to defend them against the Confederate forces in general and Virginia's in particular, but organized and defended themselves, aided, of course, by help from without.

Fortunately, none of the enormous military movements of the war took place on West Virginia's soil, but the whole state was occupied or crossed by opposing forces; and there were marches that tested endurance, and battles that tried courage in different parts of the state throughout the whole period covered by the Civil war.

In carrying the movement for the new state to a successful issue, one of the greatest difficulties was the prevention of hasty and ill-advised action. Some of the men who took a prominent part in the work permitted their enthusiasm and their good intentions to outrun their judgment. They thought to form a new state and have it admitted into the Union without complying with the demands of the United States constitution. They imagined that a state could be created by a set of resolutions, and that a resolution would make it a member of the Union. A process like that was impossible, but a long time was required to convince some men of it. The cry "now or never," raised by the enthusiasts would certainly have meant "never" had they persisted in their efforts to outrun and ignore the laws and the constitution. Better judgment and more careful efforts prevailed in the crisis when danger of wreck was imminent. The process was slow but no other process was possible of success. The margin between accomplishment and failure was so narrow at different times while the new state movement was under way, that it was of the highest importance that men of mature judgment were con-

stantly at hand to serve as a balance to the hasty actions of some who meant well, but did not understand the problems to be solved. A study of the whole movement for a new state shows that comparatively few clearly saw what was to be done and how to do it. Too many sought results without giving due consideration to the means.

West Virginia came into the Union with its first constitution complete. Congress would not admit a state without its constitution. The United States guarantees to every state a republican form of government, and to know that it will have such a government, the constitution must be made in advance. The state may later adopt as many new constitutions as its people desire, provided that the form of government is republican. When West Virginia's first constitution was written, slavery had not been abolished in the United States as a whole. It existed in all the southern states then in rebellion, and no man then knew that it would be destroyed as one of the results of the war. The first draft of West Virginia's proposed constitution did not satisfy congress on the subject of slavery. Emancipation was not definitely and immediately provided for. Congress would not admit West Virginia as a slave state, even though the constitution provided for freeing the slaves gradually. The last of them would not receive their freedom for many years to come. The constitution was sent back to be changed before the state would be admitted into the Union. The change was made and the last objection to its admission into the Union of states was removed, and it came in.

No serious objection was offered to the exclusion of slavery from the state. There never was much sentiment west of the Alleghanies in favor of slavery. Such sentiment was largely confined to those who owned slaves, and some even of these were not in sympathy with the institution. When the time came to adopt the constitution most of those who favored slavery were either in the confederate army, or were temporarily sojourning in the south, and were not in a position to make their influence felt when the time came to vote on the adoption of the constitution.

Ten years after the first constitution was adopted, a second was prepared by a convention which met at Charleston, and upon submission to the people, was adopted. Slavery and all questions connected with it had by that time passed away, not only in West Virginia but in the whole United States, and the great disturbing element which had caused so much trouble was put away forever. West Virginia was entering upon an era of development. The natural resources which make the region one of the richest in the world, were coming to be understood. The development of those resources called for no division of the people along party lines, but all worked together to build up the wealth of the state.

That phase of history which treats of industrial development may be less exciting than that which treats of wars, upheavals, and conspiracies, but it should be no less entertaining. It is not so easily clothed with human interest, because the individual is usually lost sight of. The ordinary reader is more interested in the romance of an Indian fighter's cabin than in the story of the operation of a thousand coke ovens; and a deeper interest attaches to the pioneer's pack horse threading his way across wild and forested mountain than in the rush of a freight train through a tunnel beneath the mountain. It will be so as long as human nature remains as it is; but that does not change the fact that the story of the development of the natural resources of a great region is epic in its nature. The people generally do not appreciate what has been going on, is still going on, and will continue to go on in West Virginia. Many of the old pioneers expected to stop only temporarily in the region. They thought that a family could not be supported very long on the product of the soil alone when the hunters had killed the wild game. They intended to load their

pack horses and trek again in a few years, and leave what now is West Virginia, an exhausted wilderness. One hunter in Harrison county killed two thousand deer. He doubtless imagined that he had almost exhausted the resources of the region. There were many among the pioneers who took a more hopeful view and who expected to stay in the country, and to leave their children and their children's children in it. But the lightness of heart with which many a man left his cabin and the few stumpy acres where his corn crops grew, and moved on, is silent testimony to the fact that he saw no future for the country. The low price of wild land until very recent years was proof that nobody was looking ahead. In many instances a thousand acres could be bought for less than what the mineral right in one acre is worth now. That happened many a time when the seller knew that the land was underlaid with coal. He simply had no faith in the future, though it should not have required the prophetic foresight of an Isaiah to see that coal land could be profitably held for a long time, with only a few cents tax a year on it. The men who foresaw and were willing to wait as well as labor, were the ones who made fortunes among the West Virginia hills.

The story of the late material development of West Virginia may lack some of the peculiar and romantic interest which clings round the pioneer; but for all that, it is a wonderful story. The cutting and marketing of the billions of feet of timber which has gone out; the tram roads which penetrated the wilderness; the mills among the yellow poplars, the hemlocks, and the spruce; the rafts on the rivers, the log drives, the splash dams, the booms; the lumberman's camp; the forest fires; the rough life; the successes and failures—these are not lacking in human interest, and the industrial history of West Virginia during the last third of a century is filled with such.

The coal mines and the coke burning may contain less of fresh air and free life; but they are filled with activity and show the master hand of men of large affairs. The yearly payroll of many a coal company now greatly exceeds the entire revenues and all the business transactions of the region in early years. In affairs conducted on so large a scale, the individual may not stand out with such comparative prominence as in the days of small things; but let no one imagine that the individual is not present and is not as intense now as ever. The difference is that mind more than hands directs large affairs, and mind is invisible. The clock-like precision of every part of large operations reveals the presence of a master mind back of it all.

The petroleum industry originated in West Virginia. Its development furnishes material for one of the most instructive chapters in industrial history. It has brought forward some of the wonders of the world—the drill that bores through rock thousands of feet thick; the casing that keeps the well open; the dynamite shot that shatters the strata half a mile below the surface; the pump which operates many wells at once; the enormous tanks; the hundreds of miles of pipe lines which pass over mountains and under rivers; the refineries which are the largest chemical apparatus on earth. The story of how all of this has been done should not be dull or lacking in interest; for men have thought it all out and have done it all.

The discovery, development, and utilization of natural gas belong to the history of West Virginia. Here the earliest wells were drilled, and the first practical use was here. The geology of natural gas—based on the anti-clinal theory—was worked out by a West Virginian. That made rapid development possible. It removed a large element of chance from operations. The enormous output from the West Virginia gas territory since the first fields were struck creates an interest, even in the bare sta-

tistics. The waste alone is unique in history. That which has been saved has been worth millions, and the amount blown into the air a total loss, and which might have been saved, may have been as much more.

Industries go hand in hand. The progress of one encourages another. The abundance of gas led to new glass, steel, and pottery factories; the opening of coal mines has increased the mileage and business of railroads, the founding of new towns and the increased growth of old ones. The consequent addition to the revenues has made better highways possible, more substantial bridges, more commodious public buildings, better schools. The schools alone are worth all that the whole line of public improvements has cost. The cheap frame building or the log hut in which the early teachers struggled with the problem of giving ten dollars worth of education for a dollar of pay, have given place to the painted structure, with its bell and its flag without and its up-to-date equipment within. The standard of education has gone up with all other standards, and little of the old system remains except the memory. Much of that could well be spared, but some of it is a heritage worth preserving.

Agriculture has progressed at an equal pace. The stump-dotted cornfield and truck patch of early times; the seedling apple trees straggling here and there where chance planted them; the puny peach and the curculio-infested plum; and the tough pear with a skin like an alligator's—these gave little promise of the tens of thousands of acres of as fine fruit today as the country produces. The people of West Virginia have been slow to find their state out. One thing at a time has unfolded, and in the unfolding a wealth has been displayed which was not before suspected. The early emigration which passed by the West Virginia hills and valleys and moved on west where land was level and the prairies treeless, threw away opportunities which some of their grandchildren are now returning to take at an increased cost of a thousand per cent.—and count themselves fortunate with the bargain.

The state has shown a growth in spiritual things as well as temporal. The old itinerant preachers and the untiring missionaries who in the pioneer times threaded the mountain paths; swam rivers; slept in the woods; fasted, not from religious motives but from necessity; preached in cabins or among the trees; baptized children, married the young, and buried the old;—those workers may not have builded greater than they knew, but they builded greater than their critics expected. Their works live after them. The churches thus planted in adversity have grown—perhaps not in righteousness, but in power and influence. There are single church structures in the state which probably cost more than all the church buildings in the region a century ago. There is scarcely a village now which has not at least one handsome church with spire and bell. As the churches and denominations have increased in number, there has been a corresponding growth of harmony among them. Denominational lines are not Chinese walls that they used to be, shutting out all but the initiated. The members of one church seldom now regard it as a Christian duty to refrain from shaking hands with members of some other denomination who happen to look at baptism or predestination in a little different light. There has been a growth here as in the more material things. As progress has increased, barriers and man-made obstacles have been broken down and removed, enabling men to see farther and with sufficient clearness to discern that their several paths lead to the same end.

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHY, GEOLOGY, AND CLIMATE

Some years ago a prominent educator of the state remarked that in the whole list of the alumni of the West Virginia University there was not one from the Pottsville Conglomerate area of the state. That statement might not hold true today, but it contains a meaning. It expressed in the form of a concrete example the well known theory that the character and destiny of a people are influenced, not alone by ethical environment, but by the very soil on which they live.

The Pottsville Conglomerate referred to is a hard, coarse rock formation encountered near the summits of some of the mountains which cross West Virginia north and south. The disintegration of this rock where the outcrops of ledges occur has formed a poor, gravelly soil of little account for crops, and supporting stunted timber, or such, like chestnut oak, as can live in the most sterile situation. In consequence of the unpromising character of this soil, it has been avoided to a large extent by farmers. It has a small population compared with the fertile adjacent regions, but in the aggregate a considerable number of people live within the area. A traveler, though unacquainted with the region's geography and geology, who might travel across that district, and emerge into the limestone belt which in different places is close to it, would observe instantly that he had passed from a sterile tract into one of great prosperity. He would observe a change in the appearance of the vegetation, in the farm animals, and in the people themselves. The extremes thus brought side by side serve to emphasize the correctness of the theory that the inhabitants of a region, be they human or of some lower order, partake to some extent of the character of hills over which they roam or of the fields they till.

The influences which manifest themselves in that way are geographical, that is, they are directly related to the land's surface, though back of the geography lies the question of geology, and it must ever be reckoned with in determining what influences have produced results which constituted history. Every soil is rock ground down, with certain ingredients added or taken away. Everything that the soil produces owes its existence, in part at least, to the old rocks which the elements have ground to dust. But there is something beneath the surface that influences the course of history, and it is seen nowhere to better advantage than in West Virginia. Practically all of the people within the present borders of the state once lived by cultivating the soil, but such is not the case now. Large numbers follow mining or deal with products brought from under the ground. The coal, gas, oil, iron ore, clay, and glass sand support important industries and have added some hundreds of thousands to the population of the state. Resources stored under the ground ages ago are the basis of these industries. Agencies which are taken account of by geology rather than geography were at work in remote periods of time, preparing the minerals for future use. At a superficial glance, it might not appear that history is concerned in the least with what occurred a million years ago when there was not a human being on earth to take note of it; yet coal, iron, gas, oil, clay, and cement have an undisputed influence upon the course of present day history in West Virginia, and the origins of these are understood only through the teachings of geology; and if their origins and the manner of their occurrence in the rock forma-

tions at the present time are not comprehended, full benefit cannot be taken of their existence.

A review of geography in works on history should be brief, and geology briefer, but they have a place. They begin at the beginning and their results may be quickly summed up and their influence upon the course of events made plain. The processes recorded by geology determined ages ago what regions would become fertile farm land, what would be poor; where the coal pits would be opened; where the cement quarried; where the navigable rivers would flow; and where the streams whose steep gradients would furnish water power; what slopes and valleys would grow the valuable forests of broadleaf trees, and what sterile flats and ridges would furnish the pines. If geology is a record of things which mean so much, it is profitable to separate the subject a little into parts and observe rather closely a few of the records.

All the rock formation visible on the surface of the ground in West Virginia, and as far beneath the surface as the deepest wells and the lowest ravines give any knowledge, were formed under water. The ocean, in remote antiquity, covered all or a part of this region many times. While under water, sand, mud, and shells accumulated to a depth of hundreds or thousands of feet, in flat or nearly flat layers on the bottom of the sea. Long periods of time, and immense pressure, hardened the layers until they became rock. Perhaps this newly formed rock was slowly raised above the surface of the sea by subterranean forces, and for a long period was land. But it sank again, and the washings of the sea swept over it, laying down sand, mud, and shells again, until another layer of rock was formed. The whole geologic history of these subsidences and elevations is written in the rocks themselves. The time during which the process continued cannot be measured, but it was vast ages. Nor is it known how thick the accumulation became before the land rose from the sea the last time, and the rock building ceased. Layers of these rocky formations, aggregating nearly two miles in thickness, are visible in Grant county, and it is known that those include neither the bottom nor the top of the series.

The oldest of these vast sheets of rock laid down in the remote past, which directly concerns West Virginia history, is visible now as the bedrock in much of Berkeley and Jefferson counties. It is a limestone rock. It was a deep sea formation, probably; and is composed of shells and skeletons of small marine creatures that died and sank to the sea bottom. They remained buried during ages, and other layers of rocks were deposited above them. Finally an upheaval raised the mass above water. During succeeding long periods of time its overlying strata were worn away by rain, frost, wind and ice, and the limestone was exposed. It is exposed yet. The traveler who journeys across the lower Shenandoah valley sees this rock of incalculable age exposed here and there as ledges in the fields or along the slopes of the hills. It is wearing slowly away, and its fragments form the fertile soil which has made that part of the state famous for its fruit, wheat, cattle, and sheep—and people also.

As already said, the sea gave that splendid limestone to the region. The sea gave also, every other rock formation in the state which has been ground down to produce soils. There are many such. Some are limestone, some are sandstone. The soil partakes of the rock which is disorganized to make it. A newer limestone than the one in the eastern counties, covers a large region from Greenbrier county northward, but not continuous, to the Pennsylvania line. Other regions have no limestone, but their soils are of decomposed sandstone and shale.

During the time that the sea was advancing and receding across what is now West Virginia, as the land was alternately elevated and lowered,

as already described, there is evidence of the breaking up and re-distribution of a vast gravel bar which had lain somewhere out of reach of the waves since earlier ages. This bar, or this aggregation whether bar or not, was made up of quartz pebbles varying in size from a grain of sand to a cocoanut, all worn and polished as if rolled and fretted on a beach or in turbulent mountain streams for centuries. By some means the sea obtained possession of them and they were spread out in layers, in some places 800 feet thick, and were cemented together, forming coarse, hard rocks. We see them along the summits of the Alleghanies, and the outlying spurs and ridges, from the southern borders of our state, to the Pennsylvania line and beyond. The formation is called conglomerate; and the popular names are "bean rock," "millstone grit," etc. A heavy stratum of this stone forms the floor of the coal measures. The pebbles probably represent the most indestructible remnant of mountains, once seamed with quartz veins, but degraded and obliterated before the middle of the Carboniferous era, perhaps long before.

This is the Pottsville conglomerate area which, it was said, had furnished no university graduate.

Beds of coal, unlike layers of rock, are made above water, or at its immediate surface. While the oscillation between sea and land was going on, during the Carboniferous age, West Virginia's coal fields were being formed. Coal is made of wood and plants of various kind, which grew with a phenomenal luxuriance during a long period of summer that reigned over much of the northern half of the earth. Each bed of coal represents a swamp, large or small, in which plants grew, fell and were buried for centuries. The whole country in which coal was forming was probably low and it was occasionally submerged for a few thousand years. During the submergence, sand and mud settled over it and hardened into rock. Then the land was lifted up again, and the material for another bed of coal was accumulated. Every alternation of coal and rock marks an elevation and subsidence of the land—the coal formed on land, the rock under water. This was the period when the sea was advancing and receding across West Virginia as the Carboniferous age was drawing to a close.

THE WEST VIRGINIA PLATEAU

Land seems to have been lifted up in two ways, one a vertical movement which elevated large areas and formed plateaus, but not mountains; the other, a horizontal movement which caused folds in the strata, and these folds, if large enough, are ranges of mountains. In West Virginia we have both acting in the same area. Independently of the mountains, West Virginia has a rounding form, sloping gradually upward from three directions. Imagine the mountain ranges sheared off until no irregular elevations exist in the state. The resulting figure would show West Virginia's surface as it would be presented to us if no strata had been folded to make mountain ranges. This is the shape given by the vertical upheaval since the Carboniferous age, uninfluenced by the horizontal thrust of strata. The figure would show a great swell in the surface, the highest portion at the interlocking sources of the Greenbrier river, the Elk, the Potomac, the east fork of the Monongahela, and Cheat. From that highest point the surface slopes in every direction, as shown by the courses of rivers. There is a long, curved arm of the plateau, thrust out toward the southwest, reaching around through Pocahontas, Greenbrier, Monroe, and McDowell counties, and overlapping into the state of Virginia. The New river, from the highlands of North Carolina, cuts through this plateau to join the Kanawha on the western side. The highest part of

this rounded area is perhaps three thousand feet above sea level, not counting the mountains which stand upon the plateau; for, in order to make the matter plain, it has been supposed that all the mountains be sheared off level with the surface of the plateau.

Having now rendered it clear that portions of West Virginia would be high if there were not a mountain in the state, let us proceed to consider how the mountains were formed, and why nearly all the highest summits are clustered in three or four counties. Ranges of mountains, such as ours, were formed by the folding of layers of rocks. This is apparent to any one who has seen one of those mountains cut through from top to bottom, such as the New Creek Mountain at Greenland Gap in Grant county. Place several layers of thick cloth on a table, push the ends towards each other. The middle of the cloth will rise in folds. In like manner were mountains formed. The layers of rock were pushed horizontally, one force acting from the southeast, the other from the northwest. Rivers and rains have carved and cut them, changing their original features somewhat; but their chief characteristics remain. The first upheaval, which was vertical, raised the West Virginia plateau. The next upheaval, which was caused by horizontal thrust, folded the layers of rocks and made mountain ranges. From this view it is not difficult to account for so many high peaks in one small area. The mountain ranges cross the plateau, running up one slope, across the summit, and down the opposite slope. These ranges are from one thousand to nearly two thousand feet high, measuring from the general level of the country on which they stand. But that general level is itself, in the highest part, about three thousand feet above the sea. So a mountain one thousand feet in elevation, may stand upon a plateau three times that high, and thus its summit will be four thousand feet above the sea. The highest peaks in the state are where the ranges of mountains cross the highest part of the plateau. There are many other mountains in the state, which, when measured from base to summit, are as high as those just mentioned, but they do not have the advantage of resting their bases on ground so elevated, consequently their summits are not so far above sea level.

Exact measurements showing the elevation of West Virginia in various parts of its area, when studied in connection with a map of the state, show clearly that the area rises in altitude from all sides, culminating in the nest of peaks clustered around the sources of the Potomac, the Kanawha, and the Monongahela. The highest point in the state is Spruce Mountain, in Pendleton county, 4,860 feet above sea level; the lowest point is the bed of the Potomac at Harper's Ferry, 260 feet above the sea; the vertical range is 4,600 feet. The Ohio, at the mouth of Big Sandy, on the boundary between West Virginia and Kentucky, is 500 feet; the mouth of Cheat river, at the Pennsylvania line, is 775 feet. The general level of Pocahontas county is about 3,000 feet above the sea. The bed of Greenbrier river where it enters Pocahontas is 3,300 feet in elevation. Where Shaver's fork of Cheat river leaves Pocahontas, its bed is 3,700 feet. A few of the highest peaks in Pocahontas, Pendleton, Randolph and Tucker counties are: Spruce Knob, Pendleton county, 4,860 feet above sea level; Bald Knob, Pocahontas county, 4,800; Spruce Knob, Pocahontas county, 4,730; High Knob, Randolph county, 4,710; Mace Knob, Pocahontas county, 4,700; Barton Knob, Randolph county, 4,600; Bear Mountain, Pocahontas county, 4,600; Elleber Ridge, Pocahontas county, 4,600; Watering Pond Knob, Pocahontas county, 4,600; Panther Knob, Pendleton county, 4,500; Weiss Knob, Tucker county, 4,490; Green Knob, Randolph county, 4,485; Brier Patch Mountain, Randolph county, 4,480; Yokum's Knob, Randolph county, 4,330; Pointy Knob, Tucker county, 4,286; Hutton's Knob, Randolph county, 4,260.

THE WORK OF RIVERS

We do not know whether the vertical upheaval which raised the plateau, or the horizontal compression which elevated the mountains, has yet ceased. We know that the work of destruction is not resting. Whether the uplift is still acting with sufficient force to make mountains higher, or whether the elements are chiseling down rocks and lowering the whole surface, we cannot say. But this can be said, if the teachings of geology may be taken as warrant for the statement, every mountain, every hill, every cliff, rock, upland, even the valleys, and the whole vast underlying skeleton of rocks must ultimately pass away and disappear beneath the sea. Rain and frost, wind and the unseen chemical forces, will at last complete the work of destruction. Every rock will be worn to sand, and the sand will go out with the current of rivers, until the rivers no longer have currents.

In different parts of the state, but particularly in Hampshire, Hardy, Grant, and Pendleton counties, many passes, popularly known as "gaps," have been cut through mountains by creeks and rivers which flow through them. Among some of the best known are the following in Hampshire county: At the site of the old chain bridge, a few miles above the mouth of the South Branch; at Hanging Rocks, four miles below Romney where the same mountain is again cut by the South Branch; two miles above Romney Mill Creek has made a pass through Mill Creek mountain; sixteen miles east of Romney a small stream flows through North Mountain, the passage being known as Blue's gap. The passage of the South Branch through a mountain between Petersburg and Moorefield is well known. Six miles above Petersburg in Grant county the north fork has made a passage through New Creek Mountain; and similar passes exist through the same range, excavated by small streams which appear totally inadequate to do so vast a work. These gaps are known as Reel's, Kline's, Cosner's, and Greenland. Many such passes exist in Pendleton county, but they are usually smaller than those named. One of the best known is Greenawalt gap near Upper Tract; and another is Judah's.

These passageways throught mountains record remarkable geological histories. Each has been excavated by the stream which now flows through it. The old belief concerning the modus operandi was that in past ages a lake was enclosed by mountains, and accumulated water until it overflowed its rim. The flow of water through the lowest place in the rim began to wear away the rock, cutting deeper age after age until the lake had been drained, and the mountain was cut to its very base. Jefferson thought that the gap cut by the Potomac river through the Blue Ridge at Harper's Ferry had such an origin; but the Harper's Ferry gap is like all the others, and it was made in the same way. There never was any lake to be drained, at least there is no evidence of it, and there is abundance of evidence to the contrary.

The theory that impounded water flowed over the mountain, and wore itself a passage, through which it still flows, must be revised in a very essential particular. The streams were there first. They are older than the mountains. They were flowing in the same general courses which they follow now before the mountains had a beginning. In the place where a river first cuts a course, there that course is apt to remain. The obstacle must be a great one that can turn a river aside after it has once carved for itself a channel. The most effective way to do it is to provide the stream an easier way to flow in some other direction. If this is not done, the river will hold to the course it has become established in.

If obstacles interpose themselves across the course, the river will very likely overcome and remove them.

That has been many times done by the flowing streams of West Virginia. The gaps through the mountains referred to are examples plain enough to be understood by any one who sees them and will examine into the matter carefully. The streams were flowing in the same general courses which they now pursue before the particular mountains came into existence. Slowly the underground forces exerted sufficient pressure to fold the layers of rock and cause them to rise in the form of an arch directly across the channel of the stream. The mountain was at first only an undulation, a swell in the ground; directly across it the stream continued to flow, cutting the channel deeper as the fold of rocks rose higher, The mountain lifted itself up from the interior of the earth as it were, ages on ages, but with such exceeding slowness that the stream, acting like a saw, was able to keep the notch cut deep enough for a channel. It sawed the gap down as the mountain rose, the two movements being exactly equal. Some of the gapped mountains in West Virginia have elevated their summits a thousand feet or more, but the stream has during all the immense period of years sawed away and kept its channel open, and it continues still to saw asunder the ledges which lie bare in the bottom of its channel. It is a process which has gone on for many hundreds of thousands of years, and apparently the forces are as active now as ever. Certain it is the rivers are cutting deeper, and it is little less certain that the mountains are rising higher.

A person passing through one of these gaps can see the exposed ledges which form the mountain, bending as an enormous arch, the top of which is hundreds of feet overhead, while the sides bend down and pass beneath the level of the stream. Sometimes only a fragment of the arch is visible, the rest being buried under accumulation of debris. The best gaps to observe are the Hanging Rocks, below Romney; Greenland gap, near Maysville, and Cline's gap, near the source of Lunice creek. The last two are in Grant county, the first in Hampshire.

These deep passes through mountains are not of interest merely as curiosities, or as freaks of nature, though as such they are very instructive; but they are of great use for the passage of highways. Roads pass through nearly all of them, and thus cross mountains without being compelled to climb over the summits. The most titanic piece of mountain cutting in West Virginia, by which a stream has been able to wear itself a channel through ranges, is in the case of New river. That stream rises east of the whole Alleghany range of mountains, and has cut its way through them all to the west side; but the best known and most spectacular mountain pass in the state cut by a river that is older than the range it has sawed asunder, is the gap through the Blue Ridge at Harper's Ferry.

CLIMATE AND RAINFALL

There is greater diversity of climate in West Virginia than in almost any other area in the United States of equal size. The climate east of the Alleghanies is different from that west of the range; while that in the high plateau region is different from both. The state's topography is responsible for this, as might be expected from a vertical range of more than four thousand feet, with a portion of the land set to catch the west wind, and a portion to the east, and still other parts to catch every wind that blows. Generally speaking, the country east of the Alleghanies has the warmer and dryer climate. In the mountain regions the summers are never very hot and the winters are always very cold. The thermometer

sometimes falls thirty degrees below zero near the summit of the Alleghanies, while the highest summer temperature is seldom above ninety degrees, but the record shows ninety-six. The depth of snow varies with the locality and the altitude. Records of snow six and seven feet deep near the summits of the highest mountains have been made. At an elevation of fifteen hundred feet above the sea there was snow forty-two inches deep in 1856 along the mountains and valleys west of the Alleghanies. In 1831, at an elevation of less than one thousand feet, snow accumulated three feet deep between the mountains and the Ohio River. Tradition tells of a snow in the northwestern part of the state in 1780 which was still deeper; but exact measurements were not recorded. The summers of 1838 and 1854 were almost rainless west of the mountains. In the same region in 1834 snow fell four inches deep on the fifteenth of May; and on June 5, 1859, a frost killed almost every green thing in the central and northern part of the state.

The average annual rainfall for the state of West Virginia, including melted snow, is about forty-seven inches. During some years the rainfall is three or four times as great as in other years. The precipitation is greater west of the Alleghanies than east, and greatest near the summit of these mountains, on the western side. Rains and snows come from two general directions, from the west-southwest, and from the east. Local storms may come from any direction. Eastern storms are usually confined to the region east of the Alleghanies. The clouds which bring rains from that quarter come from the Atlantic Ocean. The high country following the summits of the Appalachian range from Canada almost to the Gulf of Mexico is the dividing line between the two systems of rains and winds which visit West Virginia. Storms from the Atlantic move up the gentle slope from the coast to the base of the mountains, precipitating their moisture in the form of rain or snow as they come. They strike the abrupt eastern face of the Alleghanies, expending their force and giving out the remainder of their moisture there, seldom crossing to the west side. The Blue Ridge is not high enough to interfere seriously with the passage of clouds across its summits; but the Alleghanies are usually a barrier, especially for eastern storms. As the clouds break against their sides there are sometimes terrific rains below, while very little and perhaps none falls on the summit. On such an occasion an observer on one of the Alleghany peaks can look down upon the storm and can witness the play of lightning and hear the thunder beneath him. Winds which cross high mountains seldom deposit much rain or snow on the leeward side.

Whence, then, does the western part of our state receive its rains? Not from the Atlantic, because the winds which bring rains for the country west of the Alleghanies blow toward that ocean, not from it. No matter in what part of the world rain or snow falls, it is derived from vapor taken up by the sun from some sea or ocean. A small portion of the world's rainfall is taken up as vapor from land. From what sea, then, do the winds blow which bring the rain that falls against the western slopes of the mountains and waters the country to the Ohio river and beyond?

They come in large part from the Pacific ocean, and before the vapor reaches West Virginia it may meet and mix with like vapors borne northward from the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean sea. A study of the reports of the United States weather bureau will show that in most cases the storms which the trained forecasters are able to announce a day or perhaps several days before they reach any part of West Virginia, are first observed crossing the Rocky Mountains about Montana or north of there in the British provinces. Sometimes storms which ultimately reach

the Alleghany mountain region are discovered and announced before they leave the Pacific ocean.

SOIL AND FERTILITY

The soil of a country is usually understood to be the covering of the solid rock. It is very thin in comparison with the thickness of the subjacent rock, not often more than four or five feet and frequently less. This is not the place for a chemical discussion of soils; but a few plain facts may be given. In the first place, leaving chemical questions out, soil is simply pulverized rock, mixed with vegetable or animal remains. The rocky ledges underlying a country become disintegrated near the surface; they decompose; the sand and dust accumulate, washing into the low places and leaving the high points more or less bare, and a soil of sufficient depth is formed to support vegetation. A soil in which little or no vegetable humus is intermixed is poor, and it produces little growth. Sand alone, no matter how finely pulverized, is not capable of supporting vegetation except a few peculiar varieties. This is why hillsides are so often nearly bare. The soil is deep enough, but it is poor. The state of being poor is nothing more than a lack of humus, or decaying vegetation. Those poor hillside soils either never had humus in them, or it has been washed out. A soil tolerably fertile is sometimes made miserably poor by being burned over each year when the leaves fall. The supply of vegetable matter which would have gone to furnish what the soil needed, is thus destroyed, and in course of time that which was already in the soil is consumed or washed out; and instead of a fertile woodland there is a blasted, lifeless tract. Examples of this are too often met with in West Virginia.

The basis of practically all soils is pulverized and disintegrated rock. A soil may be formed in place; the underlying rock may decay and change to soil. In some instances a foot of solid rock will decompose and form only a thin layer, an inch or two thick, of soil. This is generally the case with limestones. A thick stratum will shrink in process of decay and become a thin sheet but of splendid fertility. It has been estimated by the geologist, Charles Richard Van Hise, that an average of ten thousand years is required to form a foot-thick layer of soil from disintegrated rock.

Excessive tillage of land exhausts it, because it takes out the organic matter and puts nothing back. It does not exhaust the disintegrated rock —the sand, the clay, the dust; but it takes out the vital part, the mold of vegetation. Fertilizers are used to restore fertility to exhausted land. That process is misleading, in many cases. Too often the fertilizing material is a stimulant rather than a food to the land. It often adds no element of fertility, but, by a chemical process, compels the soil to give up all the remaining humus; and when the vegetable matter is gone from the soil, all the fertilizers of that kind in the world would not cause the land to produce a crop. The intelligent farmer does not need to be told this. His experience has taught him the truth of it. No land is so completely sterile as that which, through excessive use of fertilizers, has been compelled to part with its vegetable matter. Something cannot be created from nothing. If a soil has no plant food in it, and a fertilizer contains no plant food, the mixing of the two will not induce plant life.

A crop of clover, of buckwheat, of rye, or any other crop, plowed under, fertilizes land because it adds vegetable matter. Then if the soil is stubborn about yielding up its fertility, a treatment of the proper fertilizing agent will compel it to do so. Bottom lands along the rivers and creeks are usually more fertile than lands on the hills because rains

leach the uplands and wash the decaying leaves and the humus down upon the lowlands. The soil along the river bottoms is often many feet deep, and fertile all the way down. This is because the washings from the hills have been accumulating there for ages. It sometimes happens that the surface of a deep soil is exhausted by long cultivation; and that a subsoil plow, which goes deeper than usual, turns up a new, fertile soil which has lain beyond the reach of plant roots for ages. Occasionally a flood which covers bottom lands leaves a deposit of mud which is full of humus. This enriches the land where it lodges, but the mountain districts from which it was carried were robbed of that much fertility.

Disintegrated rock of all kinds cannot be made fertile by the usual addition of vegetable humus. Certain chemical conditions must be complied with. Limestone generally forms good soil because it contains the elements which enter into plants. Strata of rock, as we now see them, were once beds of sand and sediment. They hardened and became stone. Sandstone is formed of accumulations of sand, shale is made from beds of clay or mud; limestone was once an aggregation of shells and skeletons of large and small living creatures. When these rocks are broken up, disintegrated and become soils, they return to that state in which they were before they became rock. The limestone becomes shells and bones, but, of course, pulverized, mixed and changed; sandstone becomes sand again; shale becomes mud and clay as it originally was. This gives a key to the cause of some soils being better than others. A clay bank is not easily fertilized; but a bed of black mud usually possesses elements on which plants can feed. So, if the disintegrating shale was originally sterile clay, it will make a poor soil; but if it was originally fertile mud, the resulting soil will be good. If the disintegrating sandstone was once a pure quartz sand, the soil will likely be poor, but if it was something better, the soil will be better. The fertility of limestone soil is mainly due to the animal matter in the rock. It should always be borne in mind, however, that the difference of soils is dependent not so much upon their chemical composition as upon the physical arrangements of their particles.

Plants do not feed exclusively upon the soil. As a matter of fact, a large part of the material which enters into the construction of the stems and leaves of some plants is derived from the air. Some plants prosper without touching the soil. A species of Chinese lily flourishes in a bowl of water with a few small rocks in the bottom. On the other hand, there are plants that will wither in a few minutes if taken from the ground. This shows that some plants extract more material from the soil than others. It is a common saying that buckwheat rapidly exhausts land.

THE GRINDING PROCESS

It has been said that the mills of the gods grind slowly but they grind exceeding small. That applies as well to the grinding process by which soils are made as to the more immaterial grindings of destiny which the poet had in mind when he wrote. The thickness of the soil layer varies in different regions of West Virginia. For example, in Harrison county the whole foundation of solid rock is deeply covered with fertile ground, well pulverized, finely mixed, and in most places several feet thick. The few exceptions where cliffs are seen affect areas so small as to be negligible. In the region which embraces the summits and escarpments of the higher and more precipitous mountain ranges, the naked bed rock is often exposed in ledges, cliffs, peaks, precipices, and ravines. For a contrast, compare the smooth, round hills of Monongalia, Marion, Harrison, and Lewis counties with the sharp peaks which everywhere meet the eye in the western parts of Grant and Pendleton counties; compare, too, the

gentle slopes, and broad creek bottoms in the four counties named, with the sheer walls of rock, and the narrow bottoms of the ravines along the tributaries of the North Fork river in Grant and Pendleton counties. The contrast is so great it can scarcely be realized that the same forces have shaped all. The difference is in the material that has been wrought upon, not in the process of working. The rounded hills and wide, fertile bottom lands in Harrison county owe their form and condition to the softness of the underlying rocks, and to the horizontal position in which those rocks lie. In Pendleton county, some of the strata are exceedingly hard, and wear away slowly; but hardness alone does not account for the remarkable roughness of the surface, for the underlying formations in the broad valley in Berkeley county are just as hard, and they have worn down regularly and present no such contrasts as appear in Pendleton. In Berkeley, the rocks, though very hard, are all hard alike; but in Pendleton some are much harder than others, and the softer have worn deeply, and the hard have resisted and stand up in peaks and cliffs. In the region embraced in parts of Pendleton and Grant counties the process of valley carving and peak construction has been complicated by the sharp folding of the strata. Some of the very hard layers have been folded until they stand on edge, and the edges have been forced up until they stand as peaks or ledges many hundred feet high. This rock is so unwearable that it resists erosion to an extreme degree. Though it has been exposed to rain, frost, wind, and heat for untold ages, it retains its angular outlines. Such a formation composes the noted and remarkable Seneca Rocks on the North Fork river in Pendleton county which rise sheer nine hundred feet above the stream which washes their base. This cliff is a sheet of the exceedingly hard Monterey sandstone standing on edge. The rock which has assumed that altitude is the side of a vast arch which once stood there, but most of it has been worn away. The arch was an anti-clinal fold of very old rock known as the Monterey sandstone.

In forming soils of disintegrated stone it can be readily understood that the rates of formation will vary. Some rocks, as soft soapstone and shale, will fall to pieces in a few years, or in even less time, if exposed to the weather; but others will lie for ages in rain and sun and show no signs of softening. Blocks of the Monterey sandstone lie about the base of the Seneca Rocks which doubtless have been exposed to the elements for the past six thousand years, and their sharp angles have not been so much as rounded. In contrast with the phenomenal resistance of that stone of Pendleton county is a sandstone, from what is called the Jennings formation, which was once quarried at Parsons, the seat of Tucker county, to obtain material for macadamizing the streets of that town. When first taken from the quarry the Parsons stone appears as hard as that which forms the Seneca Rocks; but the former when exposed to the action of the air falls to pieces more completely in one year than the latter in five thousand years. There can be no two opinions as to which of these stones is the more rapid soil builder. The two extremes thus illustrated explain why some regions are so rough and so broken with ravines and peaks, and others are so smooth and with contour lines so curved and graceful—as the pleasing, rounded hills of Harrison county, already spoken of. In a region where the exposed strata alternate between very hard and durable and very soft and non-resistant, the surface will weather in sharp and rugged features.

The phenomenon of streams cutting gaps or passage ways transversely through mountains, as at Hanging Rocks and Greenland Gap, does not stand alone as wonders which West Virginia rivers have been responsible for. There are a number of places in the state where river channels have been cut through mountains from end to end, deepening

and widening those channels until what otherwise would be one mountain is now two. One such instance is the Trough, through which the South Branch of the Potomac flows below Old Fields in Hardy county. The geographical and geological evidence indicates that this fact was accomplished in much the same way as the gaps already described were cut. Apparently the river was flowing in the same course which it now flows, at a time when the mountain had not been lifted up out of the earth. When the folding of the strata began to raise the backbone of the mountain above the surface, it happened that the crest of the mountain rose directly under the channel of the stream. The upheaval was so slow that the river was able to cut its channel deeper as the mountain rose higher, with the result that it sawed the mountain asunder from end to end and now pours along the narrow gorge it has made.

Some forty miles above the Trough, the South Branch has cut another mountain lengthwise, and the abysmal gorge, some fifteen miles in length, is known as the Smoke Holes. The process there seems to have been somewhat different from that by which the Trough was excavated. The mountain at the Smoke Holes appears to have been full size before the river attacked it. The mountain is largely of limestone formation near its base, and a cave in the limestone afforded an opening through the mountain. The river made its way into the cave at Upper Tract, and came out several miles below. The flowing water enlarged the cave until its roof fell in, opening the cavern from end to end to the sky. Although untold ages have elapsed since the beginning of the work, the river that pours through the gorge has not yet wholly succeeded in clearing its channel of the rocks that came down when the cave roof fell. The plunging of the water over and among the boulders which obstruct the channel produces spray and mist which ascend in columns like smoke, hence the name Smoke Holes.

A third example, and on the largest scale of all, is Tygart's Valley in Randolph county. A trough forty miles in length has been excavated along the summit of a mountain, and this trough has been worn down and widened until it is now one of the most attractive valleys in the state. Its floor lies more than two thousand feet above sea level, and the walls of the valley—Cheat mountain on one side and Rich mountain on the other—rise nearly or quite two thousand feet higher than the valley floor.

The forces of nature have wrought there on a stupendous scale. The two mountains which now form the opposite walls of the valley and whose summits are ten miles apart, air line, are but the worn flanks of what was once one mountain. It was a vast fold of strata, and if restored to its original dimensions it would rise to a height of five thousand feet above the present valley.

The manner of the formation of this remarkable valley was simple, though unusual. The evidence of the rocks that remain shows that the mountain was an enormous arch of folded strata, the spread of the arch being not less than ten miles, and its height at least a mile. While the subterranean energy was lifting the mountain, the strain was so great that the arch was ruptured. A crack was formed longitudinally along the top. Running water took possession of this crack and followed it northward. That was the beginning of Tygart's Valley. When the stream's course was once fixed, time was the only element needed to deepen and widen the crack along the mountain's summit and make a valley of it. Time has been sufficient. The valley is forty miles long, with a flat bottom from a quarter to more than a mile in width. Some of the finest farms in West Virginia lie in this valley. It was the second point in the state west of the Alleghanies, as is believed, to receive settlers. Remains of what was doubtless a large Indian population in pre-historic times, are

yet visible. The valley was the home of the ancestors of Stonewall Jackson. The contending forces in the early stages of the civil war made this region the battle ground for possession of West Virginia. The battle of Rich mountain was fought on one rim of the valley, the Laurel Hill fight was on another, and it was on the floor of this valley at Elkwater that General Lee himself was checked in his effort to recover ground lost to General McClellan some months before.

A VIEW ON LOWER CHEAT.

CHAPTER II

INDIAN OCCUPANCY AND EARLY TRADITIONS

When the territory now embraced in the limits of West Virginia first became known to white men it had not an Indian within its borders who considered the region his permanent home. At any rate, if there were any such, their presence and location were never discovered. What is now the state was then an expanse of forest, with scarcely a break in its continuity, and with no inhabitants, except the wild animals that roamed the woods, the fish of the rivers, and the birds that came and went. The early settlers who took up land and established homes in the wilderness that stretched from the headwaters of the Potomac river to the Ohio, met the Indian to their sorrow at almost every turn, but the enemy that harassed them was not a resident of the region. He came from without and the places of his abode and the manner of his coming and going will be discussed in a future part of this history. The present chapter deals with the Indian's origin and undertakes to present a few facts to explain the causes leading him to make war upon all people who interfered with his hunting grounds and fishing camps. The reason why land from the Blue Ridge to the Ohio river had no inhabitants will be given.

The heading of this chapter indicates that the storehouse of tradition will be opened to supply what history does not furnish, yet that store will be drawn upon sparingly. Tradition is reports which have come down to us from the past by word of mouth, passed from one individual to another, from one tribe to another, from one generation to another until the actual facts have become so obscured, and so mixed with fiction that it is impossible to be certain where truth ends and error begins. It is not the purpose to deal very extensively with material of this kind in speaking of the Indian's origin. It is unnecessary to do so, for, concerning the origin of this strange and interesting people, tradition is totally worthless. It cannot possibly reach back to a time remote enough to deal with any facts concerning the matter. The Indian wrote no books, placed no dates on monuments, constructed and preserved no genealogies, and he was in America so long before the white men came that no memory of the early years of his sojourn in this country was preserved in tribal lore. No tradition, therefore, which pretends to deal with the origin of the Indians is of any value.

The only place where tradition can with any reason be consulted—and then only in the absence of history—is in unraveling and revealing some of the complicated series of migrations and wanderings which placed some of the tribes where white men found them. Evidence furnished by tradition should always be accepted with caution, and not at all unless known facts render it probable.

Though West Virginia had no resident Indians when first known, it is clearly established that there was a time when the region was occupied with towns and settlements. The evidence of this will be presented in future paragraphs of this chapter. The origin of the Indians, the place where they had their beginning, and the time and manner of their appearance in America, are no more known than the origin of the animals of the forests and the fish of the rivers is known. They were here always, that is, as far in the past as we can penetrate. There is no reason

to suppose that the inhabitants of America were not on the earth as early as those of Europe and Asia. There is no doubt that America had inhabitants at a period more remote than the time reached by the first authentic or traditional history of the old world. In fact, there is as much reason to believe that the old world was peopled from America as there is that the Indians came from the old world to these shores. Theories are many which seek to account for the red man's presence in this country, and most of the theories are worthless. The most plausible is that a relationship in race exists between the Indians on this side and the Mongolian and kindred people of Asia but if such kinship exists, its precise nature has not yet been discovered. That is, no one knows whether the Indians came from Siberia across Behring Strait into this country, or whether the Chinese and their Tartar relatives reached Asia by crossing Behring Strait from America, or if neither happened. The inhabitants on both sides of Behring Strait cross and recross whenever they please and they probably have done so since time immemorial. It is therefore certain that America has received a few immigrants by that route, and Asia has received a few from this country; but it is not known what effect that migration to and fro has had on the Indians as a whole, or on the Mongolian people who live on the other side. It does not seem probable that the question of the origin of the American Indians will ever be settled.

It would be easier to tell how the Indians may have come by any one of several routes than to account for the remarkable condition in which they were found when America was first visited by Europeans. They occupied all parts of both North and South America, an area of about twelve million square miles, extending nine thousand miles north and south, and four thousand east and west in its widest part. This extensive area consisted of mountains and plains, forests and deserts. Yet, over all of it, from Labrador to Terra del Fuego, the same race existed, and in nearly the same degree of barbarism, though there were different stages of savagery even among the Indians. Such a remarkable sameness never existed in historic times in any other part of the world over an area so extensive. In the old world, there were nations and peoples, differing in color, customs, and character; but in America all were of the same color, all had the same general characteristics. This fact is proof that the Indians had lived in America during an enormous period of time. Otherwise they could not have spread to every nook and corner of such an extensive region.

If the Indians as a people are as old as the people of the eastern hemisphere, and they probably are, there must be a reason why the Americans made no advance in culture above a low order of barbarism, while civilization developed in Europe, Asia, and Africa thousands of years ago. Physically and mentally, the Indians rate high among barbarians, and it was not due to any defect or weakness of mind or body that they developed and maintained no areas of culture in all the broad expanse of the two American continents. It was the fault of the land in which they lived. Fertile and abounding in natural resources as America is, it was unsuited to the development of centers of civilization. When a country is occupied by a savage population, all on about the same level, and one portion makes a beginning in culture, and as a consequence accumulates a little more property than their savage neighbors, the chance to obtain by plunder the coveted possessions tempts the more barbarous people to rob the industrious. A few experiences of that kind discourage the workers, and they lapse into barbarism again. In the old world the early civilizations developed in situations measurably secure from inroads by plunderers. Greece was a peninsula not easily invaded; Egypt was a fertile valley surrounded by deserts not readily crossed by bands of

plunderers; England was an island; Italy was a peninsula; and the enumeration of instances might be carried on indefinitely. In every instance where a nascent civilization sprang up, some geographical condition of the surroundings protected it against raids by bands of robbers. When nations become powerful they can defend themselves anywhere; but in the feeble beginning there must be protection or there can be no ultimate success.

America lacked protected areas large enough to maintain nascent centers of civilization. There are peninsulas in abundance, and no lack of fertile valleys; but they all lack something. Nova Scotia and New Foundland were too cold; primitive people could not grow crops there, and no civilization is possible without agriculture. Lower California was too dry; Florida was too poor in soil; and the many valleys of both continents had no protective mountain rims to keep barbarians out. If all parts of America are searched, feature at a time, not one extensive area will be found affording the conditions essential to the beginning of civilization. Two regions were found which in part fulfilled the required conditions, the elevated valley of Mexico, and the high basin of Peru; and in them crude and strange civilizations were found, the Aztecs in Mexico, and the Incas of Peru.

RAIDS AND MIGRATIONS

Having spoken of the origin of the Indians, as far as there is any warrant for speaking on a subject of which so little is known; and having alluded to the reasons why civilization had made little progress in America, it is in order now to come more directly to the Indians who once had their homes in West Virginia but who were gone when the region first became known to white men. The Indians of the eastern and central parts of the United States were wanderers. Their wanderings were not such as individuals or small companies indulged in as a diversion or pastime, but were carried out upon a scale large enough to be classed as raids or migrations. In some instances long excursions were made for hunting purposes, but the most extensive of their movements were in war, and were executed partly in hope of plunder but more for the mere love of excitement. The savage inhabitants of the eastern United States were probably the most warlike people in the world. They were seldom long at peace among themselves. Tribe fought tribe with fierceness and cruelty never surpassed. Sometimes several tribes combined in a confederacy and carried on war into distant regions where they fell on peaceful villages and hunting camps, and utterly destroyed them. The cause of their quarrels was often as trivial as some of the causes which have led civilized nations to take up arms. The encroachment of one tribe upon another's hunting ground frequently started trouble which continued until both sides lost sight of the original question, but fought on until one or the other was exterminated, or had moved off to some distant region.

When the whole tribe, or a considerable part of it, departed in a body with no expectation of returning, it was a migration. Indian history abounds in such movements, but generally it is impossible at this day to trace them fully because the Indian leaves no written record. Dependence must be had upon tradition, assisted by such guides as names of places left behind, which names mark the original homes, and the route followed by the tribes in their wanderings.

When a tribe took its departure, the region where it had lived was usually left vacant. Though pressure of war may have forced the tribe to depart, the victors did not always take possession, though they often

set up a claim to the territory, and based it on the right of conquest. The conquering tribe was generally too weak in numbers to occupy the depopulated area; but, though unable to hold it by occupation, the tribe was every ready to attack any people who undertook to move in.

VISIBLE REMAINS IN WEST VIRGINIA

The Indians who once occupied the territory now embraced in West Virginia left visible remains to bear witness to their presence. These remains consisted of burnt woods, old fields, trails, graves, and arrowheads and other stone implements. There is nothing to show that the whole of the state was the home of a single tribe of Indians, or that any one tribe occupied it during a long period of time. The opposite must have been the case. The territory is divided into valleys, mountain ranges transverse it, and there was no reason why different tribes might not have lived in it at the same time. Neither is there any reason to suppose that a single tribe occupied it during all prehistoric time. On the contrary it would have been strange if a single tribe had been able to maintain its hold there during a very long period. All known history of the Indians in this part of the United States shows that tribe succeeded tribe at rather frequent intervals.

Graves and Arrowheads—Flint arrowheads are found in all parts of the state. They are most numerous along streams and near springs in situations suitable for villages and camps. Long residence in such spots would naturally strew the ground with these arrow points, that might be dropped and lost in the leaves and rubbish of an Indian camp. In some localities the plow turns up multitudes of flint scales and chips, the refuse of the arrow maker's shop. Such relics are less plentiful now than in early years of settlement when the plow turned up soil which the share had never before disturbed.

The chips of flint are evidence that the manufacturing of the arrow points occurred on the spot, and that the complete weapon was not brought to the region as an article of commerce. Flint was a peculiarly fitted material for the making of points in the Indian's way. It broke easily, and the maker's skill was such that he did not spoil many in the process of making, which is evident from the small number of broken points left with the refuse.

Flint is not abundant in West Virginia. It is found in two or three localities, and is in thin ledges. The Indians used all the mechanical means with which they were familiar in quarrying flint. They pried apart the enclosing ledges with wooden levers, and there is evidence that they employed wooden wedges to split apart pieces too heavy to carry. One of the largest flint quarries within reach of West Virginia Indians was at Crab Bottom, on the head of the South Branch of the Potomac, in Virginia, but only a few miles over the Pendleton county line. The old Indian pits may still be seen there scattered over many acres of pasture land. The savages carried rough blocks of flint from the quarries to their camps and there worked them into the finished product. The museum connected with the West Virginia Department of Archives and History at Charleston has an exceptionally fine collection of Indian arrow points gathered in the state. The labor expended by the savages in making the points shown in that collection probably exceeded the labor required to build the state capitol.

Indians left other stone relics on the sites of their old encampments. Pipes were fairly numerous, though it is questionable whether the West Virginia Indians smoked tobacco in the pipes. They probably substituted dry bark, buds, leaves, and roots of plants more convenient.

Discoidal stones have been found in rather small numbers. They are as large as a saucer, double concave with a hole through the center, and their making must have cost the Indians much labor. One such stone picked up near an Indian mound at the mouth of Elkwater creek in Randolph county, was of highly polished quartzite. It is not known that quartzite is found nearer to Elkwater than Cumberland, Md., about one hundred miles distant.

Indian stone graves and earth mounds are found all over the state, the mounds not being as numerous, however, as the graves. The largest mound, and one of the largest anywhere, is at Moundsville in Marshall county. This is one of the best known mounds in the country, and a stone with hieroglyphics found in it many years ago led to wide discussion among scholars in many countries. It was for a time hoped that its interpretation might be discovered and that it would throw light on the origin of the Indians. The stone was finally pronounced a hoax. It was probably engraved by some joker while the mound was being excavated, and was dropped into the opening when the workmen were temporarily absent. It may be stated that the belief once common that the mound-builders were a people distinct from the Indians, is no longer held by scholars. This matter will be referred to again in a future paragraph. Small Indian mounds were found in several localities. Several still exist in Randolph county in Tygart's Valley above Beverly. Some have never been opened, and others have yielded a few bones and pipes.

Stone graves were most numerous. Some appear to have had only one occupant, while others held many. In some instances, perhaps in most, the body was laid on the ground, and a loose heap of stones was thrown upon it. In others the opening of the stone heaps revealed the bones of many skeletons, old and young, all in promiscuous confusion, as if disjointed skeletons had been thrown in a heap and covered with stones.

Trails—When explorers, traders, and settlers entered Western Virginia they found numerous old Indian trails, and some of them were put to use, and others were forgotten. It would be impossible at this day to make a list of all the roads of Indian origin in the state, nor would it be profitable to attempt it. Early travelers spoke frequently of paths of that kind, before white people had entered the country to make it their home. The Alleghany range of montains that crosses the region nearly north and south was covered with forests so dense and the ground was so thickly matted with briars and vines that it was next to impossible for human beings to cross without making or following trails. The Indian was a good woodsman, but he was forced to follow paths in order to pass to and fro across those mountains. Both east and west of the chief ranges, the woods were more open, and the mountains were not so continuous and lofty. Accordingly, it was found that the Indians, in times probably beyond the reach of history, established a few routes across the mountains, and the paths there were well worn; but east and west, and particularly west, when the country was less forbidding, the paths divided and went in many directions, some following valleys when the bottom land was level while others passed along the tops of ridges, for the want of valleys leading in the desired direction.

One trail crossed from Greenbrier county to the headwaters of the James river on the east. Another made the passage by way of the upper Greenbrier river to the head of the North Fork of the South Branch of the Potomac. That trail followed the present Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike where it crosses the summit of the main Alleghany mountain in Pocahontas county. Thirty miles further north, the Seneca trail passed from the present site of Elkins, Randolph county, to the North Fork of

the South Branch at the Seneca Rocks in Pendleton county. A fourth trail crossed the mountains some thirty miles north of the Seneca path. Its course lay from near Moorefield, Hardy county, through Greenland Gap, over the Alleghanies near Mount Storm, thence crossing the North Branch of the Potomac near the village of Gorman, it reached Cheat river at Dunkard Bottom, Preston county. In crossing the mountains this path followed the general course of the northwestern turnpike. The path became known as McCullough's, because it was used in early times by an Indian trader of that name. General Washington followed that path part of the way in his journey to the west in 1784. All of these trails will receive further mention in the course of this history, for they played an important part. One of them, the Seneca trail, can be seen to this day at certain places where it passes through laurel thickets east of Shaver's Fork of Cheat river. During the Civil war it afforded an avenue of escape for a detachment of Confederate troops cut off from General Garnett's army at the battle of Rich mountain, five miles west of Beverly. Two years later, in 1863, the Confederates under General Imboden sent to the south by that route several hundred horses and cattle captured in West Virginia in the great raid which extended almost to the Ohio river.

It is not the purpose to dwell further in this chapter upon the part played in the subsequent history of the region by those old trails which the untutored Indians left behind them when they departed from West Virginia almost a hundred years before the first settlements of white people established themselves west of the mountains. The Indians were excellent road engineers. They found the best routes. In the preceding discussion of those paths they have been spoken of as if they simply crossed the mountains. That was their chief importance in West Virginia, but some of them reached remote regions. The Seneca trail, for example, extended from western New York to northern Georgia, and in its course crossed West Virginia. Its very name was ominous in early times. It was the great highway over which the Iroquois Indians or Six Nations, whose seat of power was in western New York, sent their warriors south to wage a war of extermination upon enemies six hundred miles away. The name by which those terrible tribes of the north were known to many people upon the frontiers was Senegars, which in literature became Senecas, and their highway across the West Virginia mountains was known as the Seneca trail. The path, a creek which it followed down the eastern slope of the main Alleghany range in Pendleton county, and a remarkable cliff at the mouth of the creek, were all named Seneca. Some of the old men who live in the region have remembered the pronunciation of the name as handed down by their ancestors, and they still speak of the "Senegar Rocks," and "Senegar Creek."

Old Fields—The Indian population was very small in comparison with what the region now sustains. Some sort of census or estimate was made at different times by traders, missionaries, government agents, and others. Their figures could not have been exact, compiled as they were under circumstances as adverse as can well be imagined, but all such estimates place the number of Indians very low. The population of that portion of Virginia between the Alleghany mountains and the sea at the time European settlement began near the coast, has been estimated by James Mooney in his book "The Powhattan Confederacy Past and Present," at 17,000. That allows approximately two and a half square miles, or 1,600 acres, for every man, woman, and child. It is less than one per cent. of the state's present population, and appears ridiculously small; yet few regions of the United States, within historic times, had Indian population as dense as Virginia's. It was a center of population compared with many other areas of like extent. The average for the whole United States is

believed to have been about one individual to 8,000 acres, or about one six hundredth part as dense as West Virginia's present population.

Few as the Indians were in the forested regions on both sides of the Alleghany mountains and among the valleys and hills enclosed among the ranges, they could not have subsisted on the products of the chase, supplemented by such berries and wild fruits as they could procure in the unbroken woods. They were compelled by necessity to clear patches of ground here and there and raise corn. The following fruits, nuts, and berries grew wild in West Virginia woods; strawberries, blackberries, raspberries, gooseberries, huckleberries, buckberries, elderberries, mulberries, services, plums, grapes, black haws, red haws, wild cherries, pawpaws, crabapples, hickory nuts, butternuts, walnuts, chestnuts, hazel nuts, and some kinds of edible acorns. This list is long, and it suggests abundance of food, such as it was; but even that kind was doubtless scarce in the unbroken forests, for it is well known that food-bearing trees and plants do not yield much in deep and unbroken woods, but only about the margins where the sunshine can reach the ground. George P. Marsh in "The Earth as Modified by Human Action," says on this subject: "In a region abundantly covered with trees, human life could not long be sustained for want of animal and vegetable food. The depths of the forest seldom furnish either bulb or fruit suited to the nourishment of man; and the fowls and beasts on which he feeds are seldom seen except upon the margins of the woods, for here only grow the shrubs and grasses, and here only are found the seeds and insects, which form the sustenance of the non-carnivorous birds and quadrupeds. The wild fruit and nut trees, the Canadian plum, the cherry, the many species of walnut, the butternut, the hazel, yield very little, frequently nothing, so long as they grow in the woods; and it is only when the trees around them are cut down, or when they grow in pastures, that they become productive. The berries, too—the strawberry, the blackberry, the raspberry, the whortleberry,—scarcely bear fruit at all except in cleared ground."

The Indians were, for the reasons stated, compelled to clear land and plant corn to ward off the ever threatening famine.

A good deal more is known of the Indian fields in the eastern part of Virginia than west of the mountains. In the east, the settlers came in direct contact with the natives, and slowly pushed them out of the country, and had opportunity to see how many and how extensive the Indian fields were. The natives raised corn by the thousands of bushels. West of the mountains the opportunity for observation was not so good, because the barbarians of that region had taken their departure from seventy-five to one hundred years before the first colonists crossed the mountains. The cornfields, surrounded by woods, would relapse into forests in a century, except where the clearings had been very large. Old fields would be fewer, and would receive less mention from travelers. Taking that view of the matter, it is safe to conclude that the natives cleared fields in Western Virginia the same as in Eastern Virginia, but the majority of such clearings had been overrun and had disappeared by the time the settlers began to arrive. In spite of the long period that passed between the migration of the West Virginia tribes and the coming of the settlers, there were many remnants of old fields visible at the time white men came.

The clearing of ground for garden and fields cost the Indians much labor, which was performed by women. Small undergrowth was pulled out by the roots, or burned or broken off, and the larger trees were killed by bruising the bark at the base of the trunks and removing it. Stone mauls were used for that purpose. Occasionally rings of fire burned the

bark off. The trees which were subjected to such injury speedily withered, but the fall of the trunk might be delayed ten years. Meanwhile the Indians cultivated the ground, clearing away each year the fallen limbs and trunks. The chief crops were corn, beans, pumpkins, and melons.

One of the earliest accounts of Western Virginia was written in 1671 by Robert Fallows in a journal which was sent to the London Royal Society by Rev. John W. Clayton in 1688.

In 1671 the New river, a tributary of the Kanawha, was reached, at a point near the present Virginia-West Virginia line, but the exact spot is unknown. The exploration was carried on by what has usually been called the Thomas Batts expedition, though practically all that is known of it is contained in the journal kept by Robert Fallows who accompanied Thomas Batts and Thomas Wood. On September 13, 1671, the explorers camped in a valley near New river where were many "brave meadows and old fields." Rev. Clayton added an explanatory note saying: " 'Old fields' is a common expression for land that has been cultivated by the Indians and left fallow, which is generally overrun with what they call 'broom grass.' " Two days later Fallows wrote in his diary: "We understand the Mohecan Indians did here formerly live. It cannot be long since for we found cornstalks in the ground."

The next day the diary further refers to cleared land: "We went ourselves down to the riverside, but not without great difficulty, it being a piece of very rich ground whereon the Mohecans had formerly lived, and grown up with weeds, and small prickly locusts and thistles to a very great height that it was almost impossible to pass. It cost us hard labor to get through."

That was the fartherest point west reached by the explorers. They proposed to go on, but their Indian guides balked and refused to proceed through fear of the "Salt Indians." But for that unfortunate circumstance, eye witnesses might have left a record of conditions at that time beyond the mountains in Virginia, the region which is now West Virginia. It was at that very time passing through a crisis. Its inhabitants were being swept away, and the region between the Alleghany mountains and the Ohio river was henceforth to remain an unpeopled wilderness until its settlement by white people a century later. It would be instructive to know what that region's condition was at that time, but the fear of the "Salt Indians" caused the expedition to turn back, and we must be satisfied with a few glimpses into the forbidden, transmontane province of Virginia. Indians who were sufficiently civilized to manufacture salt, and make of it a commercial commodity, might be presumed to be skilled in agriculture also, and the few extant scraps of information concerning them show that they were.

Robert Beverley who wrote about 1705, commented upon the passages in the Fallows journal relating to the farthest point west reached by the expedition, and said: "Near these cabins (on the New river) were great marshes where the Indians which Captain Batts had with him made a halt and would positively proceed no farther. They said that not far off from that place lived a nation of Indians that made salt and sold it to their neighbors, that it was a great and powerful people which never suffered any stranger to return that had once discovered their towns."

Some persons have supposed that the Batts expedition in 1671 reached the falls of the Kanawha river in Fayette county, West Virginia, and that the abandoned fields were at that place. There is nothing in the Fallows journal to sustain that view, and the outside evidence is all against it. It is not certain, and in fact not probable, that the explorers even reached the present West Virginia line. If they crossed it at all they could have gone but a few miles further which would have placed them in Monroe

or Mercer county. The time the explorers were upon the journey toward the west is well known, and it was physically impossible for them to have gone as far as the falls of the Kanawha in the stated time.

Eighty years after the Batts expedition, Christopher Gist found old fields between the mountains and the Ohio which had not yet been totally obliterated by encroaching forests. On March 4, 1752, he found a "great many cleared fields covered with white clover," and elsewhere he spoke of "some meadows" and "an old Indian road." In Tygarts valley, near the western base of the Alleghany mountains, the first settlers in 1753, discovered large tracts over which forests had but lately closed, and smaller areas still in sod; while on Cheat river, forty miles distant, James Parsons in 1769 found trees, apparently a century old, which had taken possession of land that had formerly been cleared, as he judged from the uniform size of the timber, and the fact that trees had grown up through artificial cobblestone floors, perhaps used for drying places for Indian corn, nuts, fruit, and fish.

The land on the Kanawha river, where the Indians made salt and where it is assumed they lived in considerable numbers, subsequently became the property of General Washington. On August 20, 1773, he inserted an advertisement in a Baltimore newspaper offering to lease 20,000 acres to settlers. A hundred years had elapsed since the Indians had abandoned their homes there, and yet large tracts of comparatively open land remained, over which the forests had not yet spread, as may be inferred from General Washington's description. "As these lands" said he, "are among the first which have been surveyed in the part of the country they lie in, it is almost needless to promise that none can exceed them in luxuriance of soil, or convenience of situation, all of them lying on the banks either of the Ohio or Kanawha, and abounding with fine fish and wild fowl of various kinds, as also in most excellent meadows, many of which, by the bountiful hand of nature, are in their present state almost fit for the scythe."

Any openings in the forest in that region were artificial, as the land was naturally covered completely by woods. The meadows of which Washington spoke could have been none other than remnants of extensive cornfields abandoned by the Indians a hundred years before. It is thus seen that clearings made by the Virginia Indians were found in large numbers in all regions that were fairly well explored, but in smaller numbers where explorations were fewer; but no explorer in any extensive region failed to report the openings in the forest, made, or supposed to have been made, by natives for purposes of agriculture.

In that portion of the present state of West Virginia lying east of the mountain clearings were found by the first explorers, and were called old fields. They were in grass, with a few trees here and there on which wild grapes grew in luxuriance. The best known of such places was that in Hardy county, and to this day it retains its name Old Fields. Wild hay was cut on this ground in 1747, as is shown by an entry in the journal kept by George Washington who visited the Old Fields while surveying land for Lord Fairfax. "We camped this night," he says, "in the woods near a wild meadow where was a large stack of hay."

An indirect description of the Hardy county Old Fields is given in a journal kept by Isaac Van Meter during a trip to Ohio in 1801. His home was in Hardy county. He described the Peepee Bottom in Ohio thus: "On our way back to town we passed through the Peepee Bottom on the military side, the longest bottom I have yet seen. Clear Prairie is said to contain 900 acres. This bottom has the greatest resemblance to the Old Fields of anything I have yet seen. There are thickets of plum and other shrubs, twined with grape vines, and here and there overtowered by a

large elm or cherry tree; and shadowing bur oaks separate open glady spots. Thus the large prairie is surrounded, which is generally dry, and has a very great abundance of strawberries."

There were other old fields on the upper waters of the Potomac, some along the river between Cumberland, Maryland, and Keyser, West Virginia, occupying the rich bottom lands. Other open areas were below Cumberland. One such nearly opposite the mouth of the South Branch was taken possession of by Thomas Cresap whose place is now called Old Town. He was living there in 1747.

The absence of edged tools among the Indians made the clearing of land very slow and laborious. With sticks and stones as their only implements they dug and pulled out by the roots the small bushes. Some which could not be grubbed out were broken off near the ground, but the trees and large saplings could not be handled by the rude tools of the savages, except in a very slow and laborious way. The bark was pounded from the trunks near the ground, and the trees were left to die. They usually lived a year after being girdled, and during the several succeeding years the branches and trunks fell upon the crops beneath. Fire was the Indian's principal agent in clearing land. Trees were burned down and logs were severed by fires kept burning for days at a time to accomplish what an ax or a saw would do in a few hours. The labor was performed by the women. The dead branches that fell as decay progressed were carried to the wigwams for fuel.

Strange as it may appear, Indians who lived in the woods were often hard put to it to secure firewood. We know this from the accounts of travelers who in early times visited Indian towns in the eastern part of Virginia. The woods for long distances around the towns were swept clean of dead saplings and fallen branches which could be broken or carried whole to the wigwams. The savages had no tools with which to cut sound wood, and were forced to depend upon what could be picked up. For that reason the dead branches which fell from the girdled trees in their cornfields were a welcome addition to their scanty fuel supply. It is not improbable that Indians were occasionally forced to move their villages not only because the soil of their cornfields became exhausted by excessive tillage, but for the reason that the supply of wood for fires was scarce and hard to procure. Early white settlers have been known to move their huts to a more convenient fuel supply, and doubtless the Indians did likewise.

Burnt Woods—During the Indian's occupancy of West Virginia he left his mark in the form of burnt woods. He burned much less than in regions farther west, where large tracts were changed from forest to prairie, but there is no question that he was vigorously applying the torch up to the time he took his departure.

The cleanings made by Indians for agricultural purposes were comparatively large, but they were small in comparison with openings made by fires set accidentally, wantonly, or to the end that more wild game might abound, with improved opportunities for hunting it. Though white men are rated high as destroyers of forests, they are not in the same class with the Indian. He used a little wood, destroyed vastly more to make room for his fields, but his real work of forest destruction was done with fire. He was wasteful and destructive as savages usually are, and the word economy had no place in his vocabulary. When he had abundance, he squandered like a pirate, and when want pinched, he stood it like a stoic.

The Indian was by nature an incendiary, and forest burning was his besetting sin. The few trees and poles which he took for use and the thousands destroyed to make his cornfields, were a small drain on the for-

ests in comparison with the millions which his wood fires consumed. It is not known how long he had been burning the valleys and mountains before white men came to Virginia, but the custom was general at the time of the first settlement, and it was, apparently, of long standing and was evidently growing worse. There is reason to believe, though there is no positive evidence of it, that the lesson of destruction was being learned from western Indians, who, by the agency of fire, were changing forests into treeless plains. If any considerable regions of Eastern Virginia, except swamps too damp to burn, had escaped repeated visitations by fire, the early explorers failed to make note of them. Complete destruction of forests by fire had already occurred over tracts aggregating hundreds of square miles, and undergrowth had been injured or destroyed almost everywhere in the regions early explored. In many localities the mature trees alone remained, and they were frequently so thinned and depleted that the woods resembled parks rather than forests, as is abundantly set forth in contemporaneous writings. Over very large tracts, at the period of discovery, the forests had apparently reached the last stage before their fall. No small wood was coming on to take the place of the old trees, and with the death of the mature timber many regions would have been treeless. Philip Alexander Bruce in his economic history of Virginia sums up the evidence contained in the early records by saying: "Freedom from undergrowth was one of the most notable features of the original woods of Virginia."

Conditions do not seem to have been so bad in that part of Virginia west of the mountains as in the eastern section, but that may have been due to the fact that the transmontane region was almost unknown for eighty years after its Indian population had departed. In eighty years burnt woods will recuperate in a damp climate and on rich soil like West Virginia's, and when white men entered the country they were not generally impressed with burnt and open tracts as they were further east and further west where the savages were interrupted in the very act of burning.

Doubtless many fires were accidental or resulted from carelessness, but generally the Indians burned the woods to increase food supply, directly or indirectly. So far as they reasoned at all, they doubtless thought the end justified the means. The food supply was directly increased by fires which facilitated hunting operations; indirectly, by opening the way for the growth of grass, nuts, fruits, and berries, thereby causing game to congregate in certain localities. The fruits of many vines and trees were eaten by the Indians. Observation doubtless taught those savages, as it has taught more civilized men, that fruit-bearing trees and plants multiply more rapidly, and yield more abundantly, on the margins of burned tracts than in deep forests. The Indian was cunning enough to put his knowledge to practical account, and sufficiently far sighted to set fires one year that the burned tracts might yield more sustenance the next year and in future years. The fall of some score millions of feet of prime timber in a forest conflagration meant no loss to the Indian, if briers and grass followed, for they brought together beasts and birds which furnished the Indian with more food than he could have procured in the forests that fell. More is known of the early condition of the Shenandoah Valley, the northern part of which lies in West Virginia, than of the country west of the Alleghanies because the Virginians came pretty early in contact with that valley and wrote descriptions of it, either from what they saw or from hearsay. No portion of Virginia was more terribly burned than that valley. Its earliest explorer, as far as is definitely known, was Governor Spotswood in 1716. He wrote no description that has been preserved, the only account of it having been written as a diary by James

Fontaine, one of the governor's companions. The diary is more minute in its account of stores of liquors carried and consumed, and the size and number of rattlesnakes seen and destroyed, than in description of the country. Consequently we must depend upon later writers for an account of conditions there when settlements began some years after Governor Spotswood's visit.

The Shenandoah Valley is known to have been a highway for Indians traveling north or south, and camps of natives were in the valley, at certain times at least, until after 1730; but the valley probably had no resident tribes subsequent to the Iroquois conquest about 1672. The worst burning doubtless occurred before that time. A vague account of the region reached John Smith when he was exploring the Rappahannock a hundred years before the first white man is known to have seen the valley. It is worthy of note, and remarkable, that the very earliest reference to the region was misleading in an essential point, for the valley was said to be a place which Indian fires had not yet injured. When John Smith questioned the warrior Amoroleck whom he captured on the Rappahannock, as to the land beyond the mountains, the Indian's answers showed that he knew of the Blue Ridge, but all he could tell of what lay beyond was that "the woods had not been burnt." If the warrior referred to the lower part of the Valley of Virginia, he was mistaken, for the woods had been burnt. An area now occupied in part by three counties, Frederick, Berkeley, and Jefferson, was treeless. The burnt lands extended across the present state of Maryland, and into Pennsylvania, and in those states were long called "The Barrens," and occasionally are still so called, on account of the stunted timber which once grew there. The area of the treeless region in the lower Shenandoah valley exceeded 1,000 square miles in one body. This statement depends chiefly upon Samuel Kircheval's "History of the Valley" for its authority, though other writers refer to the devastation wrought there. Kircheval could not have had personal knowledge of it, but he might, and very probably did, talk to old men who were eye-witnesses of the conditions he describes. W. H. Foote goes more into detail in his sketches of Virginia and says: "A large part of the valley from the head-springs of the Shenandoah to the Potomac or the Maryland line, a distance of about one hundred and fifty miles, embracing ten counties, was covered with prairies abounding in tall grass, and these with scattered forests, were filled with pea vines. Much of the beautiful timber in the valley has grown since the emigrants chose their habitations."

There is other testimony establishing the fact that what had been open prairie in the Shenandoah valley when white men first saw the region had relapsed into forest less than a century later. There is no reason to suppose that tracts between the Alleghany mountains and the Ohio river did not follow a similar course.

History does not tell of the beginning of forests and forest fires in West Virginia or anywhere else in America. Indians were doubtless in the country thousands of years ago, and their ancestors hunted the musk ox in the Ohio valley during the ice age.

There is ground for the opinion that the Indian was not always an incendiary. Had he been one, the woods could not have spread so wide and so far. Nothing is more certain than that oft-repeated and long-continued fires will finally destroy a forest and make a prairie or a desert. Had the natives been indulging their habits of firing the woods from time immemorial, they would have kept down the forests, and white men from Europe would have landed upon the shores of a grass continent. That such was not the condition at the time of the discovery is warrant for the belief that the Indians had acquired their incendiary propensities

within a comparatively recent period; and at the same time, evidence is apparently conclusive that the fires were gaining the mastery over the woods, and that the primeval forests were disappearing. Nathaniel S. Shaler speaks of the matter thus in "Nature and Man in America": "If the advent of European folk in the Mississippi valley had been delayed another five centuries, the prairie country would doubtless have been made very much more extensive. Thus in western Kentucky a territory of about five thousand square miles in area had recently been brought to a state of open land by the burning of the forests. All around the margin of this area there were only old trees, scarred by successive fires, there being no young of the species to take the place as they fell. It is probable that with another five hundred years of such conditions, the prairie region would have extended up to the base of the Alleghanies, and in time all the great Appalachian woods, at least as far as the plain lands were concerned, would probably have vanished in the same process."

The theory that the Indians of the Mississippi valley commenced burning forests when the buffaloes first appeared, finds some support in the records of history and geology. If the theory is correct, the buffalo originated among or beyond the Rocky mountains and, spreading eastward in search of pasture, reached the forests of the Mississippi valley. That is believed to have occurred in comparatively recent times, perhaps not much more than a thousand years before the discovery of America. Evidence of it is found in the absence of buffalo bones in waste heaps, caves, drift, gravel, and bogs of the region until the most recent deposits were made. The mound-builders pictured almost every animal now found native in the region, except the buffalo, and this fact is interpreted to mean that those people were not acquainted with the buffalo. In the fossil deposits about certain saline springs in Kentucky are found the bones of many extinct and still living animals, from the musk ox of the ice age, down to the creatures of the present. They lie in the bogs, layer upon layer, the oldest below, the most recent on top. The bones of the buffalo are found only in the surface layer, showing that this great quadruped came the most recent of all.

It has been supposed that the Indians who built the mounds in the Mississippi valley were agriculturists, and were beginning to rise in the scale of civilization, but with the coming of the buffalo they found it so much easier to live on the flesh of that animal than to cultivate the soil, that they abandoned their fields, turned hunters, and lapsed into savagery. In order to enlarge the grass tracts and afford pasturage for buffaloes, they burned the land, killed the timber, and the encroachment of prairies upon the forests began at that time.

Certain it is that the buffalo had reached the Atlantic coast at the time of the discovery of America. It is also certain that it was a grass eater and sought open tracts where pastures were good. Buffaloes were much more numerous in Virginia than in Pennsylvania east of the mountains. William Byrd, writing in 1729, said they were seldom found north of the fortieth parallel of latitude. These animals made trails long distances through the wooded regions, connecting one pasture with another. There is no question but that Indians burned the pastures and surrounding woods yearly to improve the range, increase game, and make hunting easier. The deer, elk, and buffalo were among the finest game animals in Virginia, and quotations from Beverley, Lederer, Fallows, Byrd, and others show that these animals congregated in large numbers where grass was found. It was to the Indian's interest to thin and destroy the woods that grass might grow more abundantly, and no one acquainted with his habits has ever charged him with neglecting his interests in this particular.

WEST VIRGINIA INDIANS

An extended discourse on the traditional Indian occupation of the territory now embraced in West Virginia is foreign to the purpose of this chapter. Such a discussion would be profitless, and it might be carried to great length without exhausting the subject. It may be stated once for all that no man now knows to a certainty what tribe or tribes predominated in this state prior to 1672 when the region ceased to contain a fixed Indian population. The truth probably is that part of several tribes occupied the territory between the Alleghany mountains and the Ohio river, shifting their positions, coming and going, and moving about; but to name a precise date and say what tribes were here then, no man can do it. Within wider limits, however, there is room for speculation as to who they were.

In the Fallows journal of 1671 some of them are called the Salt Indians. Evidently that was not their name, and was used as a descriptive term, based on the fact that they made salt. John Mitchell, who resided in Virginia and wrote about 1760, furnished additional information concerning the salt makers who had terrorized the explorers' guides nearly ninety years before. "The Indians they meant," said he, "were the ancient Chawanoes [Shawnees] who lived to the westward and northward of the place where the discoverers were at, and were at that time, 1671, engaged in a hot and bloody war with the Iroquois, in which they were so closely pressed at that time that they were entirely extirpated, or incorporated with the Iroquois the year following."

There is other evidence that the Shawnees occupied certain localities in West Virginia at an early time, but it cannot be reasonably asserted that they were the principal people. There were so many Indian tribes in the Eastern part of the United States, and since the same name was by no means uniformly applied to the same tribe, a large element of uncertainty is introduced into every attempt to delimit the several tribes and assign them territory. If that could be done for a particular time, it would not hold for another period, because the Indians were constantly shifting positions.

Better success attends efforts to deal with Indians as groups instead of single tribes. A group is made up of several tribes, and might be called a nation if it were compact enough, and firmly established in a particular region. The Iroquois offer the most familiar example of a group composed of several tribes. The Powhatan Confederacy in Virginia was another.

The greatest buffalo hunters of all the Indians in America were the Sioux who occupied seven hundred thousand square miles of territory west of the Mississippi, from the Arkansas river northward. Investigators have been led to believe that the ancestors of these Indians had something to do with prehistoric Virginia. It is not improbable that their buffalo hunting began there, and that they moved west, allured by the greater abundance of those animals, at a period so recent as to form a connecting link between tradition and history. A study of geographic names, of languages, and of traditions has apparently indicated that the cradle of the Siouan nation was in the mountains of Western Virginia, upon the Monongahela, Kanawha, and Great Sandy rivers.

The theory has been advanced, and much evidence in support of it is adduced by James Mooney in his "Siouan Tribes of the East," that when the great western migration of the Sioux occurred, certain remnants remained behind, and moved over the mountains to Piedmont, Virginia. There they were found by explorers a year or two after the founding of Jamestown. They extended from the Potomac at Harper's

Ferry southward, near the mountains, to South Carolina. They were warred upon by Powhatan's Confederacy on the east, and later by the Iroquois from the north. John Smith fought the Sioux upon the Rappahannock river in 1608. The warrior Amoroleck who told Captain Smith that the woods behind the Blue Ridge had not been burned, was a Sioux. The Indians whose deserted cornfields Captain Batts found on New river in 1671, were Sioux, and Lederer reported Sioux near the Roanoke river who kept a year's supply of corn in reserve. They were not hunters then as their kindred were later on the western plains, but agriculturists. The belief that the cradle of the Siouan nation was among the mountains of West Virginia is founded partly on the fact that many Siouan names of rivers, mountains, and other natural features were found in that region; and partly on a tradition among the Sioux themselves that their ancestors reached the western plains by descending the Ohio river, or some stream whose description answered to the Ohio.

The suggestion that the Sioux from among the Alleghany mountains reached the western plains by following the migration of buffaloes is not well taken because there is no evidence that the buffalo migrated westward from the mountains, but much evidence to the contrary. A discussion of the Sioux's probable habitat in West Virginia must enter the border land which lies between authentic history and tradition. The fact has not been established, but it is not improbable. Nevertheless, if the known evidence in the case were deemed sufficiently conclusive to prove that the Sioux once had their homes here, there is nothing to show that they were the tribes driven out between 1656 and 1672, the period usually assigned to the extirpation of the last West Virginia tribes. The migration of the Sioux, if it occurred at all, was probably at an earlier date. It is an historical fact, however, that several tribes of Siouan stock lived in Virginia for sixty years after the Jamestown settlement was founded, and Mooney says: "The great overmastering fact in the history of the Siouan tribes of the east is that of their destruction by the Iroquois."

CONQUEST OF THE WEST VIRGINIA TRIBES

The country beyond the mountains remained unknown to the colonists on the lowlands of Virginia for a century after settlements had advanced up all the rivers of the east as far as the tides ran. Those broad, deep channels afforded highways for sailing vessels from fifty to one hundred miles from their mouths, and passage up and down was easy by taking advantage of the ebb and flow of the tides; but at the base of the first plateau the navigators encountered rapids, and could sail no farther. The Potomac's rapids were just above Washington, those of the James river were at Richmond. Above those points the movement of the advance of the settlements toward the base of the mountains was slow. While the line of outposts was creeping toward the west, mile by mile, the Indians who lived in the territory between the falls of the rivers and the mountains were meeting their fate. During that period, there was generally peace between them and their white neighbors who were approaching nearer each year; but an irresistible foe was pressing them from another direction. Those Indians who lived between the falls of the rivers and the mountains consisted for the most part of fragments of Siouan tribes, as stated on preceding pages. The enemy which wrought their destruction was the Iroquois, and with the destruction of the tribes between the mountains and the English settlements, occurred also that of the tribes in West Virginia, behind the Blue Ridge, and between the Alleghany mountains and the Ohio river.

The important part which the Iroquois acted in the tragedy which culminated in the extirpation of the inhabitants of fifty thousand square miles in one body—along and on both sides of the mountain ranges from the Potomac river to the borders of South Carolina, demands a brief account of the conquering people. Their center of power was in western New York. Until about 1716 they were known as the Five Nations, because their confederacy included five tribes, of which the Mohawks were the most important. Soon after the beginning of the eighteenth century the Tuscaroras moved up from North Carolina and joined them, and the confederacy then became the Six Nations, collectively known as Iroquois. The six tribes were the Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, Oneidas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras. As far as history affords evidence, that was the most perfect organization of Indian tribes that ever existed in the United States. It was a strong, military government, with a center and branches. Some have seen in it the nucleus or foundation of what promised to develop into a real Indian nation. Without question, it was a strong organization and in most things it was ably managed. The directing hand of rare statesmanship was seen in it. It is impossible to say how far it might have gone or what it might have accomplished if it had not met the advancing colonies of white men. In that contact the Iroquois went down before the superior power of Europeans. As long as the confederacy fought Indians only it was irresistible. The warriors from the north overran the country to the Carolinas on the south, to the center of Ohio, and perhaps farther on the west, and south of the Ohio river in Kentucky; while on the east they carried their victories into Massachusetts.

When, in their early intercourse with the English and Dutch colonies on the Hudson, they procured firearms, they became stronger than ever. The tribes with which they fought were as yet armed only with bows, arrows and stone hatchets and spears, and they were powerless before their adversaries armed with guns. Some effort was made by the Virginia Colonists to put an end to the war which the Iroquois were waging against the tribes in Virginia. Certain neutral zones were laid out, intended to keep the Iroquois north of the Potomac, but the war could not be stopped. The Virginia and Carolina tribes were willing enough to stop, for they fought only on the defensive; but so implacable was the Iroquois' hatred that nothing could induce them to make peace. Their war parties stole through the woods, and traversed forest paths hundreds of miles, fell upon camps and villages by surprise and utterly destroyed them. Early explorers, particularly Lederer and Batts, witnessed this war of extermination waged by the Iroquois. They saw the deserted towns, the abandoned cornfields, the ruined camps of tribes which had perished, or had fled to parts unknown in hope of escaping a fate which was certain if they remained where they were.

The war policy of the Iroquois was like that of the Tartars under Genghis Kahn and Tamerlane. The northern tribes exterminated, destroyed, and obliterated everything that fell into their power. Some historians have seen in this policy the weakest point in the statesmanship of the Iroquois. They left solitudes which they were unable to re-people, just as the Mongolian conquerors did who marched westward through Asia, and as was done at a later time in Central Africa by Mohammedan marauders. By pursuing such a course, the Iroquois were isolating themselves by creating a waste zone on all sides of them. The appearance of white men on the scene brought their power to a close before the destructive work which they had undertaken was fully executed, and for that reason it cannot be known what the final result would have been had there come no interference.

The Crisis—Having spoken of the tribes which were living west of the Alleghanies, what little is known of them, and having described briefly the enemy that wrought their destruction, it is now in order to give an account of the final crisis. The story must, of necessity, be brief, for of the details which must have been many, history is silent. The fact that a region of twenty thousand square miles, extending from the mountains to the Ohio river, was laid utterly waste by the northern savages stands out as the one thing known of the closing scenes of that struggle. The Iroquois had been raiding the region for more than ten years, and their last campaign closed in 1672, with the total extirpation of the unfortunate West Virginia tribes.

Doubtless the Iroquois sent their warriors into West Virginia over all the principal trails leading from the north; some probably ascending the Monongahela, others descending the Ohio, while still others moved southward across Maryland and passed the mountains by the four paths described in preceding pages. The most important of these was the Seneca trail, whose very name suggests traditions that it was a highway for those conquering tribes from the north. There is not one word of detail of the last campaign, not one particular. The scenes enacted in the forests, and by the rivers of West Virginia in that desperate struggle are lost to history. The Iroquois swept the region and left it a desolation. Nearly a century later their orators appeared in a conference held at Fort Stanwix, now Rome, New York, for the purpose of making a treaty, and declared that "all the world" knew that the land now embraced in West Virginia was theirs because they had conquered it.

How complete the conquest was, and how desolate was the country which they left, is witnessed by the fact that no Indian tribe ever again dared live in it. Seventy years after the conquest, John Peter Salley with a small party of explorers crossed the entire state without seeing a human being who called the region his home, and nearly ten years later Christopher Gist traveled two hundred miles within its borders and saw no one, though he noted old fields and paths. Indians from Ohio and perhaps from other regions sometimes passed through the region. When Washington was surveying on the Potomac in 1748 he saw a party of thirty savages passing through, and a few years after that time, Ohio Indians repaired to the salt springs on the Kanawha river to make salt. These people were not permanently in the country, and made no attempt to occupy it. With very few exceptions the many Indian graves in West Virginia date earlier than the time of the Iroquois conquest.

When settlers began to cast covetous eyes upon the fertile valleys of West Virginia, they knew they could take the land without dispossessing any one. The Iroquois, by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, had surrendered all claim to it, though some of the Ohio tribes disputed the right of the northern Indians to dispose of the land, and, as will be shown in succeeding chapters, the tribes in Ohio would not submit to the occupation of the region by white men until compelled by force of arms.

CHAPTER III

EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN WEST VIRGINIA

The preceding chapter showed the extirpation of the Indians who once occupied the region now embraced in West Virginia, and this chapter will deal with the beginning of the white man's occupation of the country. One of the most important matters, from the historical standpoint, relates to the negotiations by which the rights, titles, and claims of cerain Indians to the land were quieted. The foundation on which civilized man bases his strength is title to land. The rights of individuals to particular tracts and locations must be established and acknowledged before permanency can be secured. In treating of the land title phase of the question it will not be necessary to discuss court decisions, for judicial proceedings did not enter much into the matter during the years of the early settlement of the region.

The Iroquois Indians, beginning about 1672, held the whole of what is now West Virginia by right of conquest, but not by the right of occupation. Other Indians disputed the claim of the Iroquois, but dared not attempt to maintain their claims on the field of battle. Therefore, the settlers, acting through the colonial governments and otherwise, opened negotiations in course of time with the Iroquois to acquire title to the country west of the Blue Ridge.

Treaty of 1722—The dividing line in Virginia between lands claimed by the Iroquois, or Six Nations, and that belonging to the Colonists was uncertain until the year 1722 when Governor Spotswood met representatives of the Indians at Albany, New York, and concluded a treaty which fixed the line at the summit of the Alleghany mountains. All east of that line was ceded to Virginia, and whatever rights the Indians had or pretended to have to the land passed to the Virginians. The Potomac river was fixed also as a line between the Iroquois land on the north, now Maryland and Pennsylvania, and the domain of Virginia on the south. By that treaty the country west of the Alleghany mountains, and north of the Potomac river remained the property of the Indians, as far as Virginia was concerned. This cleared Virginia's title to the Shenandoah valley and the country between it and the summit of the Alleghanies. The territory now in West Virginia which thus passed from the Indians to Virginia is embraced in Jefferson, Berkeley, Morgan, Hampshire, Mineral, Hardy, Grant and Pendleton counties.

When the six nations gave up their claim to the region east of the Alleghany mountains in Virginia they reserved the right of way across the ceded land over which their war parties could pass in their campaigns against the southern Indians with whom the Iroquois were still at war. It was understood that the war parties should travel peaceably to and fro. They usually did so, but on at least one occasion they attacked Indians which the Virginians claimed were under the jurisdiction of that colony. This affair caused much discussion, but the Iroquois apologized, and declared the attack was made through a mistake. The highway which was followed by the Iroquois on their excursions to and from the south led through the Shenandoah valley, but doubtless many bands passed further west, over the Seneca trail which traversed the region now embraced in the counties of Pendleton, Grant, Hardy and Hampshire. When George Washington was near the mouth of the South

Branch surveying in 1748 he saw a party of thirty Indians, presumably Iroquois, returning from a foray with only one scalp.

The Six Nations always respected the bargain by which they transferred to Virginia the territory east of the Alleghanies and south of the Potomac, and when settlers established themselves there they had no trouble with Indians until many years had passed and the French war came on. That war was not with the Iroquois who had ceded the land, but with Ohio and Pennsylvania Indians, who never had any title to it. The circumstances of the French and Indian war are given in another chapter. The point that should be made clear in detailing the history of the settlement of West Virginia's eight eastern counties, Pendleton, Grant, Hardy, Hampshire, Mineral, Morgan, Berkeley, and Jefferson, is that the Iroquois Indians of New York sold that land to Virginia, and always respected the sale, and gave the settlers no trouble.

That part of West Virginia which lies west of the Alleghany mountains was not transferred to Virginia by the Six Nations at the same time that the territory embraced in the eight eastern counties was ceded. In fact it was never transferred by the Six Nations to Virginia at all, but was deeded by those Indians to the king of England. The transfer by the Iroquois of the two parts of West Virginia, that east of the Alleghany mountains at one time and that west of the range at another, has not been clearly understood by many who have studied the early history of Western Virginia. Yet it is simple enough. As detailed in a preceding paragraph, the land east of the mountains, so far as the Iroquois or Six Nations laid any claim to it, was ceded to Virginia by treaty held at Albany, New York, in 1722. It now remains to be related how and when these same Indians gave up their claim to the part of the state west of the Alleghany mountains.

Treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1768—The cession of the land in West Virginia's Eastern Panhandle preceded attempts to plant settlements in the region and its early history is therefore simple as far as trouble with Indians was concerned; but the case was different west of the mountains, and that region's history in the early years is made up largely of events incident to the encroachment of settlers upon land still claimed by the Iroquois. If the history of the country between the Ohio river and the Alleghany mountains was detailed year by year, the early settlements would precede the treaty by which the Six Nations finally passed to the King of England their title to those lands. For several years there was almost a state of war with the Iroquois who kept fully posted on the progress making in the settlement of the lands west of the Alleghanies in Western Virginia. From their headquarters in Western New York they kept so close a lookout that they knew where and how many cabins the white men built year by year west of the mountains. They did not fail to protest and complain. Those complaints reached the capitals of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York, and even crossed the Atlantic to London. The Indians had things to complain of in Pennsylvania as well as behind the Virginia mountains; for a tract of land on the Susquehanna river, claimed by the Six Nations, was taken possession of by settlers. The Iroquois protested so vigorously, and followed up the protest with the murder of so many of the settlers, that the Pennsylvania authorities removed the people who had gone upon the land. That was in 1763.

Emboldened by their success in having the encroachment upon their Pennsylvania claims stopped, the Iroquois became more insistent that settlement of the back country in Virginia should stop also.

There were not enough people west of the mountains in 1763 to justify the alarm of the Iroquois, but they grew excited, and year by

year they urged Virginia to prevent her people from crossing the mountains. The Iroquois were determined that no intruders should enter the territory between the Ohio and the mountains. They kept their ever-watchful eyes fixed in that direction as well on the Indians who lived beyond the Ohio river as on the white people who lived east of the Alleghanies. Not an Indian village was suffered permanently to exist, says Schoolcraft, along the east bank of the Ohio between the mouth of the Kentucky river and the mouth of the Monongahela. If the Iroquois watched with such jealous care to keep the Ohio Indians from crossing into what is now West Virginia and establishing camps, it may be imagined with what alarm they saw the white man's packhorse trains filing over the Alleghany mountains toward the forbidden country beyond.

The English government recognized the claim of the Six Nations as owners of the land west of the mountains. It is doubtful if that claim would have stood long in the way of the English statesmen, had they seen a chance to acquire some advantage by ignoring the Indian's rights; but at that time, which was soon after the close of the French and Indian war, the governing politicians in England thought they saw an opportunity to use to advantage the Iroquois title to the transalleghany country. It was clearly foreseen that complications would follow, if the Indians should enter upon a policy of selling their vacant Western Virginia lands to speculators. Title would thus pass from the Indians to the purchasers, and it would soon become impossible to keep settlers out. Therefore, in October, 1763, the king of England by proclamation forbade private individuals to buy land from the Indians. That was eight months after the peremptory orders came from England to put a stop to the occupation of the Indian land on the Susquehanna, previously spoken of.

There has been a great deal of discussion as to what was the real motive of the English government in thus hindering the colonization of the country beyond the mountains. When the course of that government, for fully fifty years following the close of the French and Indian war, is studied, there can be little doubt that even as early as 1763 a settled policy had been entered upon to confine the English colonies to the Atlantic seaboard, and leave as much as possible of the western country vacant, or with settlers too few to wield much political or military power. This is not the place to discuss that matter at length, as it belongs to a wider field of history than a single state; but the same question will come up again in this book in the discussion of the French and Indian War, and again in considering the Quebec Act of 1774, and once more in connection with the formation of the Province of Vandalia. It was by no means a dead issue as late as 1795, and it revived in the War of 1812, and, under a different form, it came again to the surface when the Oregon boundary was in process of adjustment. The English government in all of these negotiations had a plan for hindering the geographical expansion of the Americans by interposing a neutral zone in the path of their advance. For that reason, and in view of the fact that it was once an almost continent-wide question under slightly different conditions, it is of interest to know that what is now the part of the state of West Virginia between the Alleghany mountains and the Ohio river, was the first block of proposed vacant land which the English government planned to stretch in the rear of the Americans to check their growth. The first attempt of that kind was made in West Virginia, and the last in Oregon. Had the first succeeded, there would have been no occasion for any other, for the United States would have stopped at the summit of the Alleghanies. But destiny directed otherwise, and what was once a

question of such momentous import that it was almost a crisis, can now be treated as the history of one forward step in our nation's progress toward the West.

The proclamation of 1763, sent over from England, may have deterred some from acquiring title by purchase of Indian lands in Western Virginia, but as a means of preventing settlers from entering the land behind the Alleghanies, it was not worth the parchment on which it was written. Frontiersmen here and there pushed across the ranges, in some instances following the very warpaths which the Iroquois followed eighty or ninety years before when they conquered the region and laid it waste. Reports of such invasions, a family here and another there, reached the Iroquois from time to time and kept them in a state of perpetual agitation. On top of these disturbing pieces of petty news came a report which reached the headquarters of the Iroquois in Western New York, and finally reached England, that Colonel Thomas Cresap, an influential man and Indian trader who lived opposite the mouth of the South Branch, on the Maryland side of the Potomac, had held a treaty with a band of wandering Indians who chanced to pass his house, and that he had purchased from them a large tract of land west of the mountains "down the Ohio toward the Greenbrier." It was at once announced that the Iroquois would recognize no sale of land made by wandering bands of their warriors, but the incident caused much uneasiness.

It was considered time to take steps more effective than proclamations, and British troops stationed at Fort Pitt, now Pittsburgh, were sent up the Monongahela river to drive settlers from the forbidden land. Two such expeditions were sent. There were a few cabins at that time in the valley of the Monongahela, within the present limits of West Virginia, but the most careful search of all known sources of information has not made the number above one dozen. It is possible that there were others and no record of them is known. It is not believed that the soldiers sent from Fort Pitt found a single cabin in what is now West Virginia, except two or three at Dunkard bottom in the present county of Preston. The appeal to the military authorities to drive the Virginians from the Iroquois land had no appreciable result as far as West Virginia is concerned, unless it hastened the signing of the treaty of Fort Stanwix which forever ended the claims of the Six Nations to a single acre in West Virginia. Those northern warriors passed from our history for all time except that a few of them were at Point Pleasant in 1774 and took part in that hardfought battle.

In 1768 it was apparent to the Iroquois that they could not hold the vast country they had won by war. They might have kept it had they been brought face to face with redmen only, but they could not hope to make headway or even hold their own against white men. They saw the transalleghany region in Western Virginia slipping away from them, and they concluded that it would be the part of wisdom to make the best bargain they could, and let it go. The Six Nations of New York and the Shawnees, Mingoes and Delawares of Ohio on one side, and representatives of the English government on the other, met in 1768 at Fort Stanwix, now Rome, New York, and entered into a treaty by which the Indians deeded to the King of England (not to the Province of Virginia) all land between the Alleghany mountains and the Ohio river, not only in Western Virginia, but in Western Pennsylvania and in Eastern and Central Kentucky and Tennessee. The boundary was fixed as follows: South and East of a line beginning near Fort Stanwix, thence south to the Susquehanna, thence up the west branch and across to Kittanning on the Allegheny river, thence down that river and the Ohio

to the mouth of the Tennessee. Sixteen years later the Iroquois ceded their land west of the Ohio river to the United States.

By the treaty of Fort Stanwix the Iroquois title to lands now in West Virginia, west of the Alleghanies passed to the King of England; but this same land was Virginia's by right of its early charters. Here began a vexatious complication of titles which continued for generations. The British crown claimed the right to grant land west of the mountains, and did it in small as well as enormous tracts; but the Revolutionary war ended all claims of the crown, and made the state of Virginia the sole owner of vacant land. This is not the place for a further account of land titles in the state, but the matter will be discussed elsewhere in this book.

SETTLEMENTS EAST OF THE ALLEGHANIES

It is not possible to say who were the earliest explorers of the region between the Alleghany mountains and the Blue Ridge in Virginia, if Governor Spotswood's companions in 1716 were not the first. There is no positive authority that they were not the first to pass the Blue Ridge, but it is extremely improbable that they were. Passages in Colonel William Byrd's account of the surveying of the boundary lines of the Fairfax lands which extended from low down the Potomac river to the headwaters of Cheat river, in Tucker county, indicate a probability that explorers had been at least as far as Jefferson county as early as 1700. Old settlers, as is shown in affidavits and other evidence quoted by Byrd, knew something of the country about the mouth of the Shenandoah river. Naturally such would be the case. It is well known that adventurers and wanderers nearly always push into unknown regions a good deal in advance of travelers who keep diaries. A map of the region by Hermann Moll, apparently made in 1708, shows the junction of the Shenandoah and Potomac rivers; but there is reason to believe that the map was not as early as the date would indicate, and it should be received in evidence with caution, if it is intended to fix earliest dates of exploration. The expedition led by Governor Spotswood in 1716 was political. It was the first step taken by Virginia to push west and counteract the influence of the French who were executing their plan of holding the Ohio and Mississippi valleys and thereby shutting the English colonies within the region east of the mountains. It is evidence of the remarkable ignorance of the geography of the transmontane country of that time that Governor Spotswood hoped to penetrate to Lake Erie, and he persuaded himself that he was actually within sight of the lake, or at least was near enough to have seen it if he had climbed a certain mountain which he saw, although at his farthest point west he only reached the Shenandoah river.

Accounts generally agree that the first colonists fixed themselves west of the Blue Ridge in what is now West Virginia about 1730. Whether the precise time was a little before or a little later is not a vital matter, nor is it now within the range of probability that the exact date of the building of the first cabin in the region can ever be known, if Morgan Morgan's, near the present village of Bunker Hill in Berkeley county, in 1726, was not the first. No historian claims that there was any earlier, and Morgan is usually named as the first white man to make a home within the limits of West Virginia. Settlers followed pretty rapidly after that. Some of the first were Germans from Pennsylvania.

William Mayo's Exploration—A surveying party was led by William Mayo in 1735, nine years after the first known cabin was built west of the Blue Ridge through territory now forming six West Virginia coun-

ties, and into two others. The counties are Jefferson, Berkeley, Morgan, Hampshire, Mineral, Grant, Tucker and Preston. The map of the region which was made by Mayo in 1737 from the notes preserved of his survey and of other surveys made about the same time, throws a good deal of light on the state of knowledge of the region at that time. One is tempted to doubt that so much information could have been acquired by settlers in the short period of from five to ten years after the first cabin was built west of the Blue Ridge. Mayo gave the names of places as though they were well known. Among the points shown on that map, which should be regarded as a remarkable historical document relating to the region, were the following:

About eight miles above the present site of Harper's Ferry a road is laid down, striking northeastward into Maryland, and inscribed "wagon road to Philadelphia." That was doubtless the route by which the settlers had come into the valley, and it indicates that they did not come on packhorses, as was usually the case with the pioneers of that time who entered a new country. Three water-courses further west are laid down, with the names which they still carry, "Opeckon creek," "Cacapehon," and "Little Cacapehon." The spelling has been changed, but the map affords evidence that the region was fairly well known at that time. The names are known to be Indian words, and it is not improbable that Mayo learned the geographic names from Indians who were with him. The Potomac above Harper's Ferry he called "Cohungaruton," which was its Indian name. On Moll's map, referred to in a preceding paragraph, the stream, even as far down as the present site of Washington, is called Turkey Buzzard river. Mayo calls the South Branch "Wappacomo," also an Indian name. Nearly opposite the South Branch's mouth, but a little above, the map locates "Shanno Indian Old Fields Deserted." The first word is evidently meant for Shawnee. The name is spelled many ways by old writers. Between the present towns of Cumberland, Maryland, and Keyser, West Virginia, are other "Shanno Old Fields Deserted." He named Savage river which empties into the North Branch of the Potomac at Bloomington, Maryland, but the map adds to the first name "also North Fork." That indicates but does not prove that the stream was already known as North Fork before he renamed it from a member of his surveying party whose name was Savage. Mr. Mayo shows "Allagany mountain" on his map, but the ridge which is so named was not the Alleghany, but a geological freak now called Backbone mountain in its southwestern extension, and Savage mountain in its northeastern. Surveyor Mayo was excusable for the mistaken identity of the mountain. He had passed the main Alleghany range without suspecting it, for the North branch, which Mayo was following toward its source, heads west of the Alleghany axis, and has cut a mighty gap through the range. He passed through that gap, not suspecting that a mountain had been cut asunder. When the surveyors reached the source of the North branch they stood on the divide separating the Potomac waters from those which flowed westward into Cheat river, and thence to the Mississippi. Mayo knew that he had reached waters flowing westward, but it is not known how much farther west he went, but probably not far. The point which he reached is now the common corner of Maryland and West Virginia, and of the four counties, Grant, Tucker, Preston, and Garrett. The last named is in Maryland.

Mayo was settling the boundaries of Lord Fairfax's estate. His grant called for the fountain of the Potomac. The surveyors thought they had found it, but they had missed it fully fifty miles. They should have ascended the South instead of the North branch of the Potomac, for it is longer and larger. There have been generations of

controversy regarding the matter, but the corner stone where Mayo located it has remained. The chief interest in the matter, as far as it concerned the early settlement of the region, is the light the surveyors' notes throw on the knowledge possessed of the region at that time, when the rush of settlers was beginning to pass the Blue Ridge. It is worthy of note that with all of Mayo's care in giving names to rivers and mountains, he passed by one of the most noted streams in this country—for one of its size, probably the most famous—and made no note of it. The stream was Wills Creek, and it empties into the Potomac at Cumberland, Maryland. It is not on Mayo's map. Yet within twenty years of that time it became a great military highway.

An extract from the "Proceedings of the Commissioners to lay out the Northern Neck," is quoted as follows in the second volume of Colonel William Byrd's History of Virginia:

"According to the order of the Virginia Commissioners Major Mayo formed a very elegant map of the whole Northern Neck by joining all the particular surveys together. In this map were very neatly and very plainly delineated the several branches of the Rappahannock river quite up to the several sources, together with all the creeks that flow into the same on either side. The river Potomac was likewise therein traced with great exactness from its mouth up to the forks, a little beyond the Blue Ridge of mountains, and from thence up the North Branch, called Cohungaruton, quite away to the head springs thereof, with all the waters that discharge themselves into it. And the distance Cohungaruton runs from its confluence with the Sharando [Shenandoah] is, according to the meanders thereof, 206 miles to its fountain. From the hills out of which the river arises may be seen other waters which run westward and may be the springs of one of the branches of the Mississippi, probably that commonly called Allegany. * * * Neither the unexpected distance nor the danger of being doubly starved by hunger and the excessive cold, could in the least discourage them from going through with their work, though at one time they were almost reduced to the necessity of cutting up the most useless person among them, Mr. Savage, in order to support and save the lives of the rest. But Providence prevented that dreadful blow by an unexpected supply another way, and so the blind surveyor escaped."

During the survey of the lands of Lord Fairfax, he was represented by Mr. Savage and Mr. Winslow, and the King of England by Major Mayo and Mr. Brooks. Savage river was named for the "blind surveyor." The Baltimore & Ohio railroad, between Piedmont, West Virginia, and Deer Park, Maryland, passes in sight of the stream for a considerable distance.

The Tide of Settlers—The Mayo survey in 1735 made known something of the lands and watercourses in the region through which his party passed, if most of the details were not already known. There can be no reasonable doubt that white men had followed many of the watercourses before Mayo's survey, but in most instances, if such instances existed, history has left no record. The tradition seems well founded that John Van Meter whose descendants subsequently settled in the region, was on the upper waters of the South Branch, in what is now Pendleton county, ten years before Mayo's expedition. He accompanied a war party of Indians through that country, and was so impressed with the fertility of the land that he represented it to his relatives who afterwards located in Hardy county, and some of their descendants live there yet.

The next account of the settlements in the valleys west of the Shenandoah was written by George Washington in his diary during his surveying work for Lord Fairfax in 1748. Living on Patterson creek, and on

the South Branch, in the present counties of Hampshire, Hardy and Grant were many families, but the exact number cannot be given, for no census or other list has been preserved. Washington mentioned by name eighteen families, and his surveyor's notes indicate that land was laid off for as many more. Over the mountains toward the east from the South Branch, Washington's diary tells a more precise story of the settlements, for he named more people and surveyed a greater number of farms for settlers. A number of these were on Lost River in the present county of Hardy. Not only were considerable numbers of settlers mentioned by name, but Washington spoke of large companies following the surveyors, day after day, through the woods. They could not or would not speak English, but when addressed, they replied in German. Washington said they spoke Dutch, and it is probable that some or most of them spoke that language instead of German, for the South Branch had Hollanders very early, and their descendants have always been prominent citizens in the region. It is known, also, that many Pennsylvania Germans came into that country. Washington gave names of Germans, Hollanders, English, and Scotch or Irish. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians had not yet appeared in that country, at least not in large numbers. The journals of German missionaries who were very early in Grant and Pendleton counties, visiting the scattered members of their church, show that the prevailing language was German. That, however, may be true only as far as the missionaries left records, and it is probable that they sought out people of their own tongue only, and passed others by without mentioning them. The accounts they have left of their meetings speak of small congregations, and very little religious sentiment.

Many of the settlers whose land Washington surveyed were tenants of Lord Fairfax. They did not own the ground on which they lived. The old records of Hampshire county, which, however, are not as old as the surveys which Washington records in his diary, speak of "lease and release," which is equivalent to a deed; but in most instances in early times in that region, the farms were occupied by tenants of Lord Fairfax. A more particular account of land titles is given elsewhere in this book. The southwestern line of the Fairfax land cut the present county of Grant in half. The upper half, and all of Pendleton county, were outside of the Fairfax lands, and he never had any tenants there.

The lower part of the Shenandoah valley in which the counties of Jefferson and Berkeley lie, was colonized a little earlier than the six other counties of West Virginia, east of the Alleghanies. The immigrants to a large extent came from Pennsylvania, and appear to have been men of means. They had wagons, and they speedily cleared farms. When they came into the region the land was in the act of relapsing into forest, since the annual Indian fires had stopped. As the years went by the clearing of the land became more laborious, because the trees increased in size rapidly. Grass grew luxuriantly, and cattle were numerous. The Indians' claim to the land had been bought, and Governor Gouch of Virginia granted large tracts of the land to pretty much any one who asked for it. Colonel King Carter succeeded in procuring fifty thousand acres in one body; a young woman donned man's attire, and by changing her name often, was successful in acquiring several tracts of fine land; but one of the most thrifty of all who were recorded in the early annals, was a cattle owner who gave human names to his cattle, and was granted a farm for each one of them. It was a quick and easy way of acquiring land, and the fine limestone soil of the Shenandoah valley went fast. People poured from the north and the east. The land policy of the Virginia government did not seem to come in for much criticism. That a stockman could manage to secure a farm apiece for his steers was

probably regarded as something to laugh over. There was a world of land waiting for settlers, and a quick and short process of giving title was looked upon as good business—and it was. The Virginians were always liberal in their land policy. They had much land to give, because their frontier line moved west year by year, and they gave generously, and thereby helped to people the wilderness with farmers instead of with traders and adventurers as the French had done further north and west. It was fortunate that Virginia secured clear title to the land between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies, by the treaty with the northern Indians in 1722. The great drawback was Lord Fairfax's grant. He claimed most of the land in the Shenandoah valley and westward to the Alleghany mountains, and was ambitious to hold it perpetually in one vast estate, as was the custom in England. When the Governor of Virginia began to make land grants west of the Blue Ridge, litigation followed. Lord Fairfax attempted to dispossess the claimants, and they resisted in the courts of law. The history of that phase of settlement between the Alleghany mountains and the Blue Ridge need not be further given here. Lord Fairfax inherited his land from those who had received it as a grant from the English crown. After the close of the Revolutionary war, Virginia favored the tenants on Lord Fairfax's estate, virtually confiscating the land that the tenants might procure titles to what they lived on.

The arrival of the Scotch-Irish immigrants in the Shenandoah valley affected what is now West Virginia little at first. Some of them located in the lower part of the valley, in Jefferson and Berkeley counties, but most went further south and settled near the head of the valley.

The settlement of the part of West Virginia east of the Alleghany mountains may be considered to extend from about 1730 to the outbreak of the French and Indian war. There were many districts of considerable extent which had few or no inhabitants at the close of the period named; but everyone of the eight counties, as their boundaries now exist, had substantial settlements. The larger valleys were agricultural centers, but for lack of transportation facilities, no farm products were sent far from home. Road building had made some headway, because a considerable number of wagons were on the South Branch in 1755, and a region with wagons has also some sort of roads. It is known, however, that roads between the South Branch and the Shenandoah valley were very poor, because Braddock had to build a road much of the way when he moved his army toward the west in the summer of 1755. The population of the eight counties, or the region which now includes the eight counties, east of the Alleghanies, is not known in the year 1755, for that was before the days of census taking. The only key to the size of the population is the militia lists, and they are so fragmentary that little dependence can be placed in them.

In 1754 there were enough people upon the waters of the upper Potomac for a county, and Hampshire was accordingly created, with the seat of justice at Romney, where it has remained ever since. The earliest records were kept at the residence of Lord Fairfax, in what is now Clark county, Virginia, but the first court, of which any known record exists, was held June 11, 1755. The place is not mentioned, but tradition says it was held in Pearsall's fort which stood on a bluff overlooking the South Branch, a half mile or more above the present town of Romney. At that very time Braddock's army was on the march through the settlements on its way to death and disaster twenty-eight days later on the banks of the Monongahela. The first court in the first county wholly in West Virginia territory was thus held under circumstances which gave little promise of good for the immediate future. Not only did Hampshire

county include nearly all of the present territory of West Virginia, east of the Alleghanies, but it extended across the mountains and included a small part of Tucker county. In fact, Hampshire county when it was formed was defined by giving it the boundary lines of the Fairfax land grant along the north and west. When William Mayo surveyed the Fairfax lands in 1735, he was doing more than that. He was fixing the boundary between Virginia and Maryland from Harper's Ferry to the head of the North Branch in Tucker county, and he was also fixing the northern, western, and southwestern lines of the first West Virginia county, Hampshire.

TRANSALLEGHANY SETTLEMENTS

The taking possession of the land west of the Alleghany mountains was a transaction apart from the settlement of the country between those mountains and the Blue Ridge. It was distinct in point of time, for it did not begin until after the colonization of the eastern region was in a measure complete. The territory now included in West Virginia's eight eastern counties was already occupied by white men at the beginning of the French and Indian war; that west of the mountains was yet vacant at that time.

The Mountain Barrier—In the chapter of this book dealing with the Indian occupancy of West Virginia's territory, reference was made to the barrier interposed by the Appalachian range of mountains, which include the main Alleghany, and many parallel or closely related ranges. The Indians found it necessary to pick their paths leading from one side to the other, because of the interminable and almost impassable forests of laurel, spruce, and other wild growth covering the sides and slopes of the mountains. It was not absolutely impossible for a woodsman on foot to work his way through, but it was nearly so. The Indians, therefore, made narrow paths through the woods, and thus passed single file to and fro across the mountains. There were not more than half a dozen such paths, so far as is now known, crossing the mountain barrier in West Virginia in the whole distance of two hundred miles from north to south.

If the Indians who were as skillful as the wild beasts of the jungle in negotiating tangled forests, found the Alleghany fastnesses a match for them, the white man was handicapped in a yet greater degree, for he had horses and cattle with household goods while the Indian who preceded him had no four-footed animal except the dog, and he transported no property but what he carried on his back or loaded on the back of his squaw. Civilization does not go far without roads, and the white man who had moved up to the eastern foot of the mountain barrier, reached the end of the roads, and was brought to a stop at the mountain's base.

The barrier which crossed Western Virginia extended hundreds of miles further north and as far south, ending in the Carolinas and in New York. It could be passed only with great difficulty anywhere, but it was much worse in some parts than in others. No river cut it entirely through in a way to open an easy passage between the east and the west. Those who crossed the ranges must climb. In the north, that is, in Western New York, the glacial boulders strewed the valleys and hills so thickly that a horse could scarcely pick its way among them. Otherwise, the passage was comparatively easy there. Further south, from Pennsylvania to the Carolinas, and, of course, crossing West Virginia, there were no glacial boulders, but to make up for them, the mountains were higher and steeper, and the forests denser and more tangled.

The history of the settlement of the two parts of West Virginia, east and west of the mountains, reveals what actually took place. The outposts

of civilization reached the Alleghany base in the valleys of the present counties of Pendleton, Grant, Hardy, Hampshire, and Mineral, about or soon after 1745. There they came to a stop, and there they remained a quarter of a century, their further westward progress barred by the mountains in front. The settlements rested, as it were, to gain strength for forcing the barrier which shut them away from the fertile lands beyond the ranges, where the rivers flowed the other way and fell into the Mississippi. The early court records of Hampshire county tell how the little known regions the other side of the summits which were visible upon the northwestern horizon, were viewed. The world seemed to those old pioneers divided into two parts. One part they could see. It extended to the mountains; but beyond that they called the region "the waters of the Mississippi." Again and again the records at Romney, written by the old clerk Gabriel Jones, use these words, "Hampshire county and the waters of the Mississippi." That was equivalent to designating the region beyond the ranges as the realm of the unknown. The old Roman geographers when they platted regions of which they knew nothing, wrote in large letters across the vacant spaces, *"Hic sunt leones"* (Here are lions). In the same way, the settlers east of the mountains at the time of the French and Indian war, and later, considered what lay beyond the western horizon as a land of lions—"an empire chartless, a realm unknown."

There can be no doubt that daring men crossed the ranges at times. Traders had done so for years in trafficking with western Indians; and land speculators had forced their way far back; and a man who had been with Indians—he never could tell just where—escaped from them and crossed from the Ohio river, right through the present center of West Virginia, toiled over the trackless Alleghanies, and came down in Hampshire county with stories of the western lands along Cheat river which ultimately led to their settlement in 1766 and 1769.

The nature of that mountain barrier, as it appeared to the pioneers who from their homes in Hampshire county looked longingly at the skyline in the west, and wished to go, can not now be appreciated by those who follow the well graded roads which cross the summits every few miles. The four or five old warpaths, abandoned by the Indians long before, were doubtless grown over with branches and briers until they were almost invisible in places. Heckwelder, the missionary, relates how, in following such a trail, he frequently was obliged to crawl on all-fours, like a beast, in order to get through at all. If the paths, the only highways which existed at that time, were in such a condition, it can be imagined what success would attend an effort to force a passage through the jungles where there never had been a path. Most of the old Indian trails are now followed by highways. The writer of this, after having crossed the mountains on the approximate routes of all the known Indian trails between Greenbrier county and the Pennsylvania line, undertook to cross where there was no trail and where forest conditions remained nearly as they always had been. The purpose of the undertaking was to see and experience the actual difficulties which explorers encountered, in pioneer days, when they got outside the Indian paths and undertook to force their way through the trackless Alleghany mountain thickets. Three days and two nights of hard labor were consumed in making less than ten miles. It was necessary at times to creep beneath the laurel on all fours, as Heckwelder did, and at times to walk upon the top of the tangled mass, touching the ground scarcely once to the hundred yards. That was doubtless what the usual experience was when settlers sought some new way across, or missed the Indian trails. It is not to be wondered at that when the frontier line of settlements moved westward across Hampshire county,

as it existed in 1755, and came face to face with the mountain barrier which blocked their further progress, that they stood still for twenty years before they accumulated sufficient strength and courage to carry them over to the west side, "the waters of the Mississippi." They had met no barriers in their progress west until they reached the Alleghanies, for, as is pointed out elsewhere in this book, the mountains east of the Alleghanies are pierced by gaps and passes which rendered the scaling of the summits unnecessary.

The Transmontane Advance Guard—Early explorers, such as Christopher Gist and John Peter Salley, who penetrated to the Ohio river and beyond, did not attempt to make settlements west of the mountains in West Virginia, though Gist did in Pennsylvania. However, settlers began to penetrate the region very early. It is not now possible to say who was first in point of time, but among the first, of whom anything is known, were two men who were occupying a cabin in 1749 near where Marlinton, Pocahontas county, now stands. There is no known record of the time of their entrance into the Greenbrier valley, which thus became the first region to receive white settlers west of the Alleghany mountains in this state. Jacob Marlin and Stephen Sewell were the names of this advance guard of the transalleghany pioneers, and both have left their names in West Virginia. Marlinton perpetuates the memory of one, and Sewell mountain the other. The two men, thus living alone in the unbroken wilderness, agreed and were harmonious in all things except religion. On that subject their quarrels were so fierce that Sewell left the cabin to Marlin, and established himself near by in the trunk of a hollow tree. They got along better as neighbors than as occupants of the same house, and as long as they continued to live in sight of each other, each greeted the other with a friendly salutation every morning when they rose from their bear-skin beds and stepped outside their shelters. When John and Andrew Lewis reached the Greenbrier valley in 1751, to survey land, they found the two men, one living in the cabin and the other occupying the hollow tree. Sewell finally made up his mind to take himself further from civilization, and trussing up his belongings, and lifting them to his shoulders, he picked up his rifle, and departed to return no more. It was subsequently learned that he had gone about fifty miles further west, perhaps within the borders of Fayette county, where Indians killed him. These men's cabin in Pocahontas county stood near one branch of the Great Iroquois warpath which led from New York to Carolina, and which was called the Seneca trail where it crossed the Alleghany mountains in West Virginia.

Soon after Marlin and Sewell took up their abode on the Greenbrier river, two families built cabins in Tygart's valley in Randolph county, about sixty miles from their nearest neighbors on the Greenbrier and forty or fifty miles from those in the present county of Pendleton. The Tygart's valley settlers were Robert Files and David Tygart with their families. Files built his cabin where Beverly now stands; Files creek bears his name. Tygart gave his name to the river, located three miles above Files. There is no account which tells when those people located there, but it was as early as the spring of 1753, and it may have been long before. They had selected a beautiful valley, and had built their cabins on the richest land; but they located in an exceedingly dangerous place. The great Seneca warpath passed near their cabins, and they could not hope to escape discovery by passing bands of Indians. They doubtless counted upon the friendship of the savages. They must have known that the Indians were friendly with settlers east of the mountains, and supposed the same relationship would exist west of the range; but they did not duly consider the fact that the savages had sold the land east of the

Alleghanies and recognized the rights of white men to live on it, but had not sold the land west, and did not admit that settlers had any right to occupy it. The Indians soon discovered the cabins, and murdered Files, his wife, and five children; but Tygart had warning, and fled with his family, escaping into Pendleton county by crossing the Alleghanies by an obscure path, doubtless an Indian trail, which left Tygart valley a short distance above Beverly, crossed the head waters of Cheat river, and reached the Potomac waters at the site of Circleville, in the present county of Pendleton. That path was known as Fishinghawk trail for a hundred years. It was then widened for wheels, and is now called Fishinghawk road.

About the time of the first settlement in Tygart's valley, three men named Eckarly built a cabin in Preston county on Cheat river, two miles from Kingwood. The exact date is uncertain. The men were hiding in the woods to escape military duty, they being members of a religious organization called Dunkards, opposed to war. The place where they located is to this day called Dunkard bottom. A water course in Greene county, Pennsylvania, and in Monongalia county, West Virginia, is called Dunkard creek because the same three men camped there awhile before ascending Cheat river to the place of their settlement. As in the case of the cabins in Randolph and Pocahontas counties, the Eckarlys built theirs near an Indian trail, and on land still claimed by the Iroquois Indians. As might have been foreseen, the savages discovered the cabin and killed two of its occupants, but the third was absent and escaped.

Preparations had been made for colonizing a large tract on the Greenbrier river, which was granted to the Greenbrier Land Company sometime before, but the danger of hostilities with the Indians, as the French and Indian war drew near, put a stop to the movement of settlers, and the colony was not planted there until peace was restored. About the same time an effort was made to establish a colony of two hundred German families on the Ohio Company's lands between the Kanawha river and the Monongahela. The settlers were to come from Eastern Pennsylvania. All arrangements between the company and the Germans were satisfactory, but when the latter learned that they would be in the Province of Virginia, and that they must become members of the English Church or suffer persecution in the form of extra taxes laid on dissenters, they refused to go, and the Ohio Company's colonization scheme failed. Another effort to colonize lands west of the Alleghany mountains, and from which much might have come, failed also. In 1752 the House of Burgesses of Virginia, offered ten years' exemption from taxes to all Protestant settlers who would take up their homes west of the Alleghany mountains in Augusta county—which county at that time included practically the whole of what is now West Virginia, between the mountains and the Ohio river. The period of exemption was afterward extended to fifteen years, but the war with the French and their Indian allies put a stop to all colonization schemes for a long time. Virginia soon had enough on her hands taking care of a long frontier of exposed settlements, and was not disposed to increase her difficulties and add to responsibilities by advancing that frontier a hundred miles further west. The war which followed drove every white man from the region between the mountains and the Ohio river, as far as records show. The efforts to plant settlements in the country had been few and far apart, and at the breaking out of the war there were probably less than one hundred acres of cultivated land in this state, west of the Alleghanies, and at the close of the war, in 1759, there was not known to be one acre. The frontier line had been badly broken up as far east as Hampshire county

Tomahawk Right Settlers—After the close of the French and Indian

war came a period in the affairs of Western Virginia which may be designated as the time of the homestead settlers, although if the term is not explained, it may be misleading. Homesteads were not granted at that time in the same way that they were in later years by the Federal government. After the old war, when it seemed to the common people that Indians would no longer trouble the region between the mountains and the Ohio river, a belief prevailed that whoever settled on land and improved it, could have it. It is difficult to determine at the present time on just what laws, proclamations, or promises that expectation was based. Perhaps it had about the same sort of foundation as that on which the ex-slaves in the South at the close of the Civil war based their expectations that every colored man was to receive a free gift of "forty acres and a mule."

The faith of the pioneers was so firm that they would obtain the land on which they made improvements west of the mountains, that thousands of them proceeded as if there was a statute already on the books to that effect. There was no such statute then, but one answering to it came in afterwards and most of the homesteaders finally got their land if they lived faithfully up to what was popularly known as the "tomahawk right." This was really not a right, but if the custom had continued long enough, it might have become one by common law—that is, if it had existed "since a time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." But the tomahawk right did not go back very far nor did it continue long. The writer has not been able to find any instance in West Virginia where land was claimed under a tomahawk right older than 1766, although there may be some older than that. The last of the claims based on the tomahawk right were not later than the year 1778.

The tomahawk right meant a small improvement of some sort to show that a man had stopped at that place and meant to stay. Some of the records in Monongalia county call it a "corn right," and some go farther and say that such a person is entitled to a certain tract "by virtue of raising a crop of corn in the year ———." It does not seem that any improvement was too small to be considered, or that a house was a necessary part of it, or that a certain period of occupancy was essential. Sometimes the claimant hacked a few trees near a spring with a hatchet or ax, and not much else. Again, he might cut his name or initials on the bark of trees, and that was deemed sufficient. A notion prevailed that the higher on the tree the name was carved, the stronger was the right which it conferred. Joseph Doddridge tells of men who climbed twenty or more feet up the tree trunks and cut their names, fancying that by so doing they were clearing their title of all adverse claims. The actual practice in most cases was for the claimant to build a cabin, clear land, and settle down to occupy permanently. If he changed his mind and wanted to move away he could usually sell his right—which was called not a "right" but a "settlement" in some of the records—to some one who took chances that a deed or patent would sometime be given for the land. In hundreds of instances the commissioners who were appointed by virtue of an act passed by the Virginia assembly in 1779 to adjust the claims of settlers, ordered patents issued to men who had bought the improvements of others. There seemed to be no limit to the number of such improvements a man might buy and obtain a patent for each one of them.

The tomahawk and corn rights had been accumulating since 1766 when in 1779 the general assembly passed an act entitled: "An act for adjusting and settling the titles of claimers to unpatented lands under the present and former governments, previous to the establishment of the Commonwealth's land office." The preamble to the act recites its purposes and

scope, and extracts from it follow, being quoted from the tenth volume of Hening's Statutes at Large.

"I. Whereas the various and vague claims to unpatented lands under the former and present governments, previous to the establishment of the Commonwealth's land office, may produce tedious and infinite litigation and disputes, and in the meantime purchasers may be discouraged from taking up lands upon the terms lately prescribed by law; and it is just and necessary, as well for the peace of individuals as for the public weal, that some certain rules should be established for settling and determining the rights to such lands, and fixing the principles upon which legal and just claimers shall be entitled to sue out grants, to the end that subsequent purchasers and adventurers may be enabled to proceed with greater certainty and safety: Be it enacted by the general assembly, that all surveys of waste and unappropriated lands made upon any of the western waters before the first day of January, in the year 1778, in accordance with the provisions of this act, shall be and are hereby declared good and valid.

"IV. And, whereas great numbers of people have settled in the country upon the western waters, upon waste and unappropriated lands, from which they have been hitherto prevented from suing out patents or obtaining legal titles by the King of Great Britain's proclamation or instructions to his governors, or by the late change of government, and the present war having delayed until now the opening of a land office, and the establishment of any certain terms for granting lands, and it is just that those settling under such circumstances should have some reasonable allowance for the charge and risk they have incurred, and that the property so acquired should be secured to them: Be it therefore enacted, that all persons who, at any time before the first day of January, 1778, have really and bona fide settled themselves or their families, or at his, her, or their charge, have settled others upon any waste or unappropriated lands on said western waters, to which no other person hath any legal right or claim, shall be allowed for every family so settled 400 acres of land, or such smaller quantity as the party may choose, to include such settlement.

"And if any such settlers shall desire to take up a greater quantity of land than is hereby allowed them, they shall on payment to the treasurer of the consideration money required from other purchasers, be entitled to the preemption of any greater quantity of land adjoining to that allowed them in consideration of settlement, not exceeding 1,000 acres, and to which no other person hath any legal right or claim."

The act defined the settlement and preemption rights, specified the manner in which grants might be obtained, what locations were entitled to preference, how warrants were to be issued, and money paid. The price which the state charged for land acquired by preemption was fixed at ten shillings, or about $1.66 for 100 acres. In order to determine conflicting claims, the counties on the western waters were allotted into districts, for each of which a tribunal of four commissioners was appointed. Settlers appeared before them at designated times and places and proved their claims. There were nine counties on the western waters at that time, Monongalia, Yohogania, Ohio, Augusta, Botetourt, Greenbrier, Washington, Montgomery, and Kentucky. More than half of this territory lay outside of the present limits of West Virginia. It included some of Pennsylvania, all of Kentucky, and a considerable portion of the present state of Virginia. The counties of Monongalia, Ohio, and Greenbrier covered most of West Virginia.

The number of claims thus adjusted in the present state of West Virginia is not known. Lists have never been published except in the case of Monongalia county. The Transallegheny Historical Magazine, published at Morgantown in 1901 and 1902, printed the summary of a manuscript of 442 pages, giving the names of those who perfected claims, the location of the land, and the quantity, with date of settlement. It is believed that Monongalia at that time contained about half of the tomahawk rights in West Virginia. Its area was about 8,485 square miles. From 1766 to 1777, inclusive of both years, there were 1,197 tomahawk rights which were established to the satisfaction of the commissioners. These rights, or they might properly be called homesteads, date as follows: In 1766, 7;

in 1767, 2; in 1768, 4; in 1769, 22; in 1770, 91; in 1771, 66; in 1772, 143; in 1773, 247; in 1774, 168; in 1775, 227; in 1776, 139; in 1777, 22; year uncertain, 59.

There is no information, except a fragment here and there, as to the number of settlers whose tomahawk right claims were rejected, or of the number that made homes west of the mountains and obtained title subsequently by purchase from Virginia at a price fixed at about a cent and a quarter per acre. There were pioneers on the Greenbrier river who bought their land from the Greenbrier company. This company's title was by grant dating before the French and Indian war. A considerable number of settlers moved into that region between 1759 and 1763. They were therefore earlier than any of the tomahawk right pioneers in the northern part of the state.

The First Seven—The first seven men who located on tomahawk claims in the northern part of the state, as the records show, did not build their cabins near together to form a colony or neighborhood, as might be supposed. They lived far apart, and visits from cabin to cabin could not have been frequent. Thomas Merrifield located on Horner's run in the present county of Marion. Richard Merrifield's place was on Lost run, the exact location being unknown, but near the present line separating Marion from Harrison county. Moses Templin was on the same water course, but it is not known how far from Richard Merrifield. All land locations, and reference to positions as fixed by surveyors of that time, were defined by water courses. The region was never surveyed by sections and townships, the lines running north and south and east and west, as was done west of the Ohio river, and no reference to latitude and longitude could be recorded in giving locations. It was therefore necessary to depend upon natural objects such as streams, hills, rocks and trees to fix locations.

James Workman, one of the first seven who dated their claims from 1766, built his cabin on the banks of the Little Kanawha river in the present county of Gilmer. His little hut was the farthest outpost of civilized man west of the Alleghany mountains in Virginia at that time, as far as we know. His nearest neighbor was forty or fifty miles distant. It is not known why he pushed so far into the wilderness; but the same inquiry might be made of many others who separated themselves from their fellowmen and buried their cabins in unbroken forests which stretched days' journeys on every side. They need not have done so, for land just as good as they found could have been had much nearer the settlements. The Anglo-Saxons were always a land-hungry people, and that hunger increased in proportion as the opportunities to satisfy it expanded. Lord Dunmore left record in one of his letters that the western settlers always fancied that richer land lay a little farther on.

John Crouch was another of the first seven tomahawk right men. His location was in the present county of Tucker where the town of Parsons now stands, at the forks of Cheat river. He was a Welshman whose descendants have always been influential people in the region. He lived a few years at the forks of Cheat river and sold his claim to Adam Hyder and moved forty miles further and located again, this time in Tygart's valley near the present town of Huttonsville. He died before the Revolutionary war, and his son John inherited his estate under the English law of primogeniture, as is shown by a reference to the matter in the early records of Randolph county. The son fought Indians and faced that peril for years, only to fall a victim in his own dooryard to the bite of a rattlesnake.

William Roberts made his improvement at Dunkard bottom in Preston county where the unfortunate Eckarlys met their fate some years before.

It is not improbable that this man was one of the settlers driven from home by soldiers from Pittsburgh in 1768, by British orders, but he returned. A fine river bottom of several hundred acres tempted Roberts to try his fortune there, even if an Indian path which crossed Cheat river at that place made the situation dangerous. However, Roberts escaped all perils, and finally received title to the land.

Twenty-five miles west of Dunkard bottom Nicholas Decker built a cabin on a creek which still bears his name, in Monongalia county.

The first seven were located in six present counties, Tucker, Preston, Monongalia, Marion, Harrison and Gilmer. Northward in Pennsylvania a comparatively large number of settlers had located. Pittsburgh, then called Fort Pitt, was a strong military post, and it was from that place in 1766 and later that soldiers were sent southward to drive out settlers who had located on lands claimed by the Iroquois Indians. It is not known how far into the present territory of West Virginia they penetrated, but it is reasonably certain that they did not find any of the seven first settlers who entered the region that year, unless it was Roberts at Dunkard bottom.

Later Settlements—More space has been given to an account of the earliest settlements west of the mountains than the actual number of settlers would seem to warrant. A count of all who located between the Alleghanies and the Ohio river prior to 1767 would show a very small number. More immigrants crossed the mountains in a single month in some of the succeeding years than in the entire period from 1749, when the first came, to 1766 inclusive. It was not numbers that gave importance to the first pioneers in the region, but the fact that they were blazing the way for those who came after. All entered by the same few paths, and all took up land and cleared it in the same way. The history of trail blazers who came first is an epitome of later pioneer history. It is not practicable after 1766 to deal minutely with the movements of individual immigrants or to chronicle the names of the ever-increasing numbers; but it must suffice, after that date, to consider the settlements by regions and sections rather than as the achievements of individuals.

James Parsons and several of his kinsmen crossed the Alleghanies in 1769 and made a settlement on Cheat river, in Tucker county, five miles below Crouch's cabin which is mentioned in a former paragraph. By 1774 this settlement was strong enough to build a fort in a bend of the river, called the Horse Shoe. In that fort the people sought shelter at the outbreak of the Dunmore war. There is no account that the fort or the settlement was attacked, but such was the state of alarm that the newly-cleared fields were abandoned, and the entire body of settlers retreated over the Alleghanies to Hampshire county. An Indian trail crossed Cheat river at the point where the settlement was made, and this was a constant reminder of peril, and probably had much to do with the abandonment of the colony. Negro slaves cleared some of the first fields at the Horse Shoe, having been sent on ahead of their masters to do the work preparatory to planting a crop in 1769. That is believed to have been the first employment of slaves west of the mountains in Virginia. The negroes took a wagon with them across the mountain, over a narrow path. It was taken apart and carried piece at a time over the steepest and narrowest parts of the trail. It is claimed that it was the first wheeled vehicle west of the mountains in Virginia. It is of interest to note that the farm where slaves cleared the first field in 1769 was cultivated by slaves, in unbroken line of descent from the first, until the Civil war set them free—a period of about ninety-five years. The first of these slaves was owned by James Parsons, the last by William R. Parsons, a descendant of the first.

At the close of the Dunmore war the Cheat river colony returned from Hampshire county, accompanied by many new settlers. The leader

this time was not James Parsons, as in 1769, but John Minear, a Pennsylvania German who had settled in Hampshire county before crossing the mountains. He built a fort on the site of St. George, Tucker county, in which the people gathered in times of danger. The foundation of the fort was yet visible in 1856. He carried on pack horses across the Alleghanies in 1776 the irons for a sawmill, the first, perhaps, west of the mountains in Virginia. Some of the irons did service 120 years, and some of the mill's foundation logs were in place and sound a century after they were laid.

Some years before the settlement was made on Cheat river by James Parsons, three men crossed the river there on an exploring expedition westward, and two of them became the earliest settlers in the present county of Upshur, and the other, John Simpson, one of the first in Harrison county. He had a camp on the site of Clarksburg in 1765, but there is no record that he claimed it as a tomahawk right. The other men were brothers, John and Samuel Pringle, who deserted in 1761 from the garrison of Fort Pitt, and for four years remained concealed in the woods, part of the time in Fayette county, Pennsylvania, and afterwards in the glades of Preston county, West Virginia, on the headwaters of the Youghiogheny river. John Simpson fell in with them there. He was one of a number of hunters from Hampshire county who trapped fur animals in that region. The hunters reached it by following an Indian path, afterwards known as the McCullough trail. The deserters grew uneasy and decided to move farther from civilization and danger of arrest. Simpson accompanied them until they reached Cheat river at the Horse Shoe where four years later James Parsons' slaves cleared the first cornfield in that valley. A quarrel here took place between the deserters on one side and Simpson on the other, and they parted company, the latter, as already stated, going to the mouth of Elk creek in the present county of Harrison. The Pringles pushed west across what is now Barbour county, and near the site of Buckhannon, in Upshur county, they took up their abode in the trunk of a hollow sycamore tree. That was some twenty-five or thirty miles from John Simpson's camp, but it is not known that there was any communication between the two camps, though both remained where they were, only a day's journey apart, until the region about them and between them began to be settled, five or six years later. Samuel Pringle lived in that vicinity at least thirty-eight years after he made his first camp in the sycamore tree, for his name occurs frequently in the court records up to that time, but not later, and it is presumed that about 1803 he was gathered to his fathers.

About 1769 settlers began to occupy the fertile bottom lands of Upshur, Harrison, Lewis, and Barbour counties, and in the spring of 1774, when the Dunmore war came on, cabins dotted the country from the Pennsylvania line southward to the heads of the various branches of the Monongahela river, and from the base of the Alleghany mountains to the divide between the western branches of the Monongahela and streams flowing westward to the Ohio. The lists of those who lost their lives at the hands of savages in 1774 in the region, affords proof that settlements were well dispersed over Monongalia county's whole area of more than eight thousand square miles, as fixed by the boundaries two years later. The Chief Logan's party alone killed thirty persons, most of whom lived in the area now embraced in Harrison and Marion counties. It has been estimated that Monongalia county—or the area which two years later embraced the county—had a population of 3,750 persons in 1774. That was perhaps about one-half of the entire population at that time of the part of West Virginia between the mountains and the Ohio river. It was a small population to meet the Indian attacks which were at hand.

While settlers' cabins were dotting the valleys of a region exceeding eight thousand square miles in Monongalia county, a serious work of colonization was in progress west and north of the Monongalia line. That county had a frontage of fifty miles on the Ohio river, from midway the present county of Jackson north to Pleasants county. Settlements had reached the mouth of the Little Kanawha in 1774; but north and west of Monongalia, for more than a hundred miles along the Ohio river, lay Ohio county, which was a center of settlements only a little later than its sister county, Monongalia.

About 1769 Ebenezer Zane made a settlement at Wheeling, where a strong colony soon established itself and became one of the most important posts on the western frontier. Only the river separated it from the Indian country of Ohio. The colony was planted in time of peace, and for about five years there was no trouble with Indians. When danger appeared, a fort was built in which the people retired in times of peril. Fort Henry, named from Patrick Henry, but first named Fort Fincastle, stood there, and about it centered some of the severest fighting of the Indian wars which began in 1777. Ohio county's settlements did not suffer severely in the Dunmore war of 1774, because the movement of armies south of that region attracted the savages elsewhere. Growth of the colony, if detached settlements and scattered cabins may be called a colony, was rapid during the early years.

The valley of the Greenbrier river was the center of the settlements south of Monongalia county. Colonization was earlier there than on the Ohio and the Monongahela; but the first large settlement was broken up in 1763 by Indians during the Pontiac war. When peace was restored, old settlers who had escaped returned, and many new came with them. Numerous cabins occupied the valleys of Greenbrier and Pocahontas counties by 1774, and solitary settlers were as far west as Gauley river in Webster county and Kelly's creek in Kanawha county. Soon after the close of the Dunmore war the frontier advanced rapidly toward the Ohio.

The Bulltown Massacre—An incident connected with the early settlements in Western Virginia belongs to the period before the Dunmore war. The first white men's cabins have received mention; and also the first appearance of negro slaves west of the mountains in Virginia; but there was another settlement as worthy of record as any of the others. It was a small colony of Indians from Western New York under the leadership of a chief named Bull. They moved into the present county of Braxton in 1768 and located at a salt spring on a branch of the Little Kanawha river, and it has been said they engaged in manufacturing salt. It is not probable that they made much more than enough to supply their own wants, for purchasers were not within trading distance. A few years later, however, they sold a little salt to white settlers who visited their town to buy the article. In 1772 a German named Stroud, who lived with his family in the present territory of Webster county, went to Bulltown to buy salt from the Indians. In his absence, a party of Indians murdered his family and burned his house. He made his way to the nearest white settlement, in Lewis county, and gave the alarm, and expressed his belief that the Indian saltmakers had done the deed. The expression of a suspicion was all the suggestion needed by the frontiersmen. Five of them armed themselves and falling upon the saltmakers by surprise murdered them all, men, women, and children, and concealed their bodies. It was nearly half a century before the mystery of the murder of the Indians was cleared up, for the five frontiersmen denied that they knew anything about it. One of them, when a very old man, and on his deathbed, confessed the crime, and related the particulars of the massacre.

Immediately after the disappearance of the Indians, the salt springs and the land about them were taken possession of by pioneers from Harrison county, as is shown by the record of tomahawk rights. Title to the land was acquired in that way, and salt was manufactured there in commercial quantity for many years. The postoffice Bulltown in the vicinity commemorates the name of the chief who made salt at that place.

CHAPTER IV

BUFFALO PATHS AND EARLY ROADS

It has been supposed by some that the principal highways in West Virginia were built upon old buffalo paths. There is a little truth and a great deal of error in that belief. The remark of Thomas Benton that the buffalo blazed the routes of railroad is probably responsible for the widespread belief that those animals were surveyors of a high order and selected the best possible routes for highways wherever their travels led them. There is no reason to doubt that some of the roads in West Virginia follow for considerable distances paths which buffaloes once traveled; but the fact that the road follows the old line of the path should be credited to the Indian and not the buffalo, but no great credit is due to either in many instances. Both the buffalo and the Indian sought the best gaps and passes through mountain ranges, and road engineers did the same when they came to lay out permanent highways. That accounts for the fact that in comparing the whole length of a well-surveyed road, if it is a long one and through a rough region, with an old Indian or buffalo path trending in the same general direction, it will be found that the road and the path coincide pretty generally in the mountain passes. They thus start from and reach the same widely separated points; but that is the extent of their agreement. The road may cross the path many times, or may parallel it.

There is a remarkable difference between paths made by buffaloes and those made by Indians. The pioneers knew one from the other. The buffalo's path is much straighter than an Indian's. The brute possessed in a high degree the faculty of walking in a straight course without turning to the right or left, despite obstacles in the way. It has been so long since these animals roamed through West Virginia's hills that their paths have been totally obliterated, except possibly at one place in Webster county, and it is no longer possible to determine whether they walked in lines straight or crooked; but in regions where paths remain, their directness is one of the first things to impress one who sees them for the first time. They hold that course, up hill and down, across slopes and along the level, down the almost precipitous sides of ravines and straight up the opposite sides, across swamps and rivers, up cliffs so steep that it seems impossible that a creature so large could climb them, and down others no less precipitous. Whether the buffaloes once in West Virginia traveled in that way is not known. The dense forests and fallen timber must at times have turned them aside, if nothing else did. They traveled from pasture to pasture, and from one salt lick to another.

The Indian's path was different. It was crooked when it might have been straight. He held to a general course, but the track of a snake in the dust is the best comparison for an Indian path. If the ground is rough, the trail winds and turns to pick the smoothest way; if it is swampy, the path makes infinite twists and horseshoes to find the dry places. Even where the way is level and smooth, the Indian—like the white man—makes a crooked path.

There is no question that buffaloes were in West Virginia when white men came. If all the mention of the animal in early books and recollections were collected, they would make it clear that the buffalo was in every part of the region. The number of Buffalo creeks and Buffalo licks in the

state is proof of that. It would be made equally certain that the animal was not abundant here at that time of the white man's coming. There were no herds. Mention was seldom made of more than one in a place. Large numbers could not have existed in a region as completely forested as Virginia was between the Ohio river and the mountains; for the buffalo is a grass eater. There is abundance of reason for believing that it had not been long in the region. The Indian was here before, if the evidence has not been misunderstood. Early accounts of this region speak many times of Indian paths, but seldom of buffalo roads.

The Earliest Highways—Dismissing the Indian trails and buffalo paths for the present from consideration, the pioneer's earliest roads are objects of interest. The settlers, of course, made use of such paths as they found. In most cases, there were no paths until white men made them. It is difficult to appreciate at this day the difficulties which the pioneers overcame in the one problem of roads. They found tangled woods and steep hills everywhere. In Eastern Virginia near the coast the woods were so open that a wagon could be driven nearly anywhere; but that condition did not prevail west of the mountains. Fallen trunks and tangled briers covered the ground, and dense crowns and interwoven branches hid the sky. There was plenty of room for a man on foot to pass between standing trees, and a horse could usually do so, but the understory of young growth was often nearly impenetrable. The view was generally limited to a few rods, and the woodsman groped his way until he had laid out paths to lead him from one point to another.

The earliest highways were the woods themselves, for there were no paths until somebody made them. Before trails were laid out, courses were marked by blazed trees. Paths were often called "blazes," long after the blazed trees were needed as a guide. In 1793 a Randolph county surveyor was ordered to make a road "along Currence's blazes square across the valley." The Indians never blazed trees to mark a way, but white men did so as a rule if they expected to travel the way often. In old road records the terms "beech blazes," "poplar blazes," "maple blazes," and others of that kind are sometimes met with. To prevent confusion, the path leading to one place was marked with blazed beech trees only; another path had blazes only on yellow poplar, and paths leading in still other directions were marked by blazing other tree species. The tree thus blazed gave a local name to the path it marked. A traveler wishing to go to a certain place would be told to follow the "beech blazes." If he found himself on a path marked with blazed trees of any other species than beech, he knew he was wrong, and set about to pick up again the beech blazed track.

The pioneers in their hunting and exploring excursions found it necessary many times to journey long distances through forests with no blazed trees or other markings by man to guide them. They were, under such circumstances, forced to depend upon their skill and experience in woodcraft to take them safely to their destination. If they knew the course they wished to go, their guides were the sun by day and the stars by night; but frequently everything above the tops of the trees was hidden in clouds or fog, and the course could not be laid by help of celestial bodies.

The belief has been almost universal that the pioneer woodsman guided his courses north, south, east, or west by noting the bark and branches of trees, and the moss on stones, logs, and stumps. That delusion has been worked overtime. It is not totally untrue that men do or ever did pick their course by the aid of such signs, but it has been rarely done. Very few woodsmen claim to be able to do it generally, and reliable books on woodcraft do not cite many instances in which it has been done. The claim put forth is that the bark on the north side of a tree is rougher and

darker in color than that on the south side; that the branches are larger and more numerous on the south side than on the north; and that more moss grows on the north than on the south side of stones, stumps, and logs. It may be stated as a general answer to these assertions that they do not prove true in a sufficient number of cases to give them much value. The bark on a standing tree may be rougher on one side than another, or of darker color, but that is due in most cases to causes other than north and south exposure. Dense shade on one side and light on the other will affect the bark, without any regard to the points of the compass. If a tree has a considerable lean, the bark on the underside is apt to be rougher than on the other, no matter whether the trunk leans north or south, or east or west. There is usually more moss (so called) in the shade than in the sun, and the north side of trees would usually have more moss, did not other factors interfere so often with the rule as to make it unreliable. The under side of a leaning tree, or the side shaded by other objects, may have more moss than the side facing the north.

Branches do not necessarily group themselves to the north or to the south of the trunk. The prevailing direction of the wind often has more to do with it than all other influences combined. All species do not exhibit the same behavior under similar conditions. Dense shade stunts a tree's branches, or destroys them, and the shade may be as dense on the south as the north side. Certain trees in particular situations may tell the woodsman's practiced eye which way north is, but it cannot be claimed that in all kinds of forest, and over wide regions it can be done. The writer has made a special study of that phase of woodcraft, in forests of every type, among trees of all common species, in regions from the black forests of Maine to the hammock woods of south Florida, from Virginia to California, and from the Saskatchewan river to the Rio Grande, and was forced to the conclusion that were a woodsman to attempt to guide his course through a forest by aid of the trees and moss alone, he would fail oftener than he would succeed.

Laying Out Paths—Paths were seldom accidents in early times. A pretty serious purpose was usually back of their laying out. They never went where they were not needed, and every path had an individuality which meant something to those who understood it. The journals of early travelers who pursued their ways through the West Virginia forest, among the multitudes of intersecting paths, trails, and traces, bring vividly before the reader how complicated the system of pioneer highways was. The earliest paths by white men were made by the people who expected to use them in getting from house to house and from settlement to settlement, but in course of time the work was taken up in a more systematic way and was often done at public expense. An examination of the road records of any of the old counties of West Virginia will throw light on the subject. The road surveyor's books, or orders of the county courts, in Monongalia, Greenbrier, Randolph, Hampshire, or others with records dating back more than a century, will show what status the path held before the "big road" took its place. The term "big road" had an exact meaning in its day. It was a highway for wagons, in contradistinction to the path for horses, called "bridle path," or the trail followed by pedestrians. The big road is spoken of yet in some parts of the mountain regions of West Virginia where paths are still numerous, but it is not probable that county courts are now anywhere surveying paths at public expense.

In 1787 surveyors were directed to mark a bridle path from the summit of the Alleghany mountains in Pendleton county to Connolly's lick in Randolph county. Another order of the same year was to "establish a trail from Leading creek over Laurel hill" to Anglin's ford, near the site of Philippi in Barbour county. A surveyor was ordered to lay out a path

more than forty miles long crossing the Alleghany mountains. In other instances paths were ordered "brushed out." That operation consisted of clearing away the bushes on both sides to permit pack horses to pass without dragging their loads along through a dense mass of brush on both sides. When Washington traveled over one of such paths in Preston county in 1784, he complained of the wetting he received by contact with rain-laden bushes which lopped over the trail. It was impossible for a traveler to keep dry, or to protect his pack horse loads from wetting when the overhanging foliage was soaked with rain or dew. Brushing out was one of the road surveyor's duties. A court order of 1789 directs that roads be worked once a year, such work to include "brushing out sufficient for an eight foot bridle path." In 1795 the Randolph county court ordered "a road from Beverly to Jacob Westfall's sawmill on Files creek so as to intersect the big road."

Examples like the above might be multiplied indefinitely, but it is not necessary. That process of making and caring for paths went on at one time or another in every part of West Virginia. Such paths were in most cases afterwards widened for wheeled vehicles, and accounts of some of them will be given farther on in this chapter.

Much has been said in books dealing with early roads in this region, concerning the paths that ascended sharp points of hills and followed the tops of ridges. No small misunderstanding exists as to the motive in laying paths out that way. It has often been said that trail surveying of that kind was learned from Indians, and that some of the ridge paths were actually old Indian trails. The purpose in locating paths on ridge tops, and up the steep points of hills, has been explained on the principle that such paths were safer from ambuscades. Travelers from the elevated situations of the trails could, it was said, keep a sharp lookout for enemies, and if actually attacked, would have a better chance to repel the enemy, or better opportunity to retreat, than if caught in the ravines at the foot of the ridges.

Part of the explanation is correct, but most of it is wrong. It is true that Indians laid their paths along high ground whenever they could, and often along the ridge backbones; and it is true that white men followed the Indians in the practice; but greater security from hostile ambuscades was seldom or never considered. If an enemy planned ambuscades he could find advantageous points in which to set them, even along ridge roads. The trails were on high ground because they were drier than the ravines, and because the woods were thinner on the ridges, and paths were more easily kept open. Fewer logs obstructed them, the wind kept the autumn leaves and the winter snow swept clean, and traveling was easier there than on the low ground.

During the pioneer years in West Virginia, before paths were widened for wagons, packhorses carried whatever was transported from place to place, whether household utensils or articles of merchandise. Children were sometimes tucked away in large saddlebags; and with a child or two swung on either side of the horse, they were carried long distances over narrow and crooked paths, as if they were merchandise. The little urchins thus stowed away, sat upright, with their heads outside, and free to look about and breathe the free air of the wilderness during the long days of the march to the new home.

Articles of considerable weight and size were carried on packhorses over rocky or miry paths. Frontier merchants supplied their customers in that way for many years after the first settlements. As late as 1824 loaded packhorses labored over paths on some of the upper tributaries of the Monongahela river, the Little Kanawha, and the Greenbrier, Elk, and Gauley. A certain blacksmith whose shop stood at the eastern termination

of an over-mountain path, has left record that he made good wages shoeing packhorses and bending iron bars to make them circle the animals' bodies. The iron was carried more easily in that form than in long bars which incessantly became entangled in vines and branches at every sharp turn of the path. The load of a packhorse was about 200 pounds. An old account book once kept in a frontier store in the interior of West Virginia, in about 1823, and now preserved among court records where it was filed as an exhibit in a lawsuit, gives numerous prices charged against customers who bought goods. The merchandise was carried in on packhorses and the freight charges made part of the prices charged. Coffee was 44 cents a pound, tea $1.50; two and a quarter yards of green cloth $12; flannel 62 cents a yard; paper of pins 12½ cents; rice 10 cents a pound; sugar 15 cents; comb $2.50; hat $7; sheet iron 72 cents a pound. Articles produced in the country were not expensive. Eggs were 6¼ cents a dozen, wool 20 cents a pound, cider 5 cents a quart, and whiskey 40 cents a gallon.

Wagon Roads—When settlements grew in size, and better means of transportation than the pack horse became necessary, the people took steps to build highways for wagons. It has been shown that some of the earliest wagons were taken into the western country from Hampshire county over paths so narrow that the vehicles had to be taken apart and carried over the worst places.

In other instances the irons only were transported into the region and the woodwork was done by local wagon makers. The vehicles were nearly all wood, the tires, thimbleskeins, and a few hooks and bolts constituting the iron parts.

The wagon roads were often on paper a long time before they were in condition to travel. In many instances county courts ordered surveys, and in future orders in the court records the survey was called a road though nothing had been done with it further than blazing the trees along the route. For that reason, the record of a road in some of the old courthouse minute books cannot be taken as evidence that the road was actually in existence. Ten or twenty years occasionally elapsed between the survey and the completion of a highway, and in one extreme case a period of eighty-three years intervened between the survey of a highway and the completion of even part of it. Of the surveys of roads in early times there was no end, but the building was often a slow process. A road survey, as the thing was then done, required no great skill in the use of the theodolite. Some of the surveyors who were sent out to locate the route for a highway did not, perhaps, know that a circle has 360 degrees. They drove stakes, set stones on end, and blazed trees to show the way they decided the road ought to go, and measured the steepness of hills with the unaided eye. If they thought a span of horses could pull a wagon up a hill, or that "the rubber" (brake) would hold the vehicle back in descending, that was sufficient, and the road was marked for permanent location. There is record of "hard feelings" between two prominent citizens of Harrison county in early days because they differed in their estimates of the number of horses necessary to draw a wagon up a certain hill where the surveyor had located a road.

In 1801 a road order was passed by the Randolph county court in these words addressed to the surveyor: "View a way for a road from John Jackson's mill to the top of the mountain at the head of the creek above John Bozar's on the old road that goes to Hacker's creek, so as not to go through improvements, or alter the road that is laid off through William Vandervender's and widow Reger's lands." That order betrays the secret of many a steep, crooked, or swampy road in West Virginia, where it might have been comparatively straight, level, and dry. The roads were surveyed to pass round little fields and potato patches,

though to do so they were laid out up steep hills, or across bogs or rocky ledges. Thousands of such instances are familiar to anyone who has traveled through West Virginia along roads located many years ago. To avoid cutting through some man's corn patch the accommodating surveyor would mark the road along the hillside, passing round the half acre of corn with the road curved up like a pot bail. For fifty or a hundred years the public has been climbing up hill and going down in traveling the road where it deviated from its logical course to pass round a field. In most instances the right of way could have been secured through the improvement for a thousandth part of what it has since cost the public in time, horseflesh, and wagon repairs to go over the hill. In most instances the settler with a little field or two was upon the level land along the creek bottoms before the road surveyor put in an appearance, and the road was made along the line of least resistance to the surveyor, and went winding this way and that, up and down, with sharp elbows to the left and the right to keep clear of fenced ground.

When roads were located through unsettled districts, a little more respect for grades and foundations was usually shown; but even then the surveyor often could not resist the temptation to follow the old paths up the sharp ends of ridges and along the narrow backbones and hogbacks where digging a roadbed would cost less. Some old roads of that kind are traveled to this day, the route deviating little from that picked out two hundred and fifty years ago, or maybe a thousand years ago, by some Indian who would rather climb a hill than creep through a brush thicket along the creek.

The other extreme was sometimes seen, as when in 1798 the survey of a road was made from Clarksburg to the Ohio river at Marietta. It was run in an absolutely straight line by compass, right over the tops of hills and across the watercourses wherever the line struck them, and without regard to grades, swamps, bridges, or anything else. In a mountainous region like that, such a road was, of course, a physical impossibility, and it was never made. The surveyors themselves suggested the abandonment of the survey, because, though it had been run mathematically straight, as far as deviation right and left was concerned, yet a shorter route was found when a second survey was run. The shorter course than a straight line between two points was easy enough to explain, in the view taken of the matter at the time—the shorter survey passed round the hills instead of going over them.

Soon after the Revolutionary war the policy of Virginia to aid the building of roads began to bear fruit west of the mountains. The term "state road" began to appear in county court records as early as 1788. The mention of such roads, however, was no proof that they were built at that time, for the survey was frequently called a road, though not a shovel of dirt had been thrown. It is known however, that some of these roads were open for travel very early. One reached Monongalia county, but it was so poor that in 1812 the Virginia Assembly appropriated money to improve it and extend it to the Ohio river at New Martinsville. In 1796 there was a road of some kind from Morgantown to Wheeling, but it does not appear that it was in condition to be used by wagons. The country near it was well settled for the whole distance, according to the description by a Frenchman who traveled that way and left a diary. His picture of the country is one of cheer and encouragement, and he speaks of the many "beautiful plantations" along the way.

Another highway called a state road crossed the Alleghany mountains by way of the old McCullough trail, and reached Cheat river at Minear's fort, afterwards St. George, Tucker county, and thence passed Laurel Hill into Barbour county, crossed Tygart's river a mile below the site of

Philippi, and reached Clarksburg. That road was in existence in 1788, but it is not known that it was then in condition for wagons. In that year a wagon road was surveyed from an intersection with the state road at Cheat river, southward toward the Randolph, Pocahontas, and Greenbrier settlements, but it was not completed the whole distance until thirty-six years later. A little was built each year. As late as 1823 packhorses were carrying furs, sheep pelts, cowskins, and ginseng from Beverly to the Greenbrier river to reach a wagon road leading across the mountains to eastern markets. The road connecting the upper Greenbrier valley with Warm Springs on the eastern side of the Alleghany mountains was improved and changed, until about 1838 it became a fine turnpike with every stream bridged.

Long before that time wagon roads of some sort had made their appearance in all parts of the state. The Greenbrier and Kanawha valleys no longer depended upon packhorses for the transportation of merchandise to and fro. The development of roads from the blazed trail or the prehistoric path was a slow process of evolution.

The Road Wagon—The packhorse went slowly and gradually out of business as path after path was widened to make it fit for wheels. The change dragged on through fifty years. The first wagons that appeared upon the mountain highways were prophetic that the days of the packhorse and the reign of the packsaddle were numbered. The horse could carry two hundred pounds; he could pull a thousand, and do it with less effort. The merchandise carried on horses was hammered, thumped, and if breakable, it was broken by frequent contact with trees as the burdened animal toiled along the narrow paths. The wagon brought its freight through in good condition. The packsaddle could manage articles of comparatively small size only; the wagon was able for bulks of any reasonable size.

That was, of course, long before the days of railroads over the mountains; and the business of hauling by wagons became important. There were few manufacturing establishments west of the mountains, and whatever the people needed, and could not make for themselves, was hauled from the east in road wagons. There was pretty clearcut distinction between that class of vehicles and farm wagons, though, under stress of necessity, one might take the place of the other. The road wagon was made strong for carrying heavy loads over highways of steep grades, many roots and stones, deep chuckholes, and stretches of sidling grades which pitched the vehicles upon the wheels on one side, and tested the quality of the oak and hickory of the axles, hounds, and reaches. The farm wagon was not supposed to encounter trials of that kind. The speed of the road wagon was exceedingly slow. It went chucking along over roots and rocks, making from eight to fifteen miles a day, but by special spurts of speed it might make twenty. Slowness was necessary, for anything above two miles an hour would jeopardize the vehicle, owing to the roughness of the roads.

The road wagons had their canvas covers and their tarbuckets. By these tokens they were known. The tar was the lubricant for the hubs. It was manufactured at home by roasting it from pitch pine knots under an upturned iron kettle with a fire on top. It was a crude process of destructive distillation, but it turned out tar of sufficient purity to grease the wheels of commerce as they trundled along the mountain highways; and of sufficient impurity to laden the air along such highways with a characteristic odor which lingered long in the recollections of those who learned it. The tarbucket was hung beneath the wagon's rear axle, and it swung to and fro during the two hundred miles intervening between Winchester, the eastern depot of supplies, and the transmontane region,

where the market was. The swinging tarbucket was ringing the slow deathknell of the packhorse which the freight wagon was sending into oblivion.

The Coming of the Pike—The rocky, guttered mountain road served its day and generation, but it passed as the packhorse had passed. The graded turnpike with its culverts and bridges, was the next step in western Virginia's highway evolution.

There is an enormous mass of turnpike history recorded in old books, such as acts of the Virginia assembly, minutes of county courts, petitions and subscription papers of citizens and associations dating from about the beginning of the nineteenth century and continuing until the Civil war. Even a summary of legislation, legal proceedings, and efforts of companies and individuals, would be out of place here; but if summarized, the records would show a movement throughout transmontane Virginia to obtain better roads, and a pitifully weak support of the movement by the part of Virginia east of the Blue Ridge. Three logical routes across the mountains were recognized. One lay in the Greenbrier region near the place where the Chespeake & Ohio railroad crosses the Alleghany mountains; north of that, near the head of the South Branch of the Potomac and the head of the east fork of the Greenbrier; and fifty miles further north where McCulloch's path crossed the ranges. Turnpikes were opened on all of those routes. Once over the mountains, it was practicable for the great highways to go where they were needed.

North of the McCullough trail, which had become a wagon road before the opening of the eighteenth century, was the old Braddock road, constructed in 1755, and afterwards changed, remodeled, and partly abandoned. Along that course, but not following the exact route, the United States built a splendid highway during the period from 1811 to 1818. It extended from Cumberland, Maryland, to the Ohio river at Wheeling. That road passed only for a few miles through Virginia in Ohio county; but its influence was great as an example of the effect of highways upon business. Virginia did not look upon that thoroughfare, sometimes called the Cumberland road and at others the National pike, as in any way calculated to advance her interests. It carried trade and immigration past her western territory and developed regions beyond the Ohio. That knowledge set on foot a movement in Virginia to construct a competing road from the valley of Virginia to the Ohio river. One terminus was to be at Winchester, the other at Parkersburg, and the road which was built in fulfillment of that plan was the Northwestern turnpike. It did not follow a course northwest, and its name did not relate to direction; but it was designed as a highway by which the northwestern part of Virginia, and also the region beyond the Ohio river, could be conveniently reached. It was desirable to reach the Ohio river without passing over any part of Pennsylvania. Prominent Virginians since before the Revolution had wished to develop the western country absolutely independent of Pennsylvania. On more than one occasion Washington himself, broad minded and far seeing as he was, let slip expressions in his diaries and letters, which showed that he stood strongly for Virginia's interests and wished to avoid asking any favors of Pennsylvania. His solicitude lest one of the highways of his planning might touch Pennsylvania's territory was one instance, and another was the expression of his evident disappointment, almost disgust, when he discovered a fact which he did not know before, that the mouth of Cheat river was in Pennsylvania, and if he used that stream and the Monongahela river as a part of his proposed trade route to the Ohio, it would be necessary to use some six miles of Pennsylvania's waterways.

Virginia undertook the construction of the Northwestern turnpike in

hope of diverting western business into Virginia; but the time for diverting distant business over a turnpike was about to close. The railroad had appeared, and in the case of the Northwestern turnpike it was a race between it and the Baltimore and Ohio railroad for western business, and the railroad won, and from that day to this no great macadamized highway has been constructed to draw trade from a distance.

The route for the Northwestern turnpike was surveyed in part by one of Napoleon Bonaparte's engineers who escaped to America after the fall of his chief. The enterprise was under way in 1835. Advantage was taken of the gaps through mountains east of the Alleghanies, the most noted of these being Blue's Gap through North River mountain, and Mill Creek Gap through Mill Creek mountain in Hampshire county.

The road was completed from Winchester to Romney in 1837, and was pushed rapidly westward, following pretty closely the McCullough trail's course from the summit of the Alleghanies to the head of the Youghiogheny river in Garrett county, Maryland. It passed through Preston county, Taylor, Harrison, Doddridge, Ritchie, and Wood, reaching the Ohio river at Parkersburg. The engineers surveying for the Baltimore and Ohio railroad were ahead of the turnpike's surveyors the whole way across West Virginia, and the two roads were generally close together and nearly parallel. One sometimes crossed the other.

The turnpike was finished first and for a few years had the business. Stage coaches made excellent time between Winchester and the Ohio river. Taverns came into existence along the highway to take care of the increased travel, and for a time the scenes on the old road were busy the whole year round. But the whistle of the first locomotive paralleling the turnpike was the death-warrant of the road's business.

Virginia felt the need of a road farther south than that connecting Winchester and Parkersburg, and another was planned. In fact, the southern road was undertaken as early as 1824 when the Virginia legislature passed an act authorizing it. Twenty years were occupied in its building. Part of the expense was met by the state, part by counties through which it passed, and part by subscriptions by individuals. The road was known as the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike, and it reached the Ohio river some years later than the Northwestern turnpike.

The Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike for many miles across the mountains followed the course of an old state road, but in locating the new, the engineers ignored the road already in existence, and crossed and recrossed it many times. It was an example of the folly of not putting roads upon the best possible grades at first. If that is done, all subsequent improvements will be permanent; but if the original survey is in the wrong place, it will ultimately be abandoned and all past improvements will be lost. West Virginia is filled with examples of that kind. Some highways have been changed in certain places many times.

Ferries—Bridges came late in western Virginia, and ferries preceded them. Often there were neither bridges nor ferries and the traveler crossed the streams the best he could. Most watercourses in the state west of the mountain were fordable by horses except in time of freshet, but many travelers in early times were on foot. A diary left by one of them, and published in part in Archer Butler Hulbert's "Historic Highways of America," complained that in following the road from the mouth of the Little Kanawha river to Clarksburg, he had so many streams to wade that he had time for little else. The winding road crossed the same stream in many places. There was not a ferry or bridge in the whole distance.

Ferries were regulated by law in Virginia, and the state received some of its revenue from that source. Acts passed by the assembly in 1792,

and earlier, provided for the business. Rates were fixed, and fines and other penalties prescribed. Punishment was severe if a ferryman overcharged. He must refund the excessive charge, and pay two dollars additional. It was provided by law that no one should run a private ferry for profit where it would take patronage from a public ferry. The penalty for the violation of that law was severe. The guilty man was fined twenty dollars for each offense. Half of the fine went to the nearest public ferryman, and half to the informant. If the nearest public ferryman was the informant, all the fine went into his pocket. He doubtless kept a sharp lookout for private boats engaging in the carrying business.

Messengers and other persons on business for the state were not required to pay toll, and they must be carried across immediately, day or night; but as a precaution against being imposed upon, the ferryman was authorized to demand proof, and the person who claimed to be on public business was obliged to furnish it. The proof consisted of a letter, on the back of which must be written "public service," and it must be signed by some officer in either the civil or military service of the state. The punishment of forgery at that time was death, and few persons would incur that risk by falsely claiming to be on public business. The ferrymen enjoyed certain privileges and immunities denied to the masses. They were exempt from working on the public roads; they need not pay poll tax, do military duty, or serve as constables. In many parts of West Virginia the names of ferries have long survived the ferryboats which once carried travelers across the streams. Among such are Harper's Ferry, Carnifex Ferry, Ice's Ferry and several others. Public ferries are now scarce in West Virginia, bridges having taken their places.

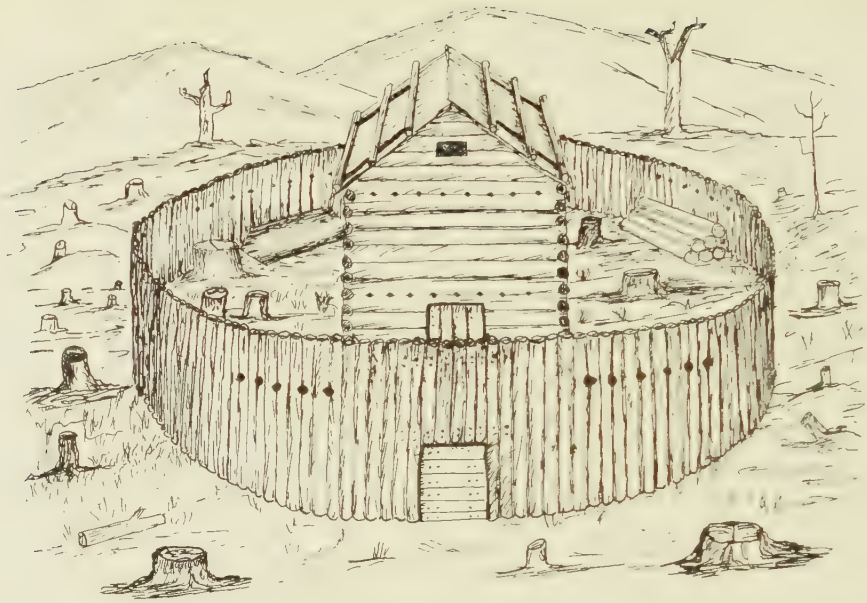
Bridges—The steel bridge, slender, rigid, unpoetic, and short-lived, is now so common everywhere that the days of other styles of structures are almost forgotten.

Bridges in Western Virginia, like the roads, have been a development from rude beginnings. The Indian bridge, sometimes referred to by early travelers, was a tree which fell by chance or was cut to fall from bank to bank of a stream. Such simple contrivances were of much convenience and served foot travelers well, but of course were useless for horses and vehicles; but the step was short to something better. Two "Indian bridges" side by side became the sills for a white man's bridge, when planks were laid from one to another. Horses and vehicles then crossed safely.

When turnpikes began to be constructed west of the Alleghanies, and when rivers of considerable width were to be crossed, the plain plank bridge was not long enough or strong enough. Bridge builders the world over had been providing structures on which to cross streams since time immemorial, but it remained for a mechanic of Randolph county, Lemuel Chenoweth, to invent a bridge so satisfactory that it was placed across many West Virginia streams, and gave service fully coming up to the hopes of its inventor. When Chenoweth worked out the model of his bridge, he made it of hickory. The miniature was about three feet long. He took it to Richmond at a time when bids for several bridges were to be opened. He met many bridge builders from several states, each with his model, and all appeared at a stated time before the commissioners to show their models. Chenoweth waited until all the others had explained at great length the merits of their bridges, and when he was asked what he had, he deliberately placed the slender model on two chairs, showing the way a bridge would span a river. He did not speak a word, but stepped on his model, and stood with his entire weight on its center. It held him with no sign of buckling. He motioned to his competitors to put

their models to the same test. Not one dared do it. He took his seat without a word, and was awarded the contracts for the bridges.

A few of these structures still span West Virginia rivers. Many were burned during the Civil war. The Chenoweth bridges, if long, rested on wooden arches. They were roofed with shingles and protected against rain by weatherboarding.



FORT SEYBERT, PENDLETON COUNTY. BURNED BY INDIANS IN 1758

WESTFALL'S FORT, TYGART'S VALLEY, BEVERLY. BUILT 1774. PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN 1898.

The only Indian fort in the State. The windows and doors and weatherboarding were added and the portholes closed, after the Indian wars.

CHAPTER V

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

The rivalry between France and England for possession of the region west of the Alleghany mountains led to the conflict known in history as the French and Indian war. It is so called because the Indians entered into an alliance with the French and fought with them. There were a few exceptions, chiefly in the south, where small parties of Cherokees and other tribes assisted the English, but such help amounted to so little that it may be dismissed with slight mention. The few bands of Cherokees from the region of Eastern Tennessee and the western part of North Carolina, appeared once or twice on the eastern frontier of what is now West Virginia, but their efforts were barren of any visible results. On the other hand, thousands of Indians belonging to the region from Western New York to the Mississippi river, went on the warpath to help the French.

In a history confined in its scope to a region as small as West Virginia, it should not be expected that a full and minute history of the French and Indian war would appear. A large part of it was remote from any portion of this state, and its activities were of more immediate concern to New York, New England, and Nova Scotia, and nothing more than the briefest mention of events can be given in this chapter.

The Land Contest—The rivalry between England and France in North America was one of the most important that ever occurred where the question was one concerning possession of territory. It was a contest between the two most powerful countries in the world at that time for control of a continent. The English colonies were in possession of the coast from Maine to Florida, and were so firmly established between the mountains and the sea that the French saw no prospect of dislodging them, and they made no attempt to do so. But behind the mountains, west from the crest of the Alleghanies to the Mississippi valley, and including most of that valley, was a region of vast extent and of unknown but enormous resources. Further north lay Canada, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and northward to an unknown distance until it was buried in Arctic snows. The western and northern country was a prize worthy of the best efforts of the powerful competitors, and the war was fought for its possession.

That part of West Virginia beyond the summit of the Alleghanies was part of the stake. It was but a small portion in comparison with the whole, but it was one of the best parts. Had this state been all there was to fight for, it is not probable that arms would have been resorted to at that time; but this territory could not be left out of consideration while contending for the rest, and it turned out that some of the most important movements in the entire contest occurred in what now is West Virginia.

The French were first in possession of certain points in the disputed territory, but the English based their claim on the discovery and first possession of the coast. They insisted that made the whole country theirs as far inland as they might wish to claim it. It was not a question, however, that could be settled by assertion of rights backed up by argument only. It was pretty well understood by both parties to the controversy that sooner or later a settlement of the whole matter would be forced by an appeal to arms. The French were first to prepare for it. Their ex-

plorers were almost a century ahead of the English in the west. They penetrated very early, by way of the St. Lawrence river and the Great Lakes, to the Mississippi river. Their explorers in some instances were missionaries, in others they were traders, but in all cases they held in view one common purpose, to possess the country and hold it for France.

The French were very active explorers and traders, and were usually successful in winning the good will of the Indians. They planted settlements and established outposts in places selected with good judgment, and had an eye to the strategic points in the regions which they explored. They knew the value of rivers as highways for travel and commerce, and the use of portages between navigable streams. But there was one defect, one weakness, in the French system of occupation which could not be made good by all their strong points. Their agricultural establishments were small, their farmers few. They did not fix their civilization in the soil as the Anglo-Saxons did. They preferred to trade with Indians for furs, and turn the furs into cash. The English were traders also, but agriculture came first and was made the solid foundation upon which all else was built in America. The French tried to occupy and hold a territory entirely too large for their numbers. Their lines were stretched too far, and when the pressure came, the lines broke. The English along the coast were compact. Their towns were growing, their trade increasing, their ships were well-freighted, but back of and beneath it all was the solid groundwork of agriculture. Their advanced posts toward the west were not trading stations, but farming settlements. They did not build villages the first thing, as the French did, but they cleared farms, planted corn, and grew cattle, sheep, and hogs. The village was the last thing they thought of, and it came only when a business center was needed for a group of settlements.

During a hundred years the English settlements moved from the coast westward, slowly, steadily, irresistibly. The woods opened and fields appeared, marking the lines and progress of the westward advance. While the English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, Dutch, and Germans were clearing fields, the French sent La Salle, Marquette, Hennepin, and Dalboa to explore. While theAnglo-Saxons were building cabins among the mountain valleys and arriving almost in sight of the western rivers, the French sent Captain Celeron to bury leaden plates, with letters cut on them, along the Ohio, expecting to hold the country that way. The leaden plate was no match for the log cabin and the cornfield in a contest for the possession of the country. The French finally understood this, and they threatened to build forts unless the English movements were stopped at the eastern base of the Alleghany mountains.

The fight by that time was beginning to take form for the possession of Western Virginia, between the mountains and the Ohio. The French threw out a bluff. They threatened to build a fort on the Greenbrier river and another on Holston river in Eastern Tennessee. Virginia called the bluff by continuing to push settlements toward the west. Christopher Gist established a colony on the Youghiogheny river, now Western Pennsylvania, but at that time supposed to be Virginia's territory; and cabins had made their appearance west of the mountains on the Greenbrier and Tygart's river. The French moved south from Lake Erie and prepared to hold the western valleys by force, if the threat of force proved unavailing. Virginia accepted the challenge, and the appeal to arms was near at hand.

Washington's Mission—It became known in Virginia in 1753 that the French had reached the Allegheny river from Canada and were building forts in that region. That territory was then claimed by Virginia, and Governor Dinwiddie felt it his duty to take steps to protect it against the

French. He chose to look upon them as simple trespassers and sent a message to them, asking them to withdraw from that region. The messenger who carried the letter was George Washington, twenty-one years old. Late in the fall of 1753 he set out from Williamsburg, at that time the capital of Virginia, passed across the Shenandoah valley, and through Hampshire county. At the mouth of Wills creek, now Cumberland, Maryland, he left all settlements behind, except one west of the Alleghanies which he reached in a few days. He followed a path through an unbroken wilderness and crossed the mountains, on the summits of which the early snows had already fallen. He was a lone messenger upon a mission of supreme importance. He was sent on ahead of the march of Anglo-Saxon civilization to clear the way for its progress westward. For more than forty years, the apparition of the French power on the western horizon had disturbed Virginia and the other colonies. Governor Spotswood saw the danger before 1716, and sounded the warning that the French were determined to bar the English from the region beyond the mountains. What Spotswood saw dimly had assumed definite form by 1753. The French were actually building forts on the Alleghany river, and rumors of their purpose to build others on the Greenbrier and the Holston were in circulation. It was time for Virginia to look to her frontiers; and as the winter of 1753 was settling its early snows upon the lone and dreary Alleghany mountain summits, the youth of twenty-one was riding westward through that wilderness to serve notice on the French to leave the Ohio valley. The crisis had come. The powers of England and France were about to clash, and a continent was the stake.

When Washington reached Gist's settlement of a dozen families on the Youghiogheny river, near the site of Connellsville, Pa., he secured the services of that veteran frontiersman as a guide. They pushed on, went by the site of the future city of Pittsburgh, and the observant eye of the youthful Washington noted the strategic importance of the situation. Their horses were left behind, and they ascended the Allegheny river, reached the French post, and Washington delivered the governor of Virginia's letter to the officer in charge. The notice to quit the country was answered in writing, and with the paper in his pocket Washington and Gist set out upon their return. The weather was intensely cold, and ice was floating in the Allegheny river. Crossing the stream with the greatest difficulty, and in imminent peril of drowning, they pushed on through the snow and ice. Washington fortunately escaped a shot fired at him at close range by an Indian. Gist rushed upon the savage and caught him, and would have immediately killed him, but Washington induced Gist to spare the Indian's life, and he was allowed to make his escape in the forest.

The First Clash—Washington reached Williamsburg in midwinter, and delivered to Governor Dinwiddie the French answer. It was unsatisfactory, and when Washington explained the situation as he had observed it, among other things, that he had counted 200 canoes drawn upon the bank of the Allegheny river ready for a descent to the Ohio as soon as the ice should go out in the spring, the governor of Virginia saw that negotiations would amount to nothing, and that quick action in taking possession of strong posts on the Ohio river was necessary, if the French were to be turned back into Canada.

An expedition under Ensign Ward was set in motion toward the Ohio river as soon as possible, with instructions to build a fort at the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers, where Pittsburgh now stands. A force of soldiers, under Colonel Joshua Fry, was set on the march to garrison the fort when ready. The builders under Ward went ahead of the soldiers, and when they reached the designated place they began the

erection of the fort. Their work was cut short, however, for scarcely had they felled a few trees before an army of one thousand French and Indians, and eighteen cannon, floated down the Allegheny in canoes and boats. The French notified the Virginians to leave in one hour, and there was nothing to do but comply with the demand. The forks of the Ohio thus fell into the possession of the French.

George Washington was second in command of the expedition under Colonel Fry. He soon had the entire responsibility, for the commander was sick and not able to perform the duties of the office. West of the mountains they met scouts from whom they learned of the expulsion of Ward's men from the Monongahela region; but the soldiers who were to have garrisoned the fort, marched on, with the hope that they might arrive in time to dislodge the French before they had fortified the forks of the river. That hope was not to be realized. The enemy was strong in numbers and quick in movement. They did not wait on the site of Pittsburg to be attached by the Virginians, but marched east to meet them, and if possible, drive them back. The advance guards came in contact on the Youghiogheny river late in June, and in the first skirmish the French were defeated, and the leader of the party, Jumonville, was killed. That was the first bloodshed in a war which was to involve England and France in a conflict all over the world, wherever their armies and navies met. It is possible, however, to detail in this chapter only the occurrences which were of immediate concern to Western Virginia.

Fort Necessity—When the French took possession of the forks of the Ohio after the retreat of Ensign Ward's party, they commenced the erection of a fortified post which they called Fort Duquesne. Reinforcements arrived from Canada, and a force approximating 700 French and Indians was sent east. Meanwhile the brush with Jumonville's party occurred, and the French prepared to fight the Virginian army which had by that time reached the vicinity of the Monongahela river. Washington was in command, owing to the sickness of Colonel Fry, who had charge of the expedition. The army contained fewer than 400 men, largely Virginians, but some were from Pennsylvania and a few from South Carolina. It was already clearly understood that it was not Virginia's or Pennsylvania's quarrel alone but that the contest was between the two nations, England and France. All of the Indians were not on the French side, for a considerable number were with the English army.

When Washington learned through his scouts that the enemy was advancing in strong force from Fort Duquesne, he fell back to a point in Fayette county, Pennsylvania, just north of the Virginia and Pennsylvania line, and about fifty miles west of the site of Cumberland, Maryland. He selected a favorable place for a stand, threw up entrenchments, and called the place Fort Necessity. The enemy soon appeared, in larger numbers and with better arms than the English had. The battle which ensued was severe, and though Washington's troops were in trenches, the advantages were all against them. Heavy rain spoiled much of their powder and rendered some of their guns unserviceable. The trenches were partly filled with water, rendering them nearly untenable. The Indians and French climbed high in the surrounding trees and fired into the fort at an angle which brought the English under point blank range. Washington kept up the unequal fight until he had lost about one-tenth of his men. He saw the uselessness of sacrificing more lives, and he opened negotiations for surrendering. The French offered liberal terms which were accepted. The soldiers retained their small arms, but not the artillery, and were permitted to march to Virginia. This surrender occurred on July 4, 1754, just twenty-two years before the Declaration of Independence.

The articles of capitulation which Washington signed caused embarrassment afterward. They were written in French, which language Washington did not understand, and one of the clauses referred to the death of Jumonville, and called it "assassination," and it passed that way. The translation made for Washington by his Dutch interpreter did not give the word's correct meaning. The French afterwards took advantage of that misapprehension and claimed that Washington had signed a paper making himself out a murderer.

Startling Proposition by the French—The retreat of Washington's army over the Alleghany mountains left the French in possession of all the country beyond. Their victory seemed to them an important one, and it would have been, if nothing had followed. They miscalculated the effect which the defeat of the few hundred men at Fort Necessity would have on the English, and thought the time was opportune for driving a good bargain. In January, 1755, the English received a startling proposition from the French to the effect that neither should occupy the country between the Alleghany mountains and the Ohio river. That territory now comprises the larger part of Western Pennsylvania, and the whole of West Virginia except the eight counties east of the mountains. If the French proposition had been accepted it would have left that region of some forty or fifty thousand square miles, an uninhabited wilderness, separating the French possessions in Ohio and the country beyond from the English on the Atlantic seaboard. The design of the French was too easily seen through to deceive anyone. It would have given them all they wanted, and would have confined the English to the country east of the mountains. The English were not deceived, and they replied with a counter-proposition which was equally startling to the French. They proposed that France destroy all its forts in the Ohio valley as far west as the Wabash river; raze the forts at Niagara and Crown Point; surrender Nova Scotia; and leave as a neutral strip the region between the bay of Fundy and the St. Lawrence river. France's reply was the dispatch of 3,000 soldiers to America, and the English made a similar answer by sending an army under General Braddock.

It is interesting to speculate on what the result would have been if England had accepted France's proposal that the transmontane part of Virginia should be left unoccupied. It is not probable that the combined powers of England and France would have been able to keep settlers out of the region. They would have crossed the mountains at unguarded points, and ten soldiers would have been necessary to hold back one determined settler.

Braddock's Campaign—The march and defeat of General Braddock's army in the summer of 1755 deserve larger place in the history of West Virginia than can be accorded here. The fate of the region in Virginia between the Alleghany mountains and the Ohio river hung in the balance that year, and for a time it looked as if the country would fall into the hands of France and become a part of Canada or a province like Canada. The English gained some success over the French in the north, but none in the Ohio valley. The defeat of the expedition under Fry and Washington the summer before was but a passing incident compared with the disastrous rout of Braddock's army in 1755. It looked for a time as if the French and their Indian allies would not only overrun the western valleys but would overwhelm and destroy the settlements as far east as the Shenandoah valley. After the retreat of the army from Fort Necessity in 1754, the savages poured over the mountains and murdered many defenseless settlers; but in 1755 the whole country along the frontiers from the headwaters of the Tennessee river northward to Pennsylvania received murderous visitations. A volume would be inadequate to recite

in detail the horrors that befell the unfortunate people between the Alleghanies and the Blue Ridge. The worst, however, came after Braddock's defeat, and an account of that campaign and defeat should come first in logical order.

Braddock brought an army with him from England, and landed at Alexandria, Virginia, in the spring of 1755. He was joined by troops from different colonies, principally Pennsylvanians and Virginians, and took up the march to the west with a long train of supplies. The general planned an extensive campaign. He said he would be west of the Alleghanies by early summer, would capture Fort Duquesne within three days after coming in sight of it, and would then invade Canada by way of the Allegheny river, and drive the French from their strongest forts in the north. His facility for bragging did not inspire unbounded confidence in his ability to perform. Washington, who was one of his aids, ventured to suggest how the Indians might best be fought, but his advice was rejected with sarcasm. A few weeks later, however, the dying general admitted that he had been wrong, but it was then too late to profit by Washington's advice.

Braddock sailed from Alexandria up the Potomac to the site of Washington and landed opposite where the White House now stands. The march was immediately commenced and was pushed west through Frederick, Maryland, and to the Potomac at Williamsport. The objective point was Wills creek, now Cumberland, Maryland, but there being no road up the Potomac, the army crossed that stream and marched nearly due south almost to Winchester where it fell into the highway leading to Wills creek. This road passed through Hampshire county and crossed the Potomac into Maryland at the mouth of Little Capon river, and followed the Maryland side of the Potomac to Wills creek.

Vexatious delays made the march slow. It was six weeks behind time at Wills creek. The distance from that point to Fort Duquesne was 130 miles. The whole way led through a wilderness with scarcely a break. There was no road for wheeled vehicles. The Nemacolin path, an Indians' and traders' trail, led from Wills creek to the forks of the Ohio, but it was fit only for footmen and packhorses. Braddock set large numbers of his soldiers to work road building. He made a highway for wagons and artillery, but the country was so rough that an average of no more than five miles a day could be finished. The army toiled on. Braddock chafed at the delay but he could not be urged to greater progress by making a temporary road. He insisted that streams and ravines should be bridged and hillsides graded. The idea was firmly fixed in his mind that he was opening a permanent highway between the east and the west for the use of English colonies. He meant it to be a military road for the movement of armies in the years to come. His ideals were high. He was opening the first good wagon road from the Atlantic seaboard into the Mississippi valley. Washington had opened a makeshift of a road part of the way the year before. Although the unfortunate Braddock missed many of his calculations, he builded greater even than he knew when he made that road across the Alleghanies in June, 1755. The star of empire moved west with him as he toiled five miles ahead between the rising and setting of each day's sun. There were to be temporary checks, but the Anglo-Saxon was on the march to the Pacific.

Braddock's march ended suddenly and disastrously on July 9 when within seven miles of Fort Duquesne. The Indians and French set an ambuscade where the town of Braddock is now situated, in the suburbs of Pittsburgh, and attacked so suddenly that the English army was quickly thrown into confusion. It is not believed that the combined French and Indians numbered one-half of Braddock's army. The ambuscade, it is

said, was not set in expectation that it would prove more than temporarily successful. All that was hoped was that the English would receive a check. The attack, it is believed, was planned to take place at the river crossing a half mile away, but Braddock was already over when the French arrived, and on the spur of the moment, the ambuscade was set in a ravine which the English army was just entering.

Confusion quickly produced panic. The troops brought from England were soon huddled in helpless fear, firing by volleys into the treetops, or into the ranks of the Virginia and Pennsylvania troops who were trying to hold the ground. Braddock had placed all his hopes in his regulars. He had declared to Franklin that it was impossible that Indians could produce any effect upon them. There is no doubt that the regulars were brave enough, but the suddenness of the attack, its ferocity, and its mystery, utterly bewildered them. They could see no enemy. The deadly rifles of the foe rang in the woods, and men fell fast on all sides, but no foe appeared. To the regulars it seemed like fighting invisible spirits. Some of the survivors afterwards declared they had not seen a single Frenchman or Indian during the entire battle.

The colonial troops, and particularly the Virginians, understood that kind of fighting. They had faced it all their lives. It was precisely the kind of attack against which Braddock had been warned, and he had answered the warning with a sneer and a slur. He saw his mistake when he realized that the battle was lost. Washington had collected the Virginians and had fought until all but thirty of his 240 men had been killed; and he had succeeded in holding the enemy in the woods until what was left of Braddock's regulars had made their escape from the slaughter pen, had crossed the river, and were in full flight on the back track. Braddock was carried along, mortally wounded. He had shown no cowardice or indecision. When the horse he rode was shot, he mounted another, and repeated this three times until he was too severely wounded to fight longer, and then the flying soldiers carried him from the field and across the Monongahela which a few hours earlier that morning he had forded in full expectation that the walls of Fort Duquesne would be in view before sunset.

Washington had two horses shot under him, and four bullets pierced his clothes, but he came off at the head of the thirty Virginians and turned his back upon the field where the battle had been lost. Few of the wounded and none of the dead were brought away. There was no time for it. Flushed with victory the French and Indians swarmed out of the woods which had concealed them, and poured down to the ford in pursuit of the fugitives, until checked by the fire of a few soldiers who had rallied to cover the retreat.

The English left 714 dead or dying on the battlefield, which was one-third of the army. The Indians killed nearly all of the wounded. The bones of the dead lay unburied for three years. The retreating army fled as rapidly as possible in the direction of Fort Cumberland, as Wills creek was called at that time, its name having recently been changed. Braddock was carried eighty miles before he died. He was buried near Fort Necessity. Colonel Dunbar was on the road with a second army, marching after Braddock. The retreating army met the fresh troops coming up. No rally was attempted, but Dunbar turned about and joined in the retreat. So great was the consternation that stores worth half a million dollars were destroyed to keep them from falling into the hands of the enemy, which was not within seventy-five miles. The stores could have been easily hauled back to Fort Cumberland; but so complete and so senseless was the destruction that it became necessary to send to Fort Cumberland and bring up a supply of flour to feed the army while

retreating to that place. Colonel Dunbar was then in command. Instead of halting at Fort Cumberland and reorganizing the army, he continued his flight until he reached Philadelphia. When he met the retreating army on the road, if he had, like Sheridan, exclaimed, "turn, boys, we are going back," there is no apparent reason why he might not have captured Fort Duquesne.

Panic on the Frontiers—The consternation which followed when it became known on the frontiers that Braddock's army had retreated and that Dunbar had fled with the troops to Philadelphia, has been many times described in history and story. It was a momentous crisis in the border settlements of Virginia. The frontier stretched from Cumberland, Maryland, to Tennessee. Every settlement and every cabin was in immediate danger. The attacks by Indians had been bold before, but it was apparent to everybody that danger was many fold greater than before the battle. It was believed that the savages would speedily pour over the mountains and fall on exposed settlements, and that belief was soon proved to be well founded.

Washington had halted at Fort Cumberland, and with what soldiers remained, he strengthened the walls and prepared to resist an attack. However, there was no pursuit in force by the enemy, whose army returned after the battle to Fort Duquesne to celebrate the victory. Small parties attacked the settlements and many murders were committed, but no large force invaded the frontiers; and it was with feeling of relief that cold weather came in the fall of 1755 and ended the danger for that time. Indians were poor winter travelers because their clothing was mean and they suffered from cold. Winter was the time when the people on the frontiers felt measurably safe.

Governor Dinwiddie wrote to the Lords of Trade in England recommending as a means of protecting the exposed frontiers that a chain of forts be built along the Alleghany range of mountains from the head of the Potomac to the Holston river. It was believed that with a sufficient number of such forts well garrisoned, the depredations by the enemy would materially decrease. Some time elapsed before arrangements were perfected for building the forts, even after the plan was approved. Washington was placed in charge of measures for defense of the frontiers, and gradually the work went on. The forts were never all built, but several were, and garrisons were placed in them. The correspondence on the subject between Washington and Governor Dinwiddie and others was voluminous and throws much light upon affairs in the troubled region at that time. A perusal of that correspondence at this day will convey the impression that the forts as means of defense fell far short of expectation, and as offensive measures they had little value. The Indians were able to pass between the forts, which were necessarily many miles apart, and fall by surprise upon exposed settlements far in the rear of the fortified places.

Expedition to the Ohio—An expedition was planned in Virginia in the winter of 1755, after the defeat of Braddock, for the purpose of striking a blow against Shawnee Indian towns in Ohio. A good deal of mystery has surrounded the affair. It is better understood now than it was a hundred years ago, but still it seems more like a myth or legend than like history. In one particular it is worthy to be remembered, for it was the first English military expedition to the Ohio river south of Pittsburgh.

When Braddock failed, the plan of another invasion of the Indian country was discussed by Governor Dinwiddie and others. The scheme was the governor's. Andrew Lewis was placed in command of about 350 men and was dispatched from Fort Frederick, in Augusta county, to attack villages of the Shawnee Indians supposed to be situated in Ohio,

opposite the mouth of the Big Sandy river, which now forms the boundary between West Virginia and Kentucky. The march from Fort Frederick was about 200 miles, through woods all the way. The start was made Feb. 18, 1756, and the army was in the wilderness about a month, and returned without crossing the Ohio river. Part of the march was through territory now in West Virginia and it is supposed that Kentucky was touched near the mouth of the Big Sandy river. Tug fork was named by soldiers on the expedition who cut up buffalo skins there and ate them to save themselves from starving. It is not definitely known why the army turned back without crossing the Ohio. It has been said that a messenger from Governor Dinwiddie overtook the expedition with orders to return. That is doubtful. The expedition probably turned back because the soldiers were starving. They lost most of their supplies by the overturning of canoes in crossing a river and were reduced to the necessity of eating their horses. The expedition broke up by desertions before its return, and many of the men perished from cold and hunger. There was a belief prevalent at the time that the expedition had been sent on a fool's errand to attack Indian towns which had no existence. Andrew Lewis, who commanded the expedition, was eighteen years later in command at the battle of Point Pleasant.

The Enemy's Stronghold—The French understood how to use the Indians to the best possible advantage. The savages were kept in close touch with the depots of supplies which were maintained in Canada and the western valleys. Food was furnished the ever-hungry children of the forest, and blankets and ammunition were supplied with a generosity which won the good will and faithful devotion of the Indians. Their wrongs at the hands of the English were kept ever fresh in their memories, and they were urged to seek revenge for the past and security for the future by breaking up as many settlements as possible. The trading posts established by the French were small and far apart, and they did not excite in the Indian's mind the distrust which was roused by the presence of the English settlements. The French occupied some parts of the region but did not take it all; while the English both occupied and took. The Frenchman's trading post was a fort, a store house, and a few huts where Indians were welcome to camp and loaf to their heart's content; but the Englishman's settlement had no place for the Indian and he was made as unwelcome as possible. The result of it all was that the shiftless savages much preferred the French to the English. Some of the far-seeing among the natives, however, would have kept both French and English out of the country if they could, for they recognized both as robbers who were bent on taking the country. One of them stated the matter very plainly to Christopher Gist by asking where the Indians' land lay since the English claimed all on one side of the river and the French all on the other. Another untutored child of the Wilderness thought he recognized a similitude in a pair of scissors, and compared the English to one blade, the French to the other, while the Indians were like the cloth that was cut in bits by the contact of the blades.

On the whole, the Indians welcomed rather than resented the presence of the French, and gathered about their forts and depots of supplies, and helping themselves to arms, clothing, and food, they went forth upon the warpath. Fort Duquesne was the central hive from which the savages swarmed to attack the Virginia frontiers. From that stronghold they received their inspiration and their sinews of war. It was clear to thoughtful men in Virginia that little was to be accomplished by fighting the marauders after they had invaded the settlements. Every advantage was on their side. They came in the night, hid by day, and waited for favorable opportunities to attack. They took few chances, for they were

able to pick the time and place, and when they had done their bloody work, they could glide back into the forest, and successful pursuit seldom occurred.

Washington was one of those who saw the futility of waiting on the frontiers to be attacked. In season and out of season he urged upon the Virginia government and upon the English government that no relief was possible until the stronghold at Fort Duquesne was broken up root and branch. He began the agitation immediately after the retreat of Braddock's army. In 1756, and again in 1757, he urged the sending of another expedition over the Alleghany mountains to strike a blow that would end the trouble by driving the French out of the Ohio valley. Expeditions against strongholds further north were urged also, but Virginia's immediate concern was the breaking up of the establishment at the forks of the Ohio.

In 1756 Captain Jeremiah Smith with twenty men met success in a fight with a much larger party of Indians on Lost river in what is now Hardy county. The enemy was led by a Frenchman who was killed in the encounter, as were five Indians.

A second party of Indians in the region met a reverse a few days later at the hands of Captain Joshua Lewis and a company of eighteen men. Soon afterward, marauding parties of Indians and French committed depredations near the site of Martinsburg, Berkeley county. The success attending the Indians in these affairs was not encouraging, but in almost all other instances where they entered the settlements in large or small numbers, they did great injury. The battle of the Trough, near Old Fields, Hardy county, cost the settlers many lives. Captain Mercer fell into an ambuscade on Capon river, Hampshire county, in 1757, and his company was almost annihilated. Many of the French and Indians implicated in that affair were on horseback. They had stolen their mounts from the various settlements. The Indian chief Killbuck was very active on the waters of the upper Potomac. For two years he hung about the settlements much of the time, retiring occasionally to Fort Duquesne to procure supplies. He commanded bands of sixty or seventy warriors, and was too strong for the small parties of settlers to pursue with hope of success.

Fort Seybert Massacre—In 1758 Killbuck invaded what is now Pendleton county, coming across the Alleghany mountains over the old Seneca warpath. He first surprised a small fort at Upper Tract, which he burned. Not one of the occupants was left alive to tell the story, and the particular manner of the capture and destruction of the blockhouse was never known, except that the place was left a heap of ashes. A few coins found among the charcoal a century and a quarter later were all that the savages overlooked. They then moved a few miles further to the south fork of the South Branch, now called Moorefield river, where they appeared before Fort Seybert, which occupied a bluff overlooking the valley. The fort was a place of refuge erected by the settlers who continued to live in that exposed place for two years after prudence should have led them to leave the country. The fort was a log house surrounded by a circular wall of logs planted on end. Even yet the almost obliterated outline of the circular wall can be made out.

The settlers were warned of danger in time to repair to the fort before the Indians appeared. Only one gun was fired in its defense, and that wounded one of the assailants who was crouching behind a rock forty yards away. The place possessed means of defense, and might have held out, but the commandant was seized with fear, and ordered the fort surrendered. Killbuck entered into a parley and promised that the occupants of the fort would be unharmed if they surrendered without further resist-

ance. In spite of protests from some of the inmates, the door was thrown open. One girl concealed herself behind the door, and in the subsequent excitement, slipped into the yard and escaped. The Indians marched the prisoners a few hundred yards up the hill, and under an oak tree which still stands to mark the fatal spot, all were tomahawked but one boy who made a desperate dash for his life and ran a mile before he was overtaken. His expertness as a runner gave him favor in the eyes of the savages, and his life was spared, and he was carried into captivity. Most of the details of the massacre were learned from him when he returned years after. He was James Dyer, and his descendants yet live in that country.

At the first alarm, a messenger was dispatched across the Shenandoah mountains for help. The distance to the settlements in the Shenandoah valley, about the site of Harrisonburg, was some forty miles. Troops were hurried to the relief of the fort, but arrived too late. The place had been burned, and the trail which was taken by the retreating savages was followed through Greenawalt gap, thence to the mouth of Seneca creek where Killbuck's band entered the Seneca warpath and crossed the mountains the way they had come. The warrior who was wounded in the attack on the fort was carried seven miles to Greenawalt gap, where he died. They put the body in a shallow cave, and walled up the entrance with rocks, and a century later parts of his disjointed skeleton filled with fear the mountaineers who were accustomed to peer through the opening in the rude wall. Some part of the wall remains to this day, but all signs of the skeleton have disappeared.

The destruction of the settlements at Upper Tract and at Fort Seybert wellnigh completed the breaking up of all signs of civilized man between the Alleghany mountains and the Shenandoah valley. Two forts only held out, except the military posts defended by garrisons, and few settlers remained. Those who had not fled east to places of safety, were killed or carried into captivity. The settlement in the vicinity of Romney, the center of which was Pearsall's fort, and another some twenty-five miles east, near the forks of Capon river, the center of which was Edward's fort, still held out.

Places of Refuge—The places of refuge, usually called forts, were often nothing more than log houses with holes cut in the walls through which to fire upon assailants. In time of danger, the people for several miles around hastened to these places of refuge. Usually there was no regular garrison, but the occupants defended themselves the best they could. At times the militia was called into service, and a temporary garrison was placed in the rude forts. Between 1753 and 1760, that is, during the time that the French and Indian war created a constant peril, forts and strong houses were built in all the important settlements in the territory now embraced in West Virginia's eight counties east of the Alleghany mountains. A fairly complete list and brief account of these forts follow. In some instances the exact location of the forts cannot now be determined. In other cases there were more than one fort of a certain name.

Ashby's fort stood on Patterson's creek, in Mineral county, near the present town of Frankfort. John Ashby, from whom the fort was named, appears to have been living in that vicinity in 1748. The fort was built in 1755 to protect settlers who were on the extreme frontier and exposed to the direct attacks of the first savages who crossed the mountains after Braddock's defeat. Fort Ohio was some ten miles from it on one side, and Fort Cumberland about twenty-five miles on the other, while Pearsall's fort was thirteen miles east. In the winter of 1755 a garrison of 21 men under Captain Charles Lewis was stationed there. In 1756 Indians committed depredations almost under the walls of the fort. An Indian

chief whom the English nicknamed "the crane," because of his unusually long legs, knew Captain Ashby personally, and took it upon himself to kill or capture him. After hanging around the fort several days waiting for an opportunity to accomplish his purpose, he discovered the captain unarmed some distance from the fort, and gave chase. Ashby fled for his life with the Indian in pursuit, but in spite of "the crane's" reputation for fleetness, he was unable to lessen the distance between himself and the sprinting captain. Finally he gave it up, and in his disgust and disappointment bellowed: "Run, Jack Ashby, run!" Ashby looked back as he replied: "You fool, did you think I had boots on?"

Fort Buttermilk was one of the chain of fortified places built under Washington's supervision to protect the settlers after Braddock's defeat. Captain Thomas Waggoner built it in 1756, and it stood in the South Branch valley, three miles above Moorefield, Hardy county. It was some miles above Fort Pleasant, and it had eighteen men in the disastrous fight, called the battle of the Trough in 1756, and most of them were killed. It was sometimes spoken of as Fort Waggoner, after its builder. A garrison of seventy men was stationed there, under Captain Waggoner, in 1757. This fort seems to have been destroyed or abandoned later in the war.

A small place of refuge which seems never to have had a regular garrison, was located near the forks of Capon river in the present borders of Hampshire county. It was seldom mentioned, and there is reason to believe that it was abandoned about 1757, and that the settlers who built it for their protection moved to a more secure place.

Fort Cox, named as is supposed from Friend Cox, who owned the land where it stood, was built in 1755 at the mouth of Little Capon river. It was a place of considerable importance during the French and Indian war, but was never attacked. It was a depot of supplies for the surrounding region. Twelve years after the close of the war the fort had disappeared.

Fort Edwards, in Hampshire county, stood near the present village of Capon Bridge. It appears to have had a garrison of militia part of the time during the war from 1754 to 1759, and at one time had at least one hundred men within its walls. It was from this fort that Captain Mercer sallied in 1756 to attack a party of French and Indians in the vicinity. He fell into an ambuscade and lost many of his men.

Fort Evans, two miles south of Martinsburg, Berkeley county, was too far east to feel the full weight of Indian hostility, but early in the war it was attacked while few men were in it. The assailants were beaten off, and no other attack was made on the place.

Three miles below Romney, Furman fort was located on the South Branch. It was built by and named from William Furman, who was afterwards killed by Indians. The fort was never attacked. It was three miles north of Pearsall's fort.

Early in the war a number of settlers whose farms were in the vicinity of Petersburg, Grant county, built a small place of refuge called George's fort. Though it was never attacked, murders were committed almost within rifle shot of it. It is not believed that this fort was occupied later than the year 1757, and there is no account that it was ever garrisoned by soldiers.

Hedges' fort, a place which seems to have been of minor importance, was situated on Back creek, Berkeley county, on the road which now leads from Martinsburg to Berkeley Springs.

Fort Hopewell was a settlers' place of refuge located on the North Fork of the South Branch, about six miles above Petersburg, Grant county. It was there early in the French and Indian war and was attacked, but the date of its building does not appear. The assailants made good their retreat when a relieving force under Captain Waggoner appeared

in the vicinity. Hopewell gap, sometimes called Owers gap, where the North Fork breaks through New Creek mountain probably perpetuates the name of the fort.

Fort McKenzie, named from Captain Robert McKenzie, was in Hampshire county, and is believed to have been on the South Branch, but its exact site has not been identified.

Fort Maidstone was built near the mouth of Capon river, in the present county of Morgan, in 1755 or 1756. For a short time in 1757 it had a garrison of seventy men under Captain Robert Stewart. There is no account that the Indians and French committed depredations in its vicinity.

Fort Neally, a small place in Berkeley county, stood on Opequon creek. It was one of the few forts captured by assault. In the fall of 1756 the Indians attacked and took it, and murdered most of the inmates, and carried others away.

Fort Ohio, named from the Ohio company which built it, was originally a frontier store house or depot for merchandise on its way to the western Indians. It was built in 1750, and stood near the site of the village of Ridgely, Mineral county, on the Northwestern turnpike. The location of the store house at that place has historical importance, not regarding the French and Indian war, but in matters of trade routes across the Alleghany mountains. It has been generally supposed that the Ohio company transported its Indian merchandise west from Wills creek, or Cumberland, Maryland, over the old Nemacolin Indian path to the forks of the Ohio. The building of Fort Ohio indicates that the Ohio company traders used the route afterwards known as the McCullough's trail as well as the Nemacolin path. Fort Ohio stood on or near the McCullough trail, and at one time it was stocked with sixteen thousand dollars worth of merchandise. The governor of Virginia in 1754, after Washington's retreat from Fort Necessity, ordered that the Ohio company's store house be taken possession of and converted into a fort, to be defended with cannon. There is no account that it was ever attacked by the Indians and French.

The fort built near the site of Romney by Job Pearsall has been frequently mentioned in this chapter. The fort was built the first year of the French and Indian war. It was a post of great importance, and part of the time had a regular garrison. Indians committed depredations near it but never made a direct attack. It was one of a chain of forts only a few miles apart along the South Branch from its mouth upward beyond the present Pendleton county line. Historically, it was the most important of them all.

Fort Pearson or Peterson was near the mouth of Mill creek, Grant county, on the road from Petersburg to Franklin. It was built in the fall of 1756. The place was not often mentioned and it was probably of little importance. It was built by order of a council of war held at Staunton in the summer of 1756. The fort was in Augusta county, two miles south of the Hampshire county line at that time. It appears to have been a link in the chain of forts from the Potomac river to Tennessee, but it is not known that it was ever garrisoned with soldiers.

Fort Pleasant stood at Old Fields, Hardy county. Captain Thomas Waggoner built it in 1756 under orders from Washington, and it was a place of considerable strength, consisting of cabins, block houses, and palisades. One of the cabins which formed a corner of the fort was reported standing a few years ago. The battle of the Trough was fought in 1756 in sight of this place, and a large part of the garrison, who were lured into the open by the Indians, were killed. The fort was not attacked.

Ruddell's fort, often written Riddle's, was a small stockade on Lost river, Hardy county, and was built in 1755 or 1756. Information on the

subject is not explicit, but the fort was probably named from Stephen Ruddell, who lived in that vicinity. Captain Jeremiah Smith defeated a party of French and Indians in that vicinity in 1756. The Frenchman in command was killed, and in his pocket was found a commission directing him to attack Fort Frederick, in the Shenandoah valley.

Sellers' fort, named from Thomas Sellers on or near whose land it was built in 1756, was situated in Mineral county at the mouth of Patterson creek. It was garrisoned that year by thirty men, and repelled a sudden attack by French and Indians.

Fort Seybert and the fort at Upper Tract, in Pendleton county, have been already described, in the account of their destruction in 1758 by Indians under Killbuck.

Fort Warden, near the present village of Wardensville, Hardy county, was burned by Indians in 1758, but the particulars of the affair are not clear.

Fort Williams stood six miles below Romney on the South Branch. It was not mentioned in connection with any attack by Indians. It was three miles below Furman's fort.

This list of twenty-three forts built in West Virginia's eight counties east of the Alleghany mountains during the French and Indian war probably does not include all. Others seem to be referred to in early accounts without naming them. Numerous as they were, they were inadequate to afford security to the settlers near them. One by one the settlements were broken up as the war progressed, until, in the fall of 1758, much of the region had been depopulated. Had the war continued a year or two longer it is not improbable that most of what is now West Virginia's territory east of the mountains would have been depopulated. Garrisons might and probably would have continued to hold some of the posts, but the continuance of a farming population would have been impossible. Many of the people had fallen victims to the Indians, but a larger number had returned to the Shenandoah valley or further east. When peace was restored, most of them came back to their abandoned farms to find their buildings burned and nothing but the bare land left of their former improvements.

The Fall of Fort Duquesne—For three years Washington urged upon the Virginia government and upon the British Commander-in-Chief in America the absolute necessity of destroying the French and Indian power at Fort Duquesne, and in 1758 he was gratified to see a movement set on foot for that purpose. During the three years intervening between 1754 and 1758 the British military forces had not been idle. The war was carried into Canada and the French strongholds in that country were one by one attacked and captured. The French made marvellously effective use of the means at their command. The British over-measured them in resources, but the French fought on the defensive, and contested every step's advance by the British. The French power in America was not wholly broken until Quebec fell into the hands of the British, which occurred after the capture of Fort Duquesne in 1758; but repeated reverses had much weakened them before they were called upon to defend their post at the forks of the Ohio. They did not enter into that campaign with the assurance they had shown during the three preceding years in the Ohio valley. During those three years they had been fighting an offensive warfare along the Virginia and Pennsylvania frontiers; but in 1758 they found themselves fighting upon the defensive, and realized, like Hannibal of old, that "the hope and courage of assailants are always greater than of those who act upon the defensive." The French began to withdraw their war parties from the frontiers in 1758, and prepared to wage a war of life and death near the walls of Fort Duquesne.

General Joseph Forbes was in command of the force that was to march over the Alleghanies to attack the French on the Ohio. He brought across the ocean with him 1200 Scotch Highlanders as the nucleus of his army of invasion. Virginia added 1900 militia, and Pennsylvania 2500. Four hundred came from other provinces, making a total of 6000 men, nearly three times the force that followed Braddock. The settlers on the long-tormented frontiers watched that army take up its march toward the mountains, over whose summits the Indians had poured for three years, and there was a fervent hope from Pennsylvania to North Carolina that the end of the war was near at hand. It was one of the largest armies which had been set in motion in America up to that time, and it was well equipped with artillery and other supplies. Its progress was followed with keenest interest as it marched through the settlements westward, and in due time Fort Cumberland, now Cumberland, Maryland, was reached. That was the extreme western limit of the frontier, and beyond that lay the same wilderness that had killed Washington's plans in 1754, swallowed up Braddock's dreams of victory in 1755, and it stretched as dark and silent as it did then. One large region of that wilderness was called "the Shades of Death." The anxious people watched General Forbes's six thousand soldiers file past Fort Cumberland, and disappear in the wilderness and among the mountains. Then came the period of waiting for news. The wait was long.

The road which Braddock had opened three years before from Fort Cumberland to the vicinity of Fort Duquesne remained. White men had not since used it, except such of the French as had accompanied bands of marauding Indians in forays against the settlements; but scouts had from time to time reported that the road had become a highway for Indian war parties, and that the grades on the mountains had been tramped hard by the incessant coming and going of moccasined feet. General Forbes decided, against the voice of most of his officers, that he would not go west over the Braddock road. His decision was looked upon as a military mistake, but his decision was the court of last resort, and it was accepted by his army. It turned out that no disastrous consequences resulted from the stubborn Scotch general's determination to cut a new road from Fort Cumberland to the forks of the Ohio; but the margin between success and failure of the expedition was at one time very small, owing to the long time required to open the new road.

In fifty days the army advanced only fifty miles, and the end of the journey was seventy-five or eighty days away, at the rate at which the expedition had moved after leaving Fort Cumberland. General Forbes insisted upon grading all the hills and bridging the ravines and streams. He considered that he was constructing a permanent highway, and he wanted to build it on scientific principles. The fact that the heavy frosts of autumn had already bared the trees on the mountains and had given warning that in a little time the ground would be buried under snow, did not induce the general to increase his speed. He spoke of going into winter quarters and postponing the rest of the march until the following summer. He was sick, and had been ailing nearly all the time during the march. He could not ride on horseback or in the wagons, and it was necessary to carry him on a litter while he inspected the road building, and kept along with the army's slow march.

Washington acted as second in command, and the transaction of most of the army's business devolved on him. He was a man of remarkable patience, but the slow progress taxed this quality to its limit. Late in the fall information was received that Fort Duquesne was in poor condition and that its garrison was reduced to seven hundred men. It looked like an opportunity to strike, and on November 5 Washington was permitted

to take 2500 men and make a dash for the forks of Ohio. He built eight miles of road in a day, and on November 24 he was near enough Fort Duquesne to hear a heavy explosion at night. The meaning of it was not known at the time, but it was found that the French had blown up their magazine at the fort. They despaired of holding out if they waited for the assault which was sure to be delivered in a few days, and decided to escape while they could. They loaded what their boats would carry, and embarking on the Ohio floated down with the current. They had set the fort on fire and it was soon in ruins. While the embers were yet smouldering, Washington's army came up and took possession. The last boat load of the French was just disappearing round a bend in the river. The fleet was bound for Illinois, where the French still held posts. The Indians who had swarmed in and about the fort saw the handwriting on the wall in time to disperse in the wilderness. Winter was at hand, and they realized that the French would no longer be able to feed and clothe them.

The blow broke the power of the French in the Ohio valley. They held a few posts hundreds of miles further west, but they were too remote to be a menace to the Virginia frontiers. The day of deliverance for the distressed settlements east of the Alleghanies had come. The blow was fatal to the enemies of the settlers. The Indians had lost their leadership and inspiration when the French left them.

A few more blows were delivered against the power of France, and the English became masters of the valleys of the Ohio, the Mississippi, and of the whole of Canada as far north and west as they cared to claim it. The continent had been won for the English race. The French began more than half a century before with a scheme to confine the English colonies to the Atlantic coast, while they hoped to hold all west of the Appalachian range of mountains and all north of the Great Lakes for themselves. Their scheme ended in the loss of every foot of land they had ever held on the North American continent. The war benefited the English colonies in two ways. It not only opened the west for them, but it taught them to trust one another, and to fight side by side when there was a common interest to serve. From that time the growth of the idea of union among the colonies began, and twenty years later it resulted in the achievement of their independence.

The fate of that part of West Virginia west of the mountains hung in the balance until Fort Duquesne fell. The way was then cleared for colonization which soon followed. Had the territory fallen into the hands of France, the character of the inhabitants would have been different and the whole future history of the region would have been changed. In 1761 the French and Indian war was formally ended by treaty between England and France.

THE PONTIAC WAR

The Indians refused to abide by the terms of the treaty of peace signed by England and France. The latter country supposed that it was binding its allies, and that the savages would lay down their arms and agree to the peace. The Indians did not at first understand it, and when later they saw what the French meant, they declined to be bound. During the two years from 1761 to 1763 the savages remained comparatively quiet. They knew that the French had left off fighting and that most of the soldiers had quit the country, but they expected the French to come back with new armies and renew the struggle. It at last slowly dawned on the natives that France was gone for good. Then it was that the Indians decided to renew the war on their own account, and the short and ferocious struggle which ensued is known as Pontiac's war, so named from its organizer, who was by birth a Delaware Indian but had been

adopted by the Ottawas and ultimately became their Chief. He has been considered by some as the ablest Indian on the American continent. Though all do not accord him a place so high, none deny that as an organizer he has had few equals in any race of people.

The war was nearly all outside the borders of West Virginia, and at no time was the existence of the state in jeopardy, and for that reason the events of the war will be here given in brief outline only.

When the English moved west through Canada and the present state of Michigan to take possession of the posts surrendered by the French, the Indians rebelled and refused to recognize the authority of the English or the French either. Pontiac met an English officer on Lake Erie and told him to go back, for the country belonged to the Indians, and the French had no right to cede it or the English to receive it. The English refused to turn back, and from that day Pontiac worked to organize the tribes for war. The profound secrecy of his work was the most amazing part of it. In only one instance did any of his secrets filter through to the ears of the English whom he was about to strike. In that instance an Indian girl betrayed the conspiracy to an English officer in whom she felt an interest, but the betrayal came too late to save more than one of the doomed garrisons.

Pontiac's organization included practically all the Indians from the Mississippi river to the Alleghany mountains, and from the Tennessee river northward into Canada. His purpose was to massacre all the English in the region, as nearly on the same day as possible. Deception and treachery were to be the means employed. The scheme was executed with diabolical precision.

Fort Sandusky near Lake Erie was surprised and captured May 16, 1763. Nine days later a fort at the mouth of St. Joseph's river was taken, and two days later Fort Miami on the Maumee river fell into the hands of Pontiac. On June 1 Fort Ouatamon in Indiana was surprised and captured, and Machilimackinac, far north in Michigan, was taken by treachery on June 2. Venango in Pennsylvania was destroyed and not one of the garrison escaped to tell the tale. Fort Le Boeuf in the same region shared the fate of Venango on June 18. Four days later Presque Isle, now Erie, Pennsylvania, shared the fate of the rest. Cornstalk, a Shawnee chief from Ohio, penetrated to the settlements on the Greenbrier river, where the tactics which had proved so fatally successful were again tried. The Indians came in the guise of friendship and were entertained and fed by the unsuspecting people until at a given signal the savages drew their tomahawks and massacred all on whom they could lay their hands. The few that escaped fled across the mountains into Augusta county, and there was not a white person left on the Greenbrier river, or anywhere else west of the mountains in the present territory of West Virginia, except an occasional hunter like the Pringles, who at that time were camped in the unbroken wilderness and had cleared no fields to betray their presence.

Three forts held out against the attacks of Pontiac's conspirators, Detroit, Forts Pitt and Ligonier in Pennsylvania. Detroit had warning from an Indian girl, and when the Indians came, expecting to be admitted into the fort without question, they were met with drawn swords. The savages had sawed-off guns under their blankets, but dared not use them when the garrison was found ready. Pontiac besieged Detroit for a year, but failed to starve it out. Fort Ligonier did not fall into the trap, and the Indians besieged that also, but without success. They made a determined effort to take Fort Pitt. They tried treachery, deception, and direct assault. They dug holes in the river bank, and burying themselves out of sight, kept up a fire for weeks. They attempted to set fire to the fort by

shooting burning arrows upon the roof. They offered the garrison safe passage across the mountains to the settlements if they would evacuate the fort, but they found negotiations as fruitless as assaults had been.

On the last day of July, 1763, the Indians raised the siege of Fort Pitt and disappeared. It was learned in a short time why they had done so. General Bouquet was marching to the relief of Fort Pitt with 500 men and a large supply train, and the savages had gone forward to meet him and give him battle. As General Bouquet marched west from Fort Cumberland, through Pennsylvania, he found the settlements broken up, the houses burned, and the crops unharvested. Desolation was on every side, showing how completely the Indians had carried out, in that region, their purpose to destroy all settlements west of the mountains. When the army reached Fort Ligonier the Indians had abandoned the siege and were gone. Bouquet marched forward to Bushy run, where the savages made a sudden and fierce attack. The battle continued into the second day, and the English found themselves completely surrounded and in danger of annihilation. A stratagem saved the day. The English set troops in ambuscade in an advantageous position, and by feigning retreat, drew the Indians into the trap, when they were completely routed and the way for the westward march was opened. General Bouquet had lost so many of his pack horses that he was compelled to destroy part of his stores for want of means to transport them. After a four days march the army reached Fort Pitt.

The tide had turned against the savages. They could no longer accomplish anything by treachery and surprises, and in open battle they were unable to stand against the forces which the English were sending against them. General Amherst, the British Commander-in-Chief in America, gave voice to his rage against the Indians when he declared them "the vilest race of beings that ever infested the earth, and whose riddance from it must be esteemed a meritorious act for the good of mankind." He said they were unfit for allies and unworthy of respect as enemies, and he sent orders to the officers on the frontiers to take no prisoners, but kill all who could be caught. He offered a reward of five hundred dollars to anyone who would kill Pontiac, and caused the offer of the reward to be proclaimed at Detroit.

The end of the war was near. In the spring of 1764 General Bouquet collected an army of 2000 at Pittsburgh and invaded the Indian country in Ohio. The force was more than the savages dared face in fight, and they resorted to negotiations, hoping to persuade the army to turn back. Bouquet received their overtures, but continued to advance upon their towns and settlements. They realized that resistance was useless, and they were obliged to accept the terms which he offered. They made peace, and gave up all the white prisoners held by them. More than 200 were restored to their people. It is probable that the Indians would not have consented to the peace had they not lost all hope of help from the French. For some time after the war began they believed that the king of France would send soldiers and supplies to assist them. That hope was finally abandoned when DeNeyon, a French officer in Illinois, wrote a letter to Pontiac, telling him that peace existed between France and England, and the Indians need expect no help from France. He advised Pontiac to make peace. This letter was received while the siege of Detroit was in progress, and the substance of the communication became known among the tribes and greatly discouraged them. The failure of the three sieges, Fort Pitt, Fort Ligonier, and Detroit, further discouraged the Indians by teaching them that they could not contend against white men in the open, though success might be attained by treachery and ambuscades. Ten years of peace on the Virginia frontiers followed the close of the Pontiac war.

DECKER'S CREEK.

CHAPTER VI

BRADDOCK'S ROAD AND THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT

Braddock's road across the mountains from Cumberland, Maryland, to the Monongahela river has been previously considered as a military highway. After its principal use as a war road was ended it had an eventful history as an avenue for trade and travel. Its forerunner, the Nemacolin trail, was marked out as a line over which to carry merchandise some years before its importance for military purposes was seen. The Ohio company with its store house where Cumberland, Maryland, now stands, built a fort also, as was done elsewhere, but only for the purpose of protecting its people from robbers and its property from theft. Trade was the object in view, and the field of trade was the western Indian country, from Lake Erie as far south as its traders cared or dared to go, and there was no limit westward. It was a wilderness except for the wigwams and council houses of the Indians. The wares which that country offered the venturesome merchant were only such as the forest produced. The beaver's lodge, muskrat's den, otter's slide, mink's trail, weasel's skulking place, the bear's feeding ground or hibernating root pit, and the lick or crossing where the deer fell before the hunter,—these were the localities searched for by the wandering merchants with their packhorses and canoes. The spoil of the red man's chase found its way across the trader's packsaddle, and, carried in that manner scores or hundreds of miles, it reached the seashores and the overseas. There was profit in it for the Ohio company, as well as for others, and the establishment grew in wealth and influence. It had frontier camps or houses on the western waters, one at Redstone, on the Monongalia in Pennsylvania, another near Pittsburgh, and others elsewhere. Its traders dared the dangers of the ultra frontiers, and brought rich caravans home.

The Nemacolin trail was marked out to shorten the distance from Cumberland to the Indian country, and it was nothing but a trade route. The road built on nearly the same location by Braddock in 1755 became a trade route also after it had served its day as a military road. This chapter will treat it as such, and in order to properly understand its importance in the westward movement, it becomes necessary to lengthen the road toward the setting sun, by adding to it a few score miles or a few hundred miles of river. The Braddock road, as a trade highway, properly ended at Brownsville, Pennsylvania, or Redstone as it was then called. The road was never completed to Pittsburgh. It fell seven miles short of that point on July 9, 1755, when the fatal battle occurred, and not another mile was ever added to it. The road which three years and five months later reached Pittsburgh lay further north. It was built by General Forbes and was important for war and trade; but the Braddock road had a separate existence and a history in many ways different. Instead of turning north from the vicinity of Uniontown, Pennsylvania, as the military road had done, the trade route ran on west to Brownsville and ended on the bank of the Monongahela river.

This chapter will trace some of that highway's influences in the years that followed. It is proper, however, to forestall misunderstanding of the matter by stating that as the years went by there were other roads besides Braddock's which were concerned in the movement from the east toward the upper Ohio river. Braddock's in the early years was the most

important of all, and as far as West Virginia's early history is concerned, especially that centered along the Ohio and the Monongahela, it stands out preeminent. Imlay's map published in 1793 showed only two wagon roads crossing the Alleghanies in or near West Virginia's present territory. One crossed into the Greenbrier valley near the present route of the Chesapeake & Ohio railroad, and the other was Braddock's road. Six years later a map in "La Rochefoucault-Liancourts' Travels" showed only three routes reaching the western country from Alexandria, Virginia, by wagons, and one of these went no farther west than Romney, in Hampshire county. One was Braddock's road, and the other was a highway from Cumberland to Morgantown, but going no farther. The Greenbrier road which was on the map of 1793 was not shown on the other of 1799. There may have been, and probably were, some sorts of roads crossing the mountains between Cumberland and Greenbrier in 1799, but they were doubtless too wretched for much commerce to pass over. It is well known that there were wagon roads west of the mountains at that time, but it seems that wagons were able to cross the mountains in very few places.

River Travel—The eagerness with which the pioneers cast aside the slow and laborious means of land travel, and took to the water as soon as they came within reach of it, affords evidence of the badness of land highways and the comparatively good ones by water. Floating down stream was much easier than poling and paddling up, though journeys up stream were many times made long distances. Nature obstructed the white man's progress westward by throwing the unbroken chains of the Alleghany range across his path; but she compensated for it, in a measure, by causing the western rivers to flow the general course the white man wanted to travel. Having toiled over the mountains by Braddock's road, the trader or emigrant might take to the water at Brownsville and float with the current the whole way to Kentucky if he wished to go so far There was no need to bother about how to get back, for few expected ever to return. They were going there to stay.

The Braddock road, and the roads which paralleled it later, were in existence a long time, and the method of river travel changed much in that time. Traders who went over the Nemacolin trail before the French and Indian war and continued their journeys over the western waters, did not go in the manner of those who came after the Revolution, and down to the war of 1812. The different vessels which carried the settler and the trader came and went with fashion and demand. Each kind met a need, and was usually succeeded by a better.

The Canoe—The simplest vehicle of river travel was the canoe. There were bark canoes used at times on the western waters, but there appears not to have been many. The bark canoe belonged to more northern latitudes and depended for its existence almost entirely upon the paper birch, and this tree is scarce or does not grow at all in the Ohio valley. It is the tree of which bark canoes were made in Canada and New England, and doubtless when Indians and explorers journeyed south into the Ohio valley they frequently carried some of their bark canoes with them. South of the paper birch's range they sometimes made canoes of the bark of slippery elm.

The canoes in the Ohio valley were nearly all made of yellow poplar, a beautiful tree which reaches its best development in West Virginia. Canoes in early times were found along all the rivers, particularly the Kanawha and the Monongahela, and a first class one was good for fifteen or twenty years of service, barring accidents. There was only one accident that was really to be feared, and that was loss by flood. The yellow poplar canoe was hewed from a single trunk, and it was impossible to sink it beyond recovery, for the buoyancy of the wood repeatedly brought it to the

surface if forced beneath the water, and so solid was the vessel that it was next to impossible to crush it or stave it in by driving it against rocks. The canoe was an Indian invention, and the name is an Indian word. It was the only vehicle of conveyance given by the native American to the white men, and it was one of the most valuable articles that could have been presented. The Indians hollowed their canoes by the slow and laborious process of fire and rubbing stones before white men gave them edged tools. Canoes made in that way were heavy and clumsy; but when axes and hatchets came into use, the shells were made thinner, and the finished article was light enough to float in shallow water. It then became of the greatest use to travelers who followed the water courses. It was used for war and the chase, which were the principal occupations of the Indians.

The white travelers and traders speedily made the dugout canoe an article of great importance. Some of their long journeys in the Ohio valley would have been difficult if not impossible without it. Where the tedious overland trail ended, the water route began. The trader unloaded his packhorses on the bank of the Kanawha or the Monongahela after the journey over the mountains; and having packed his wares in the narrow hold of the canoe, the light craft shot away into the stream, and was driven upon its journey four or five miles an hour with easy strokes of the paddle. The packhorses carried the merchandise scarcely twenty miles from daylight till dark; in the same length of time the canoe covered forty or fifty miles, if the course was down stream, and loads on the West Virginia rivers nearly always went down stream. One good canoe carried as much as ten packhorse loads, and the bales of merchandise glided over the water without a jar. The packhorses bumped them against trees and rocks, or fell with them in quagmires, or damaged the articles by water in fording deep streams. It was with a feeling of relief that the forest merchant approached the western streams after crossing the mountains, and transferred his wares from the packsaddles to the canoe.

There were canoes of all sizes, from the smallest for one or two men, to those made for business or war, large enough to carry three or four thousand pounds safely upon long journeys. The canoe in which Washington traveled hundreds of miles upon the western waters in 1770 carried eight persons besides equipments and supplies. It was not unusually large. After General Lewis' army in 1774 had toiled over the mountains with a long pack train, the soldiers halted at the mouth of Elk river where Charleston, West Virginia, now stands, and hewed canoes which carried the army's stores to the Ohio.

The canoe on the waters of the Ohio supplemented the packhorse on the over-mountain trails. That is, they were, within their respective spheres, the means by which the earliest trade was carried on. It should not be supposed, however, that when the packhorse went out of business as a carrier, the canoe immediately became an obsolete craft. Other kinds of boats were in use long before the packhorse quit, and the canoe continued its voyages long after the last over-mountain packsaddle had been hung on its peg to be taken down no more. The dugout canoe is not entirely a thing of the past yet in West Virginia, though a person might travel a long time without seeing one. The yellow poplars from which to hew them are scarce along the rivers, and have become so valuable at the saw mills that trunks go there instead of to the canoe maker. Bridges across nearly every stream have made the use of such canoes of comparatively little necessity now.

The Pirogue—The old books of travel, exploration, war, and trading have frequent mention of the pirogue. That, too, was an Indian word,

but its exact meaning was not always kept in view by those who made use of the word. It often meant a canoe, pure and simple, but it was generally something else. Sometimes it was a long, slim boat of planks nailed together. The ends were peaked like the ends of a canoe, both being alike in that respect. The vessels would go with equal ease both ways. The pirogue was sometimes made by sawing a dugout canoe lengthwise, and inserting a wide plank or several short ones nailed across. By this method the capacity of the vessel might be doubled, and at the same time it would ride rougher water without danger of overturning. At times a deck was built over the top to protect the cargo against spray thrown over the gunwales when the water was choppy. Pirogues made by sawing a canoe lengthwise and inserting a plank are mentioned in John Lawson's history of the Carolinas as early as 1714, and one is spoken of which had a capacity of 100 barrels. Another, fitted with a deck and sail, would have voyaged from the Carolina coast for the Barbados Islands, but the custom officers refused to issue clearance papers. It was proved that such vessels were seaworthy, for cargoes were carried by the ocean route in the Atlantic coasting trade, between Carolina and Virginia.

The growth of river commerce in the upper Ohio valley demanded a vessel larger than the canoe, yet not so large that it could not ascend the currents when business called the trader far up the rivers to the inland settlements. The pirogue answered that purpose well. It was flat-bottomed and floated shallow, and could be navigated in most places where a canoe would go. Though not quite as easily managed as a canoe, and a little more liable to meet misfortune in rapids where submerged stones were to be feared, it carried a larger load, and as a freighter, it was a little superior to the canoe. It was a pirogue which was carrying a cargo of cannon balls from Pittsburgh down the Ohio in 1777 when the Indians captured it and proceeded to fire the balls from a wooden cannon with well known results.

The pirogue—particularly the kind made by sawing a canoe lengthwise and splicing it—is now obsolete. It is doubtful if a single one exists in the world. Yet, in its day, and that day lasted a century and a half, it was an important adjunct of commerce along the waterways of the eastern part of the United States.

The Keelboat—This vessel was larger than the pirogue, but it was made to go up rivers as well as down, and in that respect resembled the canoe and the pirogue. This was the first vessel in the evolution of river craft in this part of the country that had a white man's name, since canoe and pirogue were of Indian origin. The broad, flat bottom gave this vessel its descriptive name; and it was, besides, designed to steer easily. Its use on rivers often shallow and with rocks to be guarded against all the time, rendered impossible a broad centerboard extending much below the bottom of the boat. The canoe and the pirogue had none, so even an excuse of a centerboard in the new craft sufficed to give it a name. It was propelled with poles most of the time, and the boatmen were trained for that particular work. Running boards extended along both sides, and the workmen walked on these, braced their poles against the bottom, and by walking with a steady push from stem to stern, they shoved the boat along. This motion was accompanied by the rhythmic cry, "lift," "set," the whole day or night through. The keelboatmen usually kept near shore to take the benefit of shallower water there than in midstream, particularly if ascending the river. When, in passing round headlands or islands, the water was too deep for the setting poles, the boat was temporarily propelled with oars or paddles.

Keelboats carried from forty to eighty thousand pounds, and of course their operations were confined to streams of considerable size and

with channels comparatively free from obstructions. Keelboats were seen on some of the interior rivers of West Virginia up to a few years ago, and possibly a few may still be beating up the currents in localities where railroads are not convenient. After the opening of the nineteenth century keelboats from New Orleans carried coffee and sugar for merchants along the Ohio, Kanawha, and Monongahela rivers. Some classes of merchandise from Philadelphia for towns in West Virginia made the sea voyage to New Orleans and thence up the Mississippi and Ohio to the shadows of the Alleghany mountains within four hundred miles of their starting place. But that phase of the question will be considered more at length in discussing the rivalry between the long water carriage and the short land haul across the mountains.

The Bateau—This boat was somewhat pointed at the ends, and carried a load of about 1500 pounds, but it was a rather clumsy vessel and was not common on the West Virginia rivers. Its sphere of usefulness should be sought in Canada, for it was a French boat.

The Barge—When a barge took a long voyage down stream before the days of steamboats, it was supposed never to return. It was a large, unwieldly vessel, and if the journey was long, the cost of towing back to the starting place was greater than the expense of building a new barge where the finest grades of black walnut and yellow poplar planks could be bought for ten or fifteen dollars a thousand feet, delivered at the boat yard. There was no power by which one of the larger barges could be forced up the rivers of West Virginia, before steam came into use. If the distance was short, horses might wade along near the shore, or walk on the bank, and draw the barge up the river for another load, but there was a limit to this. Sometimes men with poles, using them like keelboatmen, forced barges some distance up stream; but that method was not apt to be tried if the distance was considerable. Besides, if the wind happened to be blowing in the wrong direction, the efforts put forth by the men on board, or horses on the bank, availed little. The barge of early times was only for one trip down stream, and that was the last of it, except that it served a purpose after it reached its journey's end by being broken up and put to use as material for house building. Many of the earliest houses in Marietta, Ohio, were built of broken-up barges that had come from Pittsburgh or perhaps from head of navigation on the Monongahela.

The barge was of the utmost importance on the western rivers. Its particular place in the westward movement was to carry families and household goods to new homes. Such commodities included farm stock, horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, and poultry. The emigrants from the east loaded on packhorses, or in wagons, such of their earthly possessions as could not hoof it over the mountains, but what could walk was obliged to do it. The Braddock road, as well as roads and paths farther north and south, conducted the long caravans across the mountains and delivered them upon the banks of the western rivers at the head of navigation, and there the barge was called upon to do its share in steering the course of empire on its western way. Some built their own boats and barges; some bought them ready made. There were boat yards along the Monongahela from its mouth to the head of navigation. After about 1788 or 1790 it was possible, on an hour's notice, to buy nearly any sort of a boat, from a barge down to a skiff, for the descent of the river. There was much travel earlier than that—almost twenty years earlier—but the business of boat building was at its height along the Monongahela a little before the opening of the nineteenth century. As early as 1768 at Pittsburgh it is recorded that Iroquois and Shawnee Indians who were visiting the garrison there, cast suspecting eyes on some boats which were building at that time, and were anxious to know if the boats were intended for a

downstream voyage. They need not have asked, for all boats built at Pittsburgh and above there on the water courses, at that day and for thirty-five years afterwards, were expected to take their principal voyages down stream. Not only the river's current, but the current of civilization after it had once crossed the Alleghany mountains, moved down stream.

Some of the barges were large enough to carry dozens of families with such of their household goods as they had been able to carry over the mountains, and also their cattle. Indian sharpshooters hung along the banks of the rivers ready to fire into the boats, and to board them if opportunity offered. Many of the barges and houseboats were of timbers so heavy as to be bullet proof. Some were armed with small cannon ready to shoot away any screens or bullet shields with which the savages might equip their canoes for an assault on the barges.

The houseboat, a common sight in the time of the early river migration westward, was a barge with a roof and partitions. The people lived in one part, the farm animals in another, and the household articles were stowed between.

Sailing Vessels—The river craft listed above floated with the current or were propelled with poles, paddles, or oars, though in some instances sails were tried when conditions were favorable. The abundance of excellent timber west of the Alleghany mountains suggested to boatmakers that ship building might be made profitable, not only for carrying river trade but for ocean traffic. There were shipyards at Wheeling, West Virginia, Marietta, Ohio, and at Pittsburgh. At the latter place operations began in 1792, and part of the lumber was rafted down from West Virginia. Large quantities of black walnut and yellow poplar were used, both there and lower down the Ohio. The walnut largely took the place of oak, not because oak was scarce or of poor quality, but walnut was considered better. It was nearly as strong, was lighter, and it resisted decay better than oak in the river boats. In course of time the walnut built vessels of the upper Ohio won a reputation away from home as well as at home.

In 1792 the vessel "Amity" of 120 tons and the "Pittsburgh" of 250 tons were completed at the Pittsburgh yard. The small one put to sea in 1793, and sailed for St. Thomas in the West Indies, and the larger one went to Philadelphia. If they were in part constructed of West Virginia timber, as has been claimed, it is probable that their hulls carried the first wood from that region to distant cities and foreign countries. In 1793, the "Nannie" of 200 tons and the "Louisiana" of 350 tons came off the ways at Pittsburgh. The small vessel sailed for France, and the larger carried a load of coal to Philadelphia and sold it for ten dollars a ton. That appears to have been the first coal from the upper Ohio to reach Philadelphia. The next year a ship of 400 tons, the "Western Trader," was launched at Pittsburgh. By the year 1800 the ships which were made at the forks of the Ohio were going down the river with cargoes of glass, beef, pork, and with furniture manufactured of walnut, cherry, and yellow birch.

In 1805 the schooner "Dorcas and Sally" was built at Wheeling and rigged at Marietta. It was of 70 tons burden. A ship built at Marietta sailed for Italy, and entering a port in that country was detained by the authorities a short time until they could ascertain where the vessel came from. They had never heard of Marietta, but when they satisfied themselves that there was such a place, and that the vessel sailed under regular papers, it was permitted to go. By 1805 many seagoing vessels were yearly dropping down the Ohio, of course, never returning.

The time had arrived when a craft of a different kind was to make its

appearance on the upper Ohio. The first steamboat was built on the Monongahela in 1811.

East and West Trade—Something has been said of the packhorse trade across the mountains. The business soon passed beyond the packhorse stage and it then assumed a new aspect. When the Braddock road was built, it was the first wagon highway from the Atlantic seaboard to the Ohio river. It was not many years the only one, but it played an important part in shaping the course of trade and travel between the east and the west. In 1764, at the close of the Pontiac war, the Braddock road was nearly choked in places by sprouts springing up from low stumps left in the ground when the road was built. Danger from Indians had been so great that no one had made use of the road since 1755 when Braddock retreated over it; but soon after 1764 the road was opened to the Monongahela river at Brownsville, Pa., and travel began. The tide of settlement soon set in toward the west. It did not flow immediately into what is now West Virginia, but it accumulated in Pennsylvania, and when the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768 removed obstacles in the way of colonizing the regions between the mountains and the Ohio river, there was little loss of time in opening the wilderness. Wagons carried to the Monongahela articles needed in the western country, but the date of the beginning was not as early as some might be led to suppose. The Braddock road was passable for wagons—or at least had been passed by wagons—thirty-four years before the first recorded load of merchandise reached the Monongahela. In Veach's "Monongahela of Old" it is stated that the first wagon load of merchandise arrived at that river in 1789.

If that last statement is true it may be seriously asked what the Braddock road was hauling, if not merchandise, up to 1789. Doubtless merchandise as the word was used by Veach, was understood to be commodities such as merchants offer for sale. There were stores of rather respectable dimensions in the western country before 1789, and it is difficult to believe that all that went on their shelves was carried from Cumberland, or some other depot east of the mountains, on the backs of packhorses for full twenty years after settlements began to be numerous in the west. If for any reason Braddock's road was closed to wagons during part of that time, there remained the Forbes road north of it, the military highway to Pittsburgh from eastern Pennsylvania, and no reason has been given for the non-use of that road for wagoning merchandise to the western country.

The exact date of the first wagon load of store goods is not important. Wagons of household goods, in the long emigrant trains across the Alleghanies, were earlier than 1789. Boats upon the Monongahela and Ohio before that year bore abundant evidence that the wagon roads over the mountains were well patronized by wheeled vehicles, as well as by flocks and herds. It is recorded that from November 13 to December 22, 1785, there passed down the Ohio 39 boats, with an average of ten persons in each. In the last six months of 1787 a count at the mouth of the Muskingum river, on the Ohio side a short distance above Parkersburg, showed that 146 boats passed, with 3196 passengers, 165 wagons, 191 cattle, 245 sheep, and 24 hogs. From November, 1787, to November, 1788, there passed down the Ohio 967 boats, 18,370 people, 7986 horses, 2372 cows, 1110 sheep, and 640 wagons.

This is enough to show the set of the tide. All of these people did not pass west over the Braddock road, but the travel was heavy over that route during those years, as well as after and before.

Commodities—The commodities which made up the trade with the western country after settlements began were quite different from those common there in the days of the Indian occupation. Furs were the princi-

pal article then, and had the output of that vast region continued to be furs, little need would there have been for roads wider than trails or for means of transportation better than packhorses; for no large or heavy bulk would have gone to market. But the Indians and the muskrats, otters, and other wild creatures, passed away, and the new inhabitants found new commodities. A list of ordinary articles in trade at Pittsburgh nearly a century and a quarter ago named flour, whiskey, peach brandy, cider, beer, bar iron, earthenware, cabinet work, boots, hoes, plow-irons, mill irons, chains, chairs, biscuit, bread, cheese, bacon, beef, linen, lumber. It is not stated whether these articles were produced west of the mountains, or were carried over from the east. It is apparent that all were not of eastern origin, nor were all products of the western country which was then beginning to turn to manufacturing. Then raw materials were so abundant in the west that it was almost impossible not to do something with them. The articles named above were shipped down the river. The first flat boat from Brownsville, Pa., reached New Orleans in 1782, and others continued to pass down at intervals after that. About the beginning of the nineteenth century some of the boats brought cotton, furs, hemp, lead, and skins up the river.

The merchants in the east looked upon the opening of trade routes over the Alleghany mountains as a sure means of increasing trade. They knew that the Indians in the Ohio valley had bought goods to the extent of their ability to pay; and it was evident that white settlers in the region would be able to buy much more. The obstacle in the way of a large and lucrative business with the over-mountain people was the long, rough road. It was eighty miles from Cumberland to Brownsville, and a hundred years ago Cumberland was a long distance west of the manufacturing centers of this country, and Brownsville was only on the eastern edge of the consuming public which then lived west of the mountains. The eighty miles of steep road which separated Cumberland from Brownsville was only part of the obstacle in the way of profitable trade with the transmontane country. However, except a small quantity of merchandise that came up the Mississippi, the western people looked to the east for what they needed in the way of merchandise. When Daniel Boone was keeping store he bought his goods in Hagerstown, Williamsport, and elsewhere east of Cumberland, and he and his sons transported them across the mountains to the west, making use of waterways and mountain roads. In 1796 the cost of hauling household goods from Alexandria, Virginia, to Morgantown, West Virginia, was about eighty dollars a ton.

Trade and the Flag—The question of trade following the flag was discussed in this country for the first time when population began to grow large west of the Alleghany mountains, and problems came up for solution. At that time it was not so much a prophecy that trade would follow the flag as it was a fear that the flag might not follow trade. Southward and westward were the French and Spanish colonies, on both sides of the Mississippi, and the rivers from all along the west side of the mountains flowed that way. It was a question whether the settlers on the westward slope of the mountains, and all the way across the valleys, would not find it easier to trade down the rivers than over the mountains; and if they once formed a habit of trading in that direction might they not form political alliances in that direction also?

The Revolutionary war had scarcely come to a close before that question became a living one in the east. Business men were afraid of losing the western business, and eastern statesmen forsaw the danger of a new republic west of the mountains whose outlet to the markets of the world would be through the Mississippi river. The mountains stood like a wall between the Atlantic coast and the western valleys, and they threatened

to divide the two sections forever. The question was indeed much older than the Revolutionary war. The French saw the mountain range and the western valleys, and they sought political and trade advantages by making the most of the barrier which nature had set between the east and the west. They wanted the western valleys and were willing to let England plant its colonies on the Atlantic seaboard. France did not believe that England would make a serious attempt to cross, but the French and Indian war came on, and England crossed, took the site of Pittsburgh, and drove the French out of America.

England no sooner had possession of the land on both sides of the mountains than she began to scheme against her own colonies, and wished to confine them east of the mountains. It was foreseen that they would grow very powerful if they occupied and developed the western valleys, and might be then tempted to declare their independence. To head such a movement off, England extended the province of Quebec to the Ohio river, intending that the French from Canada and elsewhere should settle west of the mountains, and thus hem the English in their original settlements east of the range. But events again moved faster than the politicians, and the Revolutionary war put the Americans in possession of the western country.

Once more a fear of consequences west of the Alleghanies arose. The Americans had it all, but they were anxious concerning the part of the country west of the mountains. It was well known that the line of least resistance was westward and southward, the way the rivers run, and there was enough country in that direction to make a republic larger than the thirteen original states. Could the smaller east hold the larger west? There would have been no dividing line between the two sections, except for the unbroken range of mountains; but the mountains were there, and the question of trade and politics could not be settled satisfactorily without making the passage of the mountains easier.

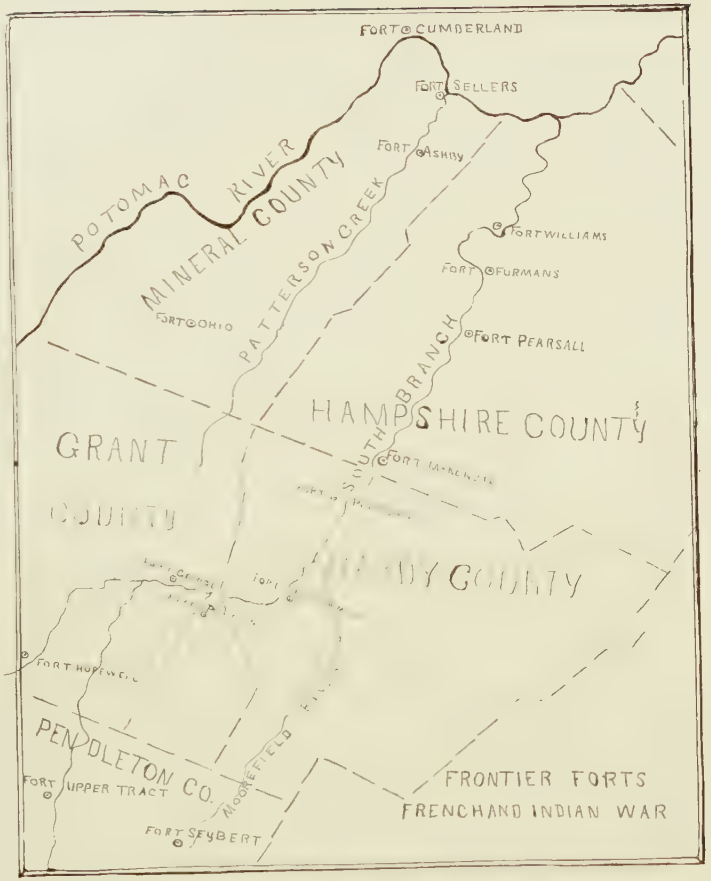
The Braddock road was the first attempt to solve the question. It was the first key inserted to unlock the gates of the mountains. Two wealthy parts of a country cannot be permanently tied together by packhorse trails. The bond is not strong enough. The endless caravans of men, women, children, wagons, and flocks and herds that streamed across the Alleghanies as soon as the road was opened and made safe, is evidence that it was wanted. But during the first years the travel was nearly all one way, westward. Nothing was coming back. Commerce must flow both ways, or it will finally cease to flow. The eastern business men were willing enough to see tens of thousands of people, with their worldly goods, seeking the western country, but there was a feeling for a good many years that there was too little crossing the mountains in an eastward course.

It is idle to speculate what might have been the effect on the ties between the east and the west, with the Alleghany mountains as the dividing line, had the invention of railroads been postponed a few decades longer. After the Braddock road showed the way, others followed as rapidly as they could be built; but it is questionable whether wagon roads could have much longer held the commerce of the sections together. Railroads saved the day. Washington saw the question in a light as clear as prophecy. He knew that wagon roads would not be sufficient to carry the commerce between the east and the west in a few decades more, and he took up the subjects of canals from the Atlantic seaboard as far into the fastnesses of the Alleghany mountains as they could be constructed and operated, and as far up the slopes on the western side as possible. He hoped to bring the two systems of canals within thirty or forty miles of

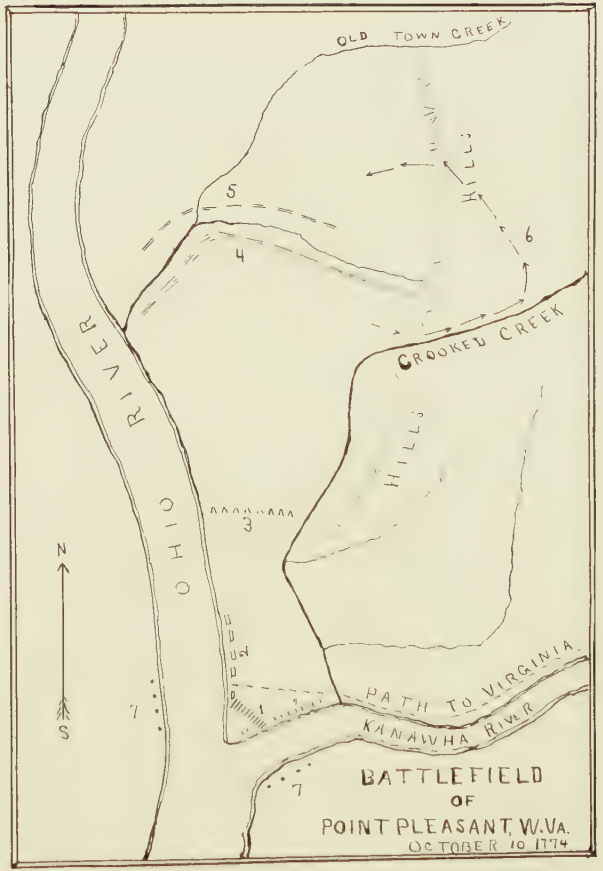
meeting, with the termini connected by broad and solid highways over which commerce would pass east and west.

One of these canals which Washington planned was to follow the James river and Kanawha river route to the Ohio; another was to ascend the Potomac as high as possible; on the western side corresponding canals were to descend branches of the Monongahela river. Other canals were planned for states north of Virginia. The Potomac canal was actually built as far as Cumberland before railroads made its further building unnecessary. Washington expected it would ascend the North Branch of the Potomac into Grant county, where the Northwestern turnpike crosses that stream. From that point a highway would lead over the mountains to Cheat river, either to Dunkard Bottom, Preston county, or Horseshoe bend, Tucker county. It was Washington's hope that Cheat river could be made navigable to one or both of the points he had selected for the station at the western foot of the mountains. The James river canal was likewise built far up toward the mountains before the coming of railroads put an end to its extension westward.

Washington's canals would have gone far toward solving the problems they were meant to solve, but in the light of fuller knowledge of the regions through which they would have passed it may be accepted that Washington would have met with graver engineering troubles than he expected. The New river, which he counted on using as part of the James river canal system could not have been made navigable much above its junction with the Gauley, and an over-mountain road more than one hundred miles long would have been needed. The situation was nearly the same in regard to the navigation of Cheat river which stream he hoped to be able to hitch to his Potomac canal system. Cheat river could not have been made navigable above Sandy creek in Preston county, about thirteen miles from its junction with the Monongahela.



The above map shows the frontier forts along the South Branch and westward, stretching from Fort Cumberland on the north to Fort Seybert on the south. All were built during the French and Indian war, except Forts Cumberland and Ohio, which had been erected by the Ohio Company a few years before.



1. Breastwork of logs built by the Virginians while the battle was going on, and intended for a rallying place if defeated in the field. 2. Camp before the battle. 3. Line of battle at 7 o'clock in the morning. 4. Virginian army at 1 p. m. 5. Indian army at 4 p. m. 6. Arrows show line of march of the Virginian flanking force which attacked the Indians in the rear. 7. Indian sharpshooters posted to pick off the Virginians if they attempted to escape by swimming.

CHAPTER VII

THE DUNMORE WAR

There was peace on the Virginia frontier from the close of Pontiac's war in 1764 till the Dunmore war in 1774, ten years. During that ten years a wonderful shifting of the frontier had taken place. The line of settlements had moved forward farther in those ten years than in the century that had gone before. The year 1764 found the outposts of the settlements along the eastern base of the Alleghany mountains. Before that time a few adventurers had crossed the barrier and had established camps or built cabins in the wilderness beyond; but such were too few and too widely dispersed to be classed as settlements, and whatever they had been earlier, they had ceased to exist before the peace of 1764 had been declared. The summer of that year found the western part of Virginia uninhabited. In another chapter the history of the pouring of settlers over the mountains prior to 1774 is given. When the spring of 1774 came it found the frontier at the Ohio river instead of at the eastern base of the Alleghanies as ten years before. From their country beyond the Ohio, and southward and northward, the Indians had looked without much concern upon the settlements advancing miles at a bound until they were upon the bank of the Ohio at Wheeling, at the mouth of the Little Kanawha, at many places between, and settlements were creeping down the Kanawha valley from the Greenbrier, but had not yet actually reached the Ohio in that quarter.

Surveyors—The Indians had by treaty relinquished their claims to Western Virginia, between the mountains and the river, and they showed no disposition to interfere with the white people in their occupation of the region; but these people were beginning to show signs that they did not mean to stop at the Ohio, or at least that they did not intend to stop short of Kentucky. The same treaty which transferred West Virginia to the ownership of white people, transferred Kentucky also; but the legality of the transfer was disputed by portions of certain tribes.

Numbers of officers who had fought in the French and Indian war were entitled under Virginia's laws to land west of the Alleghanies. The amount in the aggregate was very large. Surveyors were sent over the mountains in the spring of 1773 and again in 1774 to locate land for the soldiers. The surveyors were not in the employ of the state, but of those who expected to obtain the land. There were certain limits within which the surveys must be made, but those limits were wide and in some parts were vaguely defined. The surveyors were permitted to go pretty much anywhere that good land was to be had, except that they were not supposed to cross the Ohio river. Some did cross it, however, if not to survey land, at least for other purposes. The various parties traveled up and down the Ohio for hundreds of miles.

Surveys were run on both banks of the Kanawha, and above and below, and the bottom land between the Kanawha and the Guyandotte was staked for claims. By the middle of summer, 1774, there was scarcely a good piece of land along the Ohio river, on the eastern and southern side, that had not been staked and platted for some officer who had seen service in the French and Indian war. There was keen competition to secure the best tracts, but each surveyor scrupulously respected former surveys. If he found himself on located ground he immediately withdrew

to some other place. Some surveys contained ten or twenty thousand acres, and those of less than several hundred were few. The land parties frequently went in companies of twenty or thirty, and believed themselves strong enough to take care of themselves if the Indians undertook to give trouble. As a general thing, Indians were not often encountered except in the immediate proximity of the Ohio river.

While the surveyors were at work locating lands for soldiers, settlers were entering the country by every path and road. Not only were they building cabins and clearing cornfields in what is now West Virginia, but they were finding their way by hundreds into Kentucky, which was then considered as within the bounds of Augusta county, Virginia. The land was claimed by Virginia as its territory under the old charter; but the King of England claimed it as his under the terms of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix. He claimed that he received it from the Iroquois Indians. There might have been a serious conflict of title, had not the Revolutionary war killed forever the crown's title and confirmed Virginia's. Many of the settlers who built their cabins at that time, finally received title by what was then known as the tomahawk right, which was a sort of homestead.

Indians Suspicious—Such was the state of affairs on the Virginia frontier in the spring of 1774. Some people have claimed there was no sufficient reason for the Dunmore war, and that it came more by accident than from a deliberate purpose on the part of either side. That view is scarcely justified if the situation on the frontier and the feeling of the Indians at that time are considered. The savages saw the endless tide of immigrants and surveyors moving toward the west, and they had by that time learned that the Anglo-Saxon land hunger was never satisfied. That which he touched lightly to-day he seized with an unbreakable grip to-morrow. Though the surveyors and the settlers had not yet made a serious crossing of the Ohio, which was the boundary line between the Indian lands and the white man's possessions, they were upon that stream and were making it a highway, and it would be but one step more to occupy the north bank. The Indians understood it, and it was that which made them restless in the spring of 1774. Traders returned from beyond the Ohio and reported that the savages were sullen. Word traveled rapidly along the frontiers that the Indians were in an ugly frame of mind. The report lost nothing as it went, and almost before the snows of the winter of 1773-4 were off the ground, the frontiersmen were expecting hostilities. The logic of the men on the border was that what was bound to come, might as well come quickly, and they lost no opportunity to hasten events. A study of the situation along the Ohio river and as far south as the Holston river in Tennessee at that time must relieve the Indians of a good deal of the blame for the Dunmore war. Both sides drifted into it through each's suspicions of the other. Acts and reprisals followed in rapid succession until the whole border from Pittsburgh to the Clinch river was in the midst of war.

Murders became frequent along the Ohio in April. A canoe belonging to a trader named Butler was fired into near the mouth of Little Beaver, and two Indians were killed. Traders in the Indian country had been made to feel unwelcome before that time. Threats were many and warnings were sent out. War was being talked of in Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia, as though the formal declaration had already been issued. In crises like that it often happens that men clothed with a little brief authority, or none at all, precipitate trouble which they are powerless to curb. Such a man was Dr. John Connolly at Pittsburgh at that time. He claimed to represent Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, and in some things he was Dunmore's agent, and may have been in all he did, for the matter is involved in doubt. At any rate on April 21, 1774, at

Pittsburgh, Connolly issued a circular to the inhabitants which was virtually, though not formally, a declaration of war against the Indians. It was so understood by the border men.

There chanced to be at Wheeling at that time a number of men waiting for the spring freshet to carry them to Kentucky. Among them was George Rogers Clark, a young man who some years later was the conqueror of Kaskaskia and Vincennes. While the men were waiting at Wheeling, the attitude of the Indians naturally came up for discussion, and most of the men expressed a willingness to turn aside from their Kentucky trip and cross into Ohio and fight the Indians. The leadership of the proposed expedition was offered to Michael Cresap, who, to the surprise of the company, refused it, and argued with the others that there was no just reason for war, and that the peace of the frontier ought to be maintained if possible. On the heels of this came Connolly's declaration of war from Pittsburgh. Michael Cresap then accepted the leadership, and hostilities were formally inaugurated with wild ceremonies. The same evening two Indians were killed and their scalps were brought into Wheeling. Those who considered the war actually began at Wheeling called it Cresap's war because he was leader of the first outbreak which occurred there. The Indians understood at the time that Cresap was the man who had brought on the first actual fighting, and he was afterwards accused by the Chief Logan with crimes and acts of cruelty which were not his.

That was about the twenty-seventh of April. Three days later five or six Indians, one of them a woman with a young child, were murdered at Yellow creek, about half way between Wheeling and Pittsburgh. Much has been written of it and several versions have been given of the affair. The facts seem to have been that a party of white men, one of whom was Daniel Greathouse, fired upon the Indians, either without any provocation, or without much, and killed the father, brother, and sister of Logan the chief. Some would date the opening of the war from that occurrence, though only three days had elapsed since Cresap's party had danced round a warpost at Wheeling to celebrate the beginning of the war. It is not necessary to date it from any particular day. The white men took up the gage of war much more eagerly than the Indians, who seemed to hang back for some weeks, though small parties went at once upon the warpath.

Logan's Revenge—The Indian Chief Logan was soon east of the Ohio at the head of a large party and was satisfying his passion for revenge. He did not consider that a state of war existed but looked upon himself as the wronged party and that the affair was personal, as far as he was concerned. He struck for the settlements on tributaries of the Monongahela, and true to the instincts of the wronged savage, he made no distinction between the innocent and the guilty, but killed indiscriminately until he had made good his threat that he would take ten lives for every one of his relatives killed at Yellow creek. His bloodiest work was done along Dunkard creek in Greene county, Pennsylvania, but he turned south into what are now Monongalia and Marion counties, West Virginia. He was still in the field after midsummer when he left at a house near the West Fork of the Monongahela, a letter which a prisoner wrote at his dictation. He still supposed that Captain Cresap was the responsible party for the Yellow creek murders, and the letter was addressed to him, asking why he committed the deed. Logan stated in the brief note that the Indians had not gone to war, but that he was the only one angry. He made four or five incursions into the settlements, one into southwestern Virginia.

Immediately after the trouble began along the Ohio the settlers in the region from Pittsburgh southward to the Kanawha took hurried measures

for their safety. They left their homes by thousands and fled east to places of refuge. It is said that a thousand crossed the Monongahela in one day. There was not a general flight over the Alleghanies, but many went. The people on Cheat river, in the present county of Tucker, built a fort, but though they were nearly as far east as any settlement on the western side of the mountain, they abandoned their fort and fled over the Alleghanies. Westfall's fort was built that year in Tygart's valley. Most of the settlements, however, held their ground, but forts were provided for times of alarm. As far south as Holston and Clinch rivers, at that time in Virginia, the alarm was great, and it was feared that the Cherokees would take the warpath also.

Work of Scouts—As soon as the alarm became general along the frontiers, the militia officers organized a system of scouting. The men who went upon that duty were generally spoken of as spies in the letters and reports of the officers who looked after them. Men were sent into the woods, to be absent often many days. Their duty consisted in watching paths over which Indians might enter the settlements, and upon the discovery of tracks, or if the savages were seen, the alarm was given and the people took extra measures for their safety. Passes through the mountains, or fords where streams were crossed, were points which the scouts watched with the closest scrutiny. A single scout frequently was assigned the duty of guarding several paths or fords, hurrying from one to another in a round of inspection. Many an Indian raid was thwarted by the vigilance of the men who were assigned the dangerous work of outwitting, outgeneraling, and outrunning the warriors of the wilderness. Sometimes the savages slipped through and fell upon exposed people before warning could be given. The Indians had regular routes of travel, and did not usually wander at random through the woods. A passage from a letter published in Thwaites' and Kellogg's Documentary History of the Dunmore war gives an insight into the daily occurrences of that time. The passage is quoted below for that purpose, and not for any particularly important facts it contains: "I have made strict inquiry into the conduct of the spies," writes an officer, "and find it was not their fault, the letting the enemy in undiscovered. The different passes they were ordered to watch lay at such a distance that it took several days before they could go to each. When they came to Sandy river they found the enemy's footing, and immediately ran to the station. But as they were thirty miles off and the enemy had two or three days start, the damage was done before they got in to give the alarm."

Warning the Surveyors—When it was seen that war with the Indians was inevitable, it became a matter of extreme importance to send warning to the various parties of surveyors in Kentucky and elsewhere in the western country. Otherwise, they would fall victims before they knew of their danger. The Indians had become insolent near the Ohio river, and had announced their purpose of killing every Virginian and whipping every Pennsylvanian found trespassing upon their grounds.

Daniel Boone and Michael Stoner, two experienced woodsmen well acquainted with the western country, were sent to warn the surveyors and advise them to leave the country as speedily as possible. The messengers went as far west as Louisville, Kentucky, and all the surveyors, except one party, made their escape.

Early in summer most of the people had left their farms and were living in forts. There was fear of famine in the regions, for crops could not be cared for, and at the best there was little enough in the country to eat. The officers in charge of the militia were urged to extra effort to afford protection sufficient to allow the men to gather their harvest. Those who could act in concert went in companies to reap wheat and rye,

and cultivate corn on which existence during the next winter depended. The Indians learned that by waylaying the paths leading to the fields, or by setting ambuscades near the fields, they could attack the workmen passing to and fro, or while they were at work; and a rather large proportion of the injury of white people that year was done under such circumstances. The situation became unendurable as the season advanced and the demand was general that the war be carried into the Indians' country as the surest means of keeping them out of the settlements east of the Ohio river.

Lord Dunmore was governor of Virginia at that time. He was the last royal governor to hold the office in Virginia. Early in the summer of 1774 he had plans under way for an invasion of Ohio where the hostile tribes lived. He carried on an extensive correspondence with officers in Southwestern Virginia, and in the Shenandoah valley, where he expected to raise the chief part of the army for the campaign in the west. Many obstacles and difficulties were in the way of rapid progress. There was lack of ammunition. The cry for powder was heard from one end of Virginia's frontier to the other. Scouts were sent into the woods to watch Indian paths, and were to be absent many days, and they often had no more than three or four loads of powder each, not enough for a fight of two minutes. Sometimes twenty or thirty men had only a pound or two of powder to be divided among them, and it is sometimes recorded of them that they turned out cheerfully to hunt the savages, though the supply of ammunition was so dangerously low that they dared not waste a single load even to procure food which they always needed.

While Dunmore was communicating with his captains east of the mountains, and was slowly and laboriously organizing the forces, the settlements west of the mountains were overrun with the enemy; and the cry for help was incessant. To meet the emergency as speedily as possible, and at the same time carry on the preparations for the main campaign, Dunmore undertook to send a small, flying column over the Ohio to strike a quick blow against some of the nearest Indian towns, and then fall back to the eastern side of the river. It was believed that an attack against their own villages would draw the Indians home from their raids in the settlements and give the people a respite from the horrors of savage warfare.

McDonald's Campaign—It was not Dunmore's purpose to send soldiers from east of the mountains to put through the preliminary campaign, but he meant to raise a force on the western rivers for that purpose. Colonel Angus McDonald was given command of the force to be raised. He was a Scotchman, then about forty-seven years of age, and lived at Winchester. He selected his captains, one of whom was Michael Cresap, and Daniel Morgan was another. By the first of July he had raised a force of 400 men on the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers, and was in camp at Wheeling, ready to cross the Ohio and carry the war into the enemy's country.

It was the purpose to strike the first blow at Wapatomica, a group of Shawnee towns on the Muskingum river, Ohio, near the site of the present town of Dresden. These were the nearest of the Shawnee towns and could be reached most quickly. Their inhabitants had feared an attack some weeks earlier and had abandoned the place, but when the attack was delayed they concluded that the reported danger was an exaggeration, and they returned. The tribesmen who made their homes in those villages were very troublesome to the frontiers. They were active in their hostility, and persistent in their attacks.

Colonel McDonald did not encounter an Indian until within six miles of the villages, but his advance was evidently well known to the Indians

who boldly went out to attack his soldiers. An ambuscade was set near the path, and though the Indians were probably not more than one-tenth of his number, they put up a sharp fight and held their ground about half an hour. They inflicted a loss of two killed and five wounded upon the whites, and lost four of their number killed, and had several wounded. Colonel McDonald left his wounded at that place, with a detachment to care for them, and pushed forward toward the villages. The Indians were unable to make any further effective defense, and their towns fell into the hands of the frontiersmen after some skirmishing at the crossing of the river, and a few shots afterward in which one Indian was killed and one taken prisoner. The towns were found abandoned, and five miserable villages were burned. Seventy acres of growing corn surrounded the towns. This was all cut down as a military measure, the purpose being to deprive the savages of that food supply and compel them to hunt and fish for a living, which would give them less leisure for raiding the frontiers. Between three hundred and four hundred bushels of old corn were destroyed. The army by that time was short of provisions, and marched across the country to Wheeling, about 100 miles distant.

It was now early August. Those who had expected the destruction of the Indian towns would afford any relief to the exposed settlements were disappointed. The Indians carried on their raids with more energy than ever. Colonel McDonald's army marched to Brownsville, Pennsylvania, and there awaited the advance of Governor Dunmore's troops from Virginia.

BATTLE OF POINT PLEASANT

The central point in the Dunmore war of 1774 was the battle fought October 10 at the mouth of the Kanawha river in West Virginia, and known as the battle of Point Pleasant. All movements led up to that, and all results of any importance followed from that event. Two armies were raised. The nucleus of one army, which was led by Governor Dunmore in person, consisted of the four hundred militia under Colonel McDonald on the Monongahela. The governor marched west in September and collected about 800 more, many being from Hampshire county, and with the united forces proceeded toward the Ohio. He spent some time at Pittsburgh, which he called Fort Dunmore in honor of himself, having changed its name from Fort Pitt. The forks of the Ohio, and all the region south and west of it were then claimed by Virginia as a part of its territory; but Pennsylvania did not admit the validity of the claim. There were violent disputes on the subject, and Dunmore intended to strengthen and maintain Virginia's hold while on the western campaign. He was playing politics and marching against the Indians at the same time. The common perils of the frontier war had a tendency to overshadow the controversy regarding the boundary dispute, but the dispute could not be wholly put away, and it was constantly coming to the surface.

Governor Dunmore moved his army to Wheeling by two routes. Part marched across the country from the Monongahela and part descended the Ohio from Pittsburgh, and by September 30 the whole force was at Wheeling, ready to invade Ohio at some point which, it would seem, the governor was slow in deciding upon. It was the announced plan to form a junction with a second army which was then on the march across the Alleghanies and down the Kanawha river to the Ohio. The point of meeting for the two forces was at one time fixed for the mouth of the Kanawha, then the mouth of the Little Kanawha, where Parkersburg now stands; but it was changed to the mouth of the Hocking river further down the Ohio; and as it finally turned out, the two armies never came

together at all. The fighting was done by the southern army, and as far as contributing to the victory was concerned, the force under Dunmore's immediate command could be left out of consideration. Its presence doubtless had much weight in bringing the Indians to terms, after they had lost the battle of Point Pleasant and had retreated to the interior of Ohio. That matter will be further considered in its proper place. The assembling of General Lewis's army and its march westward to the Ohio river will now claim attention.

The Rendezvous—The site of Lewisburg in Greenbrier county was appointed as the place of rendezvous for the army which was to march down the Kanawha river. On July 24, 1774, Governor Dunmore, then at Winchester on his way to Pittsburgh, wrote to General Andrew Lewis that he had resolved to invade the Indian country beyond the Ohio. It is not probable that the subject was then mentioned between Dunmore and Lewis for the first time, but the plan assumed definite shape from that date. Colonel McDonald's force was then already on the march into Ohio. Governor Dunmore directed General Lewis to raise an army and march either to the mouth of the Kanawha or to Wheeling, as should be determined upon later, but he did not give explicit instructions regarding the number to be placed in the field, or how they should be called together or supplied. The details were left to General Lewis to work out with the help of militia officers in the southwestern part of Virginia. Governor Dunmore saw ahead very clearly in one particular, and one of the sentences in his letter was prophetic. "The Indians," said he, "having spies on the frontiers, may bring all the force of the Shawnees against you in your march to the mouth of the Kanawha." That was precisely what did happen.

General Lewis set about raising the army for the expedition. His brother Charles Lewis collected several hundred men in Augusta county, and a force came up from what is now eastern Tennessee, but was then a part of Virginia, and in a short time about 1400 men were in the field and on the march in detachments for the place of rendezvous in Greenbrier county.

The army was composed of as fine a body of men as ever assembled in this or any county. They were English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, and German, and many of them were born and had lived all their lives on the frontiers. They had passed through the French and Indian war, many of them as soldiers, and through Pontiac's war, though few of them served in it as soldiers. They knew the dangers and the hardships of frontier life, and their bodies were strong and their spirits courageous. Every man in one of the Augusta county companies stood over six feet tall in his moccasins. They were all expert in the use of the rifle, having handled that weapon all their lives. Most of them had done duty as scouts and spies, and knew how to take care of themselves in the woods, and were at home anywhere, in forest or on the march, in rain or heat, in cold and storm. Every man of them knew what to do when thrown on his own resources, and still had sufficient military training to know the value of acting in concert when occasion required.

They were volunteers. Enforced service was not necessary. They were like Cromwell's soldiers who "put some conscience into the fight." Cowards had been weeded out pretty effectively before the army reached the place of rendezvous on the Greenbrier river; for a few desertions occurred from time to time as the march became harder. In some instances there was cowardice shown while the enlistment was in progress, for it is recorded that occasionally a man who feared that a draft might be resorted to, fled to the woods rather than enter as a volunteer. By that process, the men were sifted, and those who shouldered their rifles

and filed to the front could be depended upon to stick through fatigue and in the face of danger.

The collection of supplies for the campaign was attended with much difficulty. The principal articles of food were flour and beef. The cattle were driven, and the flour was carried on packhorses west of Staunton. The quantity of flour accumulated was 160,000 pounds, or 800 barrels. It was gathered from an extensive region, for at that time there were no large stores and mills as at present. Small water mills, scattered here and there, from Staunton to the borders of North Carolina, did the grinding of the wheat, and the contributions of all were hauled by wagons or carried on horses to Staunton and other points. The whole supply could not all be ready at the appointed time; and it turned out that some of the flour was yet in Staunton when the army had reached the Ohio river. The collection of the necessary supply of cattle was less difficult, for the cattle could walk. About 350 trailed over the Alleghany mountains, and some 200 of these reached Point Pleasant, and a small number ultimately accompanied the army into Ohio.

The expedition had 800 packhorses. There being only paths across the Alleghany mountains and westward, it was impossible to use wagons. The load for a horse was about 200 pounds, or one barrel of flour. The horses were barely sufficient to carry the supply of flour, had there been nothing else, but the flour was only a portion of the stores. There were salt, tools, tents, blankets, and many other things that the army could not go without. The result was, the packhorses could not carry more than half at a time, and two or more trips were necessary. Loads were carried from Staunton to Warm Springs as one relay; from Warm Springs to Lewisburg, or Camp Union, was another; the next carried the supplies to the mouth of the Elk river, the site of Charleston; and from that place to the mouth of the Kanawha much of the stores was transported by water in canoes.

Trouble was experienced in providing kettles for the army. They could not be bought in sufficient quantity in the region, as the country merchants did not keep such a supply on hand. Finally the order went out to "buy, beg, or borrow kittles," for they must be had. The soldiers were made sick if they lived on roast beef without broth. A supply of kettles was procured. The expedition was equipped with about 130 ordinary axes, and 30 broad axes. They were hand made, dull, and when delivered to the army, they had no handles. Each company ground its own axes and made handles for them. There was cloth for 207 tents, and the men made the tents.

Ammunition was very scarce, particularly powder. In fact, powder was the one article always scarce on the frontiers. The supply of that indispensable commodity was pitifully low in the army's magazines. One of the reports states that each soldier was allowed a quarter of a pound, and the inference is that there was little reserve supply. The officers watched over the powder with a vigilance which never relaxed. The butchers were not allowed to shoot beeves, because powder could not be spared for that purpose. The strictest orders were enforced against unnecessarily firing guns. Threats were made that if any company disregarded that regulation, their powder would be taken from them. No matter how wet the weather might be, the rule against the discharge of guns was enforced. Rain was liable to render the flintlock gun temporarily unserviceable, and it was customary to fire the load after a rain, and put in a new charge of powder. Even that precaution had to be dispensed with.

The army was supplied on credit. In the spring of that year Governor Dunmore asked the Virginia assembly to appropriate money for defending

the frontier, but the request was not complied with, and when it became necessary to supply an army about to take the field, there was no fund on which to draw. The governor acted under an old law which permitted a debt to be incurred for the purpose of repelling invasion. To make the law applicable it was assumed that Virginia was invaded by enemies, and that the military force about to take the field was for defense. It appears that the people generally were willing to sell on credit. Only occasionally did any one refuse, and when that happened, the person who refused to trust the government was held up to public scorn. "There is two cursed scoundrels," wrote a citizen to Colonel Preston while the army was on the march, "old Pate and his son Jacob, has corn, beef, and old bacon plenty to spare, and will by no means let it go without the ready cash, which I would fondly furnish them; from what I imagine they do all they can to hurt the expedition." Fortunately, there were not many who demanded the ready cash, and the army was not delayed one hour on account of short supplies. There was some delay through the failure of getting supplies up to the front over the long trails.

Early in September the troops began to gather at Camp Union, now Lewisburg, Greenbrier county. The men from Augusta county arrived first and put the camp in order for the forces from Fincastle and Botetourt counties a few days later. Trains of packhorses filed west across the mountains with flour and camp equipage, and droves of beeves wound their way through the woods, and when they reached the Greenbrier river they were put in pasture to await the next advance.

By some means the Ohio Indians were soon aware that the army was on the march, and they knew the route it would take. Scarcely had the advance guard reached the camp on the Greenbrier before Indian spies were discovered hanging on the outskirts, observing the movements of the troops, and improving any opportunity to pick off stragglers. It became necessary to increase the number of pickets and scouts. The men who herded the cattle were in constant danger of being shot from the surrounding thickets. The Indian spies were on the alert for stray horses, and stole them on different occasions; though sometimes they were so close pressed by pursuers that they were obliged to abandon the horses and take to the woods. As soon as the camp on the Greenbrier was established some of the most skilled woodsmen were sent as spies far down the trail toward the Ohio river to give timely warning if Indians should be advancing in force to attack the camp. Some of these scouts went as far as the mouth of Gauley river, and kept the army informed of what was going on. They encountered no hostile army, but ascertained that Indian scouts, or small companies of marauders, were passing to and fro pretty frequently.

March to Point Pleasant—The officers estimated that the distance from the Greenbrier river to the Ohio at Point Pleasant was 160 miles. For the most part, the route followed an old Indian trail. It led through the territory of the present counties of Fayette and Nicholas, and reached the Kanawha river near the mouth of Gauley. The plan was to carry the stores on horses to the mouth of Elk, the site of Charleston, and there make canoes in which to transport them to the Ohio. The last part of the army had not arrived on the Greenbrier when the van set out for the Ohio. Colonel Charles Lewis, from whom Lewis county, West Virginia, was named, went first with the Augusta county troops. Colonel William Fleming followed some days later with packhorses bearing 72,000 pounds of flour, and with tools for making the canoes. Colonel William Christian was left at Camp Union to bring up the rear some days later with four hundred men, and a long train of cattle and packhorses. When Colonel Christian marched from the Greenbrier, some of the flour and cattle were

fifty miles in the rear, and some had not yet left Staunton. It is thus seen that an army of 1400 men and its supplies were strung out fully 200 miles, all the way from Staunton to the mouth of Elk river. However, the fighting force was massed fairly near the front. Colonel Christian who was the last to leave the Greenbrier was exceedingly anxious to push ahead and overtake the main army before it should cross the Ohio. He was greatly encumbered with stores and gained very slowly on those in front.

At the mouth of Elk river the packhorses were unloaded and were sent back to the Greenbrier, more than 100 miles, for the rest of the stores. A hundred chopping axes and more than a score of broadaxes were set to work making canoes. Yellow poplars with trunks three feet or more in diameter and forty or fifty feet to the first branch were felled on the bottom land where Charleston has since been built, and in a few days eighteen large canoes were ready for their loads.

Several hundred soldiers had proceeded on foot down the Kanawha valley toward the Ohio, accompanied by just enough packhorses to carry temporary supplies. Each company was allowed one horse to carry its tents. The country was thoroughly scouted, for danger of an Indian attack increased as the army approached the Ohio. Spies penetrated to the bank of that stream, and for several days some of them lay concealed among the hills within a short distance of Point Pleasant, watching Indians who were hunting buffaloes in the vicinity. Other spies had crossed the Kanawha and were waylaying trails in that quarter. They, too, discovered Indians, who were apparently ignorant of the proximity of the Virginia army.

The van of the invading force moved with constant caution, and whether in camp or on the march, everything was ready for instant battle, should the enemy appear. The canoes kept a parallel course, but behind the army. Two of the canoes upset, and the flour was cast into the water, but the wet bags were recovered. Three or four guns were lost by the upsetting. The precious supply of powder was trusted to the canoes, but a special guard was placed over it, and it went through to its destination without mishap. When the canoes had discharged their cargoes on the bank of the Ohio they returned to the mouth of Elk for more.

Before the Battle—The army under General Lewis reached Point Pleasant October 6, and went into camp along the banks of both the Kanawha and the Ohio rivers, and on the point of land where the two streams met. The camp fronted half a mile on the Ohio and a half on the Kanawha. The place was covered with large trees and logs, and much of it was brushy. The men cleared a space in front of the tents, but except that, the camp was buried in the woods. Shelter for the stores was prepared, and the cattle and such of the horses as remained were turned loose to find what they could in the way of provender. The whole army did not arrive at once, but men continued to come up for some days.

General Lewis expected to form a junction there with Governor Dunmore's army that was supposed to be descending the Ohio from Wheeling, and it was thought probable that the northern army would reach Point Pleasant first. When Lewis arrived he found dispatches which had been deposited in a hollow tree by scouts sent down from the upper army. The bearers of the dispatches were Simon Girty and Simon Kenton, who subsequently were well known on the frontiers, the first because he became a renegade and joined the Indians, and the latter as one of the defenders of the Kentucky frontiers. When the messengers reached Point Pleasant and found no one, they concealed their dispatches and left a note pegged to a tree telling where to find the papers. They returned to Governor Dunmore who was then at the mouth of the Hocking river.

The dispatches informed General Lewis that instead of continuing down the Ohio to the mouth of the Kanawha, Governor Dunmore had changed his plan and was about to march across the country for the Indian towns on the Scioto river. He ordered General Lewis to proceed to that point, and named a certain ridge near the towns for the junction of the two armies. That was the fourth or fifth place selected by Governor Dunmore for the armies to unite.

General Lewis began his preparations for crossing the Ohio. His army was not yet ready for the advance. Four hundred men who were bringing up the rear under Colonel Christian had not arrived, nor were they expected inside of five or six days. Long trains of supplies were likewise on the road and part of them must be waited for, though a portion was too far in the rear to come up in time to be of any service during the outward march. At that time there were 250 packhorse loads of flour still at Staunton, and some at Warm Springs, while others were scattered from the camp on the Greenbrier all the way to the mouth of the Kanawha river. General Lewis did not propose to wait at Point Pleasant for the arrival of all his stores, as that would detain him until the beginning of winter, but he could not advance until Colonel Christian's reinforcements arrived. The army was in good condition. The sick had been left on the Greenbrier, and arrangements were under way for leaving at Point Pleasant such as were not in a condition to march.

At that time the Indian army under the leadership of Cornstalk was marching from the Scioto river to attack the Virginians on the Kanawha. The Indians numbered about 800, according to the judgment of those in the best position to know. Some estimates placed their strength as high as 1100, and some as low as 500. About half of the savage army consisted of Shawnees, the remainder of various tribes from Ohio and Michigan—the Ottawas being a Michigan tribe. Their shotpouches were filled with ammunition obtained from traders at Detroit. The charge that the British supplied the ammunition with which the Indians fought the battle of Point Pleasant has been many times heard; but it is not true in the sense usually understood. During the summer the Indians had been carrying their furs to Detroit and buying powder and lead from dealers who probably knew what was to be done with the ammunition. The Indians had a bountiful supply with which to fight the battle. They reached the western bank of the Ohio on the afternoon of October 9, and that night made rafts and crossed over to the Virginia side about six miles above the mouth of the Kanawha. Their movements were so carefully concealed that their presence was unsuspected. They proceeded two or three miles down the bank of the Ohio and went into camp, prepared to attack the army the next morning. A detachment remained on the Ohio, or western bank of the river, and took a position opposite the mouth of the Kanawha to be ready to cut off the retreat of the Virginians should they attempt to escape by crossing the Ohio. Another squad crossed the Ohio below Point Pleasant and posted themselves on the south bank of the Kanawha to cut off retreat in that direction.

It was Cornstalk's plan to surround the Virginians and annihilate their army. It seems that he had no doubt of his ability to do so. Few military men have ever undertaken with an inferior force to surround a superior or even an equal force.

The battle took place on the bank of the Ohio, and it does not appear from the best accounts by those who participated, that the fighting line of the Indians at any time reached the bank of the Kanawha. Therefore, they never succeeded in surrounding the Virginians, though they could have done so by extending their line across the peninsula from one river to the other. At one time the firing line of the Virginians was a mile

and a quarter long, reaching from the Ohio river to the hills; but that was after the enemy had retreated a mile or more from their most advanced position. The first part of the engagement, which was the severest fighting, occurred on a front little if any exceeding a quarter of a mile in length.

Though General Lewis had marched and camped in constant expectation of attack for a week past, the enemy came nearly striking him by surprise on the morning of October 10.

Defeat of the Indians—The battle of Point Pleasant has been by many considered the most stubbornly-contested fight that ever occurred between white men and Indians. It was by no means the most bloody, but in close-quarter and long-continued fighting it stands without a parallel in border warfare. The captain of the Indians, Cornstalk, expected to win. He knew the number of soldiers opposed to him, and was aware that the odds were against him. He planned a surprise, although he laid his camp liable to discovery, and it was discovered, and his surprise failed. When it is considered how hard put to it the Virginians were to hold their ground in the early hours of the battle, the probable result of a sudden irruption of hundreds of savages into the camp without warning is apparent.

At daybreak on October 10, 1774, two soldiers from the camp at Point Pleasant went about two miles up the Ohio river, on the Virginia side, to hunt. They ran into the Indian camp before they saw it. The savages were eating breakfast. They fired on the hunters as soon as they saw them, and killed one. The other escaped by flight, though pursued some distance. He reached the camp perhaps within fifteen minutes, and gave the alarm. A few minutes later two or three other soldiers, probably scouts or pickets, arrived with the information that the enemy was advancing. The drum beat to arms, and General Lewis ordered two columns of 150 men each to march in the direction of the enemy. These two columns were made up of soldiers from every company in the army. Colonel Charles Lewis commanded one, Colonel William Fleming the other. The latter marched near the bank of the Ohio, and Colonel Lewis pursued a parallel course, but some two hundred yards or more inland, near the base of the hills.

Up to that time it was not suspected that an Indian army was at hand, but rather a large raiding party intent on stealing horses and attacking detached parties which might separate themselves from the army. The columns marched through the woods up the Ohio about three-fourths of a mile when the Indians were met advancing. They first fired upon the column of Virginians nearest the hills, but almost immediately delivered a furious attack upon Colonel Fleming's column on the bank of the river. The Virginians quickly broke ranks and took to trees and logs for shelter; but so instant were the Indians to see an advantage that they shot a number of the soldiers before they could cover themselves. Colonel Lewis was exposed for a few moments in an open space of ground, and was picked off and mortally wounded by the Indian sharpshooters who were sheltered behind every log and tree a few rods distant. Colonel Lewis handed his gun to a soldier and walked to the rear. He reached camp, but he died while the battle was still in progress. Captain John Field was ordered to take the wounded officer's place.

Colonel Fleming met a fate nearly similar, and almost at the same instant. Three balls, two of which were supposed to have been fired from one gun, struck him almost at the first fire. The two bullets broke his left arm, and one penetrated his lungs. He walked from the field, and being a surgeon, he dressed his own wounds, with the aid of an attendant, and finally recovered. The Botetourt troops on the bank of the Ohio held their ground in spite of the rushes of the enemy to break the line;

but the Augusta men near the base of the hills were less favorably situated as far as natural defenses were concerned, and were forced slowly back, from one shelter to another for nearly 200 yards. There they made a stand and beat off the assaults of the savages who came up with yells and curses. The two lines were often less than twenty steps apart, and individual combats took place hand to hand. The Indians jeered and defied the Virginians, asking them why the fife was no longer whistling, and declaring that they would teach the white men how to shoot.

The heavy firing in front announced to General Lewis at the camp that it was a battle, and not a skirmish with raiders. He sent his captains to the front, one after another, until only one remained in camp, and he was set to work building breastworks of logs and brush behind which to make a last stand if driven back. Not one of the captains who led out reinforcements commanded his own men. This caused confusion on the field, for some of the soldiers declined to obey, and waited for commands from their own officers.

When reinforcements arrived at the front, help was first given to the column next the hills, as that seemed pressed harder than the other; at least it had fallen back while the troops near the river were holding their ground in the face of a murderous fire. The Indians in front of Colonel Field's line, near the hills, were unable to hold their ground when the reinforcements opened on them, and they fell back slowly, from tree to tree, and sheltering themselves behind logs and banks, until they were forced to retreat to the point where the fight commenced an hour before. Here they took a stand in a strong position, and refused to fall back farther. Colonel Field was killed at this place by two Indians concealed among some logs within a few rods of where he stood behind a tree endeavoring to get a shot at another Indian who was talking to him and attracting his attention to give the warriors among the logs a chance to shoot him. The stratagem was too successful.

Captain Evan Shelby assumed command of the troops near the river when Colonel Fleming left the field. The two armies were then lined up face to face, extending from the base of the hills across the bottom land to the Ohio river, and for about four hours they fought without either side gaining and holding a rod of ground. Several times the Indians attempted to rush the Virginians and break their line, but they were unable to make any impression although they fought with a courage which won the admiration of those who opposed them and has called forth praise from many military men since. No civilized and trained troops could have done better. The chiefs were constantly running back and forth in the rear of the line exhorting the warriors to "lie close," "shoot well," while the voice of Cornstalk was distinctly heard over the entire line, calling to his men, "Be strong," "Be strong." They came up to his expectations in every particular. His only miscalculation was that the Virginians were stronger than he expected to find them. He thought he would be able to force them back, rush their lines, and drive them into the water. His detachments posted on the opposite bank of the Ohio, ready to cut off escape in that direction, watched the fight, and encouraged their kindred on the firing line by repeatedly calling across the river, "Drive the white dogs into the water."

While the battle was hanging in even scale from seven in the morning until after twelve, a hundred axes were sounding in the rear, felling trees to make breastworks across the point from Kanawha river to the Ohio, behind which the men could retire for a final stand if driven from the field. The constant arrival of the wounded from the front was watched with anxiety, for it was evident that the contest could not be maintained indefinitely at that rate. The felled trees were piled two logs high, and a

mass of brush and branches were added, the whole making a breastwork of formidable dimensions. Fortunately, it was not needed as a last resort.

Toward one o'clock the Indian army began to give ground slowly. The line was not broken, but Cornstalk evidently gave up hope of victory at that time and commenced maneuvering to get his wounded off the field in preparation for retreat at nightfall. The warriors fell back from tree to tree, fighting as they went, and not neglecting to curse and defy the Virginians, and challenge them to come on. Something more than a mile in the rear was a dense thicket which had grown on the site of a former Indian town, and Cornstalk had in view that place to make a stand and hold the Virginians in check until he could send his wounded across the river. Some of his dead he buried in shallow graves, some were thrown in the river, and others were scalped to prevent these trophies from falling into the hands of white men. The Virginians closely followed the retiring savages until the thicket was reached on the site of the old town, and there another pitched battle was fought during three hours or more. The battle line was a mile and a quarter long at that place.

The Indians called repeatedly, "Fight on. We have as many men as you have, and will have 2000 to-morrow." That was a bluff. They had their whole available force on the firing line, except a squad of tomahawk men who were in the rear cutting sapplings with which to make stretchers for carrying off the wounded. While the fighters were putting on a bold front, the improvised ambulance corps was carrying the badly wounded up the river bottom to the bank of the Ohio where a fleet of seventy rafts was moored in readiness to ferry the army back to the Ohio side.

The retreat of the enemy was hastened an hour or more by a flank movement on the part of the Virginians. A small stream called Crooked run, with high banks, flowed southward, between the Indians and the base of the hills. Taking advantage of the concealment which this afforded, a strong flanking party was dispatched along the channel of the creek, and under cover of its banks, to strike Cornstalk's army in the flank and rear. The movement was successfully executed. The Indians found themselves suddenly attacked in the flank, and not doubting that it was the reinforcement which they knew Colonel Christian was bringing up, they gave ground and retreated to their rafts about four miles above the battlefield. The Virginians did not know the exact time of the enemy's retreat. The woods were so dense that nothing could be seen beyond a few hundred feet, and when the fire of the Virginians was no longer replied to, reconnoitering parties went forward and the retreat of the Indians was discovered. The sun was then setting, and no attempt at pursuit was made that evening.

It was a victory dearly bought. The Virginians lost 46 killed and 80 wounded in the battle, and a number afterwards died of their wounds. There is no agreement among different reports concerning the casualities in General Lewis's army. The figures above given are from a letter written from the battlefield six days after the fight. Nor was there agreement concerning the Indian losses. In fact, the exact loss was never ascertained. It is doubtful if the Indians ever knew exactly what number they lost in killed or in wounded. They threw some of their dead into the river, and they scalped others to prevent the white men from doing it; and the soldiers scalped 18 others. These eighteen had been killed in the early part of the fight while the Indians were trying to rush the camp; and the warriors were soon afterwards forced back so rapidly that they could not remove their dead. The number of saplings cut near the thicket where they held their ground from one to five in the afternoon indicated that they made many stretchers to carry away their wounded.

After the Battle—When General Andrew Lewis discovered that a pitched battle was on, and that victory was by no means certain, he sent messengers upon the trail to meet Colonel Christian, who was supposed to be coming down the Kanawha valley, a day's journey in the rear. He had 400 men, which was a force sufficient to renew the battle in case the Virginians should be worsted in the first encounter. At sunset the messengers met Colonel Christian's troops toiling slowly along the path. They were not expecting to reach Point Pleasant before the afternoon of the following day; but the news that a hard and doubtful battle was in progress brought instant change in the plans, and a night march of six hours brought the reinforcements on the battlefield. The battle was over, but it was not yet known whether the whole Indian force had crossed the Ohio, or whether the battle would be renewed next day.

The camp of the Virginians was in a deplorable condition. The only surgeon in the army, Colonel Fleming, was lying at the point of death, as was supposed, and unable to render any assistance on account of his own wounds. The army had failed to provide for such an emergency, and the wounded were lying about the camp with only such attention as one soldier is able to give another, and the dead were not yet buried. Colonel Christian's account of the scenes and conditions that met his eyes and ears when he arrived at midnight, seven hours after the battle, gives a picture of distress and suffering that appalled the stoutest hearts.

Early on the morning of October 11 strong reconnoitering parties searched the country for the enemy. It was apparent that the retreat was not a feint. Seventy rafts were found where they crossed the river. A search of the battlefield resulted in the collection of 23 rifles, 27 tomahawks, 80 blankets, with many shot pouches, powder horns, war clubs, and coats. The spoils were collected at camp, and according to law were sold at auction, and brought nearly 500 dollars.

Soon after the battle, dispatches arrived from Governor Dunmore repeating the order for General Lewis to march toward the Indian towns on the Scioto river, and there form a junction with the Governor's army. A certain place and a certain day were named for the meeting. It was impossible for General Lewis to obey the order, for he must first take care of his wounded, and secure his stores before he could safely advance into the Indian country. He wrote to Dunmore, informing him of the battle, and promising to march as soon as possible. A temporary fort, hospital, and store houses were built at the mouth of the Kanawha, and a garrison for defense and nurses for the wounded were left.

Beyond the Ohio—On October 17 General Lewis led his army across the Ohio river and marched toward the Indian towns nearly one hundred miles distant. A mile and a half west of the river they came to the camping place of the Indians on their retreat the night after the battle. A number of articles had been left scattered about the camp when the Indians moved out on the morning of October 11. The Virginians met with no serious opposition on the march. Indians lurking in the woods occasionally fired at long range, but no large parties were encountered.

The defeat of the Indians at Point Pleasant took the fight out of them. They made their way to their towns as expeditiously as possible, impeded as they were with large numbers of wounded. Cornstalk, their head chief, saw the uselessness of resistance. His whole available force was now not more than one-third of that which he must meet, after Lewis and Dunmore had formed a junction, and the Indians were powerless to prevent a junction. Cornstalk called his defeated and discouraged warriors together to decide what they should do. He saw no hope of victory, but he proposed that the warriors kill their own women and children, and

then go down to meet the advancing enemy, and fight until the last warrior was dead. The assembled Indians heard in silence. No one had an answer to give. Cornstalk waited for reply, and when none was made, he struck his tomahawk into the tent post, exclaiming that since the warriors would not fight, he would go and make peace.

The day after Governor Dunmore's army reached the proximity of the Indian towns, Cornstalk came to the camp to ask for peace, promising in advance to agree to whatever terms were offered. In Governor Dunmore's report to the Earl of Dartmouth, he said: "The Indians determined to throw themselves upon our mercy; and with the greatest expedition they came in search of the body with which they knew I marched, and found me near their own towns the day after I got there. They presently made known their intentions, and I admitted them immediately to a conference wherein all our differences were settled. The terms of our reconciliation were, briefly, that the Indians should deliver up all prisoners without reserve; that they should restore all horses and other valuable effects which they had carried off; that they should not hunt on our side of the Ohio nor molest any boats passing thereon; that they should promise to agree to such regulations for their trade with our people as should be hereafter dictated by the king's instructions, and that they should deliver into our hands certain hostages, to be kept by us until we were convinced of their sincere intention to adhere to all these articles. The Indians finding, contrary to their expectations, no punishment likely to follow, agreed to everything with the greatest alacrity, and gave the most solemn assurances of their quiet and peaceable deportment for the future; and in return I have given them every promise of protection and good treatment on our side."

Logan's Speech—It was in course of the peace negotiations at Camp Charlotte, where the Indians met Dunmore, that a famous speech was delivered by John Logan, an Iroquois Indian of the Cayuga tribe. He it was whose relatives were murdered at Yellow creek by Daniel Greathouse's party in April, 1774. Logan went upon the warpath four times during that spring and summer, and killed ten white people for every one of his relatives who had been killed. Considering that he had fully avenged them, he retired to his cabin, and did not take part in the campaign which ended with the battle of Point Pleasant. In the midst of the negotiations between Dunmore and the Indians, the absence of Logan was noticed, and upon inquiry, Dunmore was informed that the Cayuga chief refused to come to camp. Thereupon Simon Girty, an interpreter, was sent to Logan's cabin to invite him to the council. The chief refused to come, and sent by word of mouth a speech to be delivered in his stead. This speech was committed to writing by Colonel John Gibson, and was filed among the papers relating to the treaty. It afterwards fell into the hands of Thomas Jefferson who published it in his Notes on Virginia, and a long controversy followed as to its genuineness. Logan was only half Indian. His father was a Frenchman, his mother a Cayuga Indian. Logan spoke English very well. The speech concerning which there has been so much discussion, follows:

"I appeal to any white man to say if he ever entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate of peace. Such was my love for the whites that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, Logan is the friend of white men. I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man, Colonel Cresap, who last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relatives of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called upon me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my revenge. For my country I rejoice

at the beams of peace. But do not harbor the thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

Conclusion of Peace—When Governor Dunmore found that the Indians were anxious for peace, and that further fighting would not be necessary, he sent orders to General Lewis, whose army was then about twenty miles off, and advancing, to halt and wait the outcome of the negotiations. General Lewis did not obey the orders but marched on. The next day a second order to halt reached him, with information that peace was practically concluded; that the Indians had agreed to all the terms; and that Lewis and his army would be of no assistance, and might hinder. However, Governor Dunmore gave his consent that General Lewis and such of his officers as he chose might repair to Dunmore's camp, but the army must halt.

The camp was then about six miles distant, and General Lewis did not deem it safe for a few officers to proceed that distance alone through the woods, with an Indian army in the neighborhood. Besides, there was no water where the troops then were, and General Lewis gave orders to march on. The guides took the wrong path, and instead of proceeding to Camp Charlotte where Dunmore was, the army marched toward an Indian town, and were within three-fourths of a mile of it before the mistake was discovered. The Indians in the conference with Dunmore at Camp Charlotte became panic stricken. They supposed that General Lewis intended to attack their towns in spite of Governor Dunmore's orders. They broke off negotiations at the camp and fled. Dunmore himself was alarmed, and suspected that Lewis intended to strike the towns in defiance of orders. The governor, accompanied by a few officers, hastily rode to meet Lewis, and when they met, Dunmore sharply asked what the defiance of orders meant. The matter was satisfactorily explained, the Indians were reassured, and the negotiations proceeded and peace was soon declared.

The return of the troops soon began. General Lewis' army marched back to Point Pleasant, but not all in one body. The troops broke into small detachments and made their way home by different routes. A garrison was left at Point Pleasant to occupy the fort, and such of the sick and wounded as were unable to proceed to their homes were made comfortable where they were. Some of them remained all winter at Point Pleasant. The various companies and detachments set out for their homes as speedily as they could make arrangements to do so. Most returned by way of Greenbrier river, but some followed different routes, a considerable number crossing the Alleghany mountains into the present county of Pendleton by way of the Seneca trail, eastward from Tygart's valley.

THE QUEBEC ACT

A political movement designed to have far-reaching results was being engineered by the English parliament in 1774 while the Dunmore war was in progress. A bill passed parliament and was known as the Quebec act, because by its terms it extended the province of Quebec southward to the Ohio river and westward to the Mississippi. West Virginia is concerned in the history of that transaction, for had it succeeded as it was planned, the Ohio river would have become the northwestern limit of the United States, and all beyond that, including the present states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, would have been part of the Dominion of Canada. It was a scheme with a deep and studied purpose back of it. It was a blow aimed by the English government against the

English colonies in America. The spirit of independence among them had been growing for fully ten years, and British statesmen foresaw the logical result if the English on the Atlantic seaboard, from New England to Florida, were permitted to push their settlements westward across the Alleghany mountains into the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, and firmly establish themselves there. They would become so strong that they would attempt to throw off their allegiance to England and set up an independent nation, reaching from the Atlantic to the Mississippi.

The English government never had encouraged the settlement of the country west of the mountains. Some of the leading statesmen made no secret of their desire to see the Ohio valley, and all beyond it, remain a wilderness, occupied by Indians and wild animals. The only commerce which was desired with that region was traffic in furs, carried on between traders and Indians, as was done up to the time of the Revolutionary war. No such thing as the development of the agricultural resources of the region was wanted. The Alleghany mountains were looked upon as a natural and proper boundary between the English seaboard colonies and the packhorse country of the west. For several years the English government did all in its power to discourage and hinder any settlement west of the mountains. Finding that the tide was too strong to withstand, partial consent was given—but given grudgingly—that the region between the mountains and the Ohio river might be settled; but no farther. The Quebec Act of 1774 was, therefore, an attempt to forever prevent the settlement of the country beyond the Ohio by the English.

That region belonged to Virginia by charter, but the English government showed no disposition to recognize that colony's charter rights west of the mountains. When it suited the government's purpose to claim it as a part of Virginia's territory—for instance, when the English were combatting the French pretensions to the region—the claim was duly set forth; but when the English government could best subserve its own selfish and shortsighted purposes by denying that Virginia had any rights there, the denial was clear-cut and to the point. In 1774 it suited the government's purpose to ignore Virginia's claim to the region west of the Ohio, and by the Quebec Act the region was cut off and separated from Virginia as completely as it could be done by an act of parliament. About 240,000 miles were thus cut from Virginia and given to Canada. That it was not done in fact as well as in theory was due to the energetic action of the Virginians themselves, in the Dunmore war, and later in refusing to recognize the validity of the Quebec Act.

The parliamentary act was intended to restore the old French law in the civil courts of Quebec, securing rights to the Catholic inhabitants, and make the boundary of Canada the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. As far as the territory now contained in the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin was to be settled at all, the settlements were to be French, the same as Canada. It was believed that such a condition would make forever impossible any political, social, or business union between the coast and the interior. The two regions would have nothing in common; and in case of trouble between the English colonies and the mother country, which was then actually taking form, the Canadian and the Ohio valley French Catholics would give no assistance to the Protestant colonies; and if trouble should arise between England and her French subjects in Canada, the English on the seaboard would give no help to the Canadians. Thus one-half of America was to be played against the other half; there would be no growth of English settlements westward; and danger of successful resistance to the authority of the British crown need be no longer feared.

The Quebec Act was not much discussed in America at the time of its

passage. In truth, few of the common people knew of it. They were then preparing for the Revolution, expecting to settle once for all the question of England's interference in affairs which should be purely American. When the Revolution ended, and the time came for discussing the boundary between the United States and Canada, the real purpose of the Quebec Act was better understood. England was in no position to insist on the Ohio river as a boundary. The Virginian armies under Lewis and Dunmore, and later under George Rogers Clark, had broken down the parliament-made boundaries, and nobody recognized them, though the British continued for years in an endeavor to hold part of the country south of Lakes Erie and Michigan. Even as late as the War of 1812 some lingering belief remained with certain English statesmen that they would be able to hold some of the region which had been staked off by the Quebec Act of 1774. The last prop to that hope was knocked away when Commodore Perry destroyed the English fleet on Lake Erie.

When Governor Dunmore invaded the country beyond the Ohio river, he builded greater than he knew. He probably thought little about his invasion of the Province of Quebec. He perhaps was scarcely aware that as soon as he set foot on the western bank of the Ohio river he was in Quebec. By leading an army of Virginians into it, he virtually proclaimed that it was still Virginia territory, and that the Quebec Act was nullified. Dunmore was loyal to the home government, and by claiming Virginia's authority still extended beyond the Ohio, he gave the Americans an argument, in later boundary negotiations, which the English could not answer. They were bound by the act of one of their own loyal and credited officials.

Some of the soldiers who served with Dunmore in the campaign which concluded with the treaty at Camp Charlotte, held a meeting on November 5, 1774, at Fort Gower, west of the Ohio river, and near the mouth of the Hocking river. They were on their way home, and for several weeks they had little news from New England and other eastern parts. The Revolution was already gathering head on the Atlantic seaboard, and the Virginian soldiers who had been so long in the western wilderness, were uneasy lest their eastern kinsmen might be uncertain as to where they stood on the questions of the hour. In order to give voice to their sentiments they passed a set of resolutions which they afterwards published. They recited that they were willing and able to bear all hardships of the woods; to get along for weeks without bread or salt, if necessary; to sleep in the open air; to dress in skins if nothing better could be had; to march farther in a day than any other men in the world; to use the rifle with skill and with bravery. They affirmed their zeal in the cause of right, and promised continued allegiance to the King of England, provided he would reign over them as a brave and free people. "But," they continued, "as attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration, we resolve that we will exert every power within us for the defense of American liberty, when regularly called forth by the unanimous voice of our countrymen."

The treaty which Dunmore concluded with the Indians at Camp Charlotte was only preliminary. He planned to meet representatives of as many tribes as possible at Pittsburgh the following summer and there discuss various matters concerning the relationship of the two races, and conclude a treaty that should be lasting. Dunmore returned to Williamsburg in December, and wrote an elaborate report of the late campaign and of various other important matters, and forwarded it to the British government. That report let fall no intimation that his tenure of office as governor of Virginia was not secure, as far as any influence

the Virginians might exert was concerned; but he combatted certain adverse criticisms of his administration which came from governmental sources. The chief criticism of his course was that he had encouraged the settlement of the region beyond the Alleghany mountains contrary to the wishes and the policy of the English government. Dunmore entered into a full and fair discussion of the whole question, and showed that he was much better acquainted with the matter than his critics were. He maintained that it was impossible by law or force to prevent the frontier settlements from pushing westward; that the people will move farther into the woods in defiance of laws and proclamations, and that they forever imagine that the land a little farther on is more fertile than that already occupied.

Arguing from that condition, Dunmore maintained that it was better to let the settlers have the vacant land in a lawful way, since they would otherwise take possession of it in an unlawful way. The Dunmore war, he explained, was forced upon Virginia by the Indians themselves, who would not keep to their own side of the Ohio river. The governor believed that the chastisement which the savages had received had impressed them, as they were never before impressd, with the power and resources of white men. For that reason, the governor hoped that much good would come from the conference with the various western tribes which he had planned for the following summer. Events moved more rapidly than he foresaw. Before the time for the conference arrived, Dunmore had been driven from Virginia by the rising patriots under the leadership of Patrick Henry and the same General Andrew Lewis who served under him in 1774. The treaty with the Indians was held at Pittsburgh, according to arrangement, but Dunmore had no part in it. The result of the treaty will be shown in the chapter on West Virginia's part in the Revolution in this book.

VIEW ON CHEAT RIVER.

CHAPTER VIII

WESTERN VIRGINIA IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

In 1775, when troubles began to thicken round Governor Dunmore of Virginia, and he foresaw his early departure, he took advantage of every opportunity to do injury to the cause of the Virginians with a view to crippling them in the inevitable struggle with the mother country. The Indian affairs on the western border were in an unsettled condition, and Dunmore understood how easy it would be to turn the savages against the frontiers, and precipitate a war of such seriousness that the whole forces west of the mountains would be needed to protect exposed settlements from Pittsburgh to central Kentucky. The governor knew that any diversion in that quarter would weaken Virginia along the seaboard, where the contest with the mother country was assuming the form of armed hostility. He therefore cast his eyes toward the west to see what trouble he could stir up in that direction.

The first movement was an attempt to turn the Indians against the settlers, and the next was to deprive the settlements of some of their means of defense. During the progress of the Dunmore war he had built two forts and garrisoned them. One was at Pittsburgh, the other at Point Pleasant. Old Fort Pitt had been abandoned several years, and part of the site had been sold in 1772. He took steps to recover ground for the new fort, or the old repaired, and he called it Fort Dunmore, in honor of himself. Fort Blair was built at Point Pleasant. Dunmore had been criticised by the home government in England for establishing these forts. It was claimed that they were not needed for military purposes but were meant to assist certain land speculations in the west, in which the governor was financially interested. He defended his course, and laid down elaborate argument to prove that the forts were necessary to impress the Indians with a sense of Virginia's power, and incline them to keep the peace. Fort Fincastle, at Wheeling, named for one of Dunmore's titles, was built in June, 1774, by Major William Crawford, but a garrison was not maintained there after the close of the Dunmore war.

When Dunmore saw that he would soon find it necessary to depart from Virginia, one of his last acts was to order the abandonment of Forts Dunmore and Blair. The patriots seized the fort at Pittsburgh as soon as it was learned that Dunmore had ordered its evacuation; but there was no force at hand to take Fort Blair into keeping when its garrison left it. The militia in charge held it for some time after the order for its abandonment was issued in June, 1775. The abandonment of that place was said to have been the last official act of Dunmore as governor of Virginia. The commandant of the fort hoped that some countermanding order would come, but when he gave up hope of such, he evacuated the fort, and removed the cattle and other stores over the mountains by way of Big Sandy river. Indians burned the fort soon after.

The Pittsburgh Treaty—Dunmore left an appointment with the Indians in October, 1774, to meet him in Pittsburgh the following summer and conclude a treaty. When business became so pressing that he could not go, he delegated his agent at Pittsburgh, Dr. John Connolly, to meet the Indians at the appointed time and place. Connolly immediately busied himself stirring up trouble, and endeavored to array the Indians

against the frontiers by enlisting them on the side of the King of England. The Indians were kept posted on events, though they did not very well understand the political issues involved. News of any clash between the Americans and the British troops in Massachusetts or elsewhere, quickly reached the western Indians, and excited and confused them. It was a revelation to the natives that white men of English speech did not all stand together. Agents of the English traveled among the Indians and by misrepresentation and otherwise tried to win them to the royalist side. Some of the most active agents of the English in the work were Frenchmen who lived among the tribes or about the frontier posts.

The people west of the mountains took prompt measures to counteract British influence among the savages. Both the English and the Americans have been charged with being first in attempts to stir up the Indians to go on the warpath, and perhaps both sides did it very early in the contest; but it was not the policy of the Americans to do so. Their purpose was to hold the savages neutral, and they carefully impressed that view upon the Indians. It was well understood that if the savages should go upon the warpath, the frontiers would lose more than they would gain. No time was lost in getting into communication with the leading chiefs, and explaining the situation to them. In May, 1775, a convention was held at Pittsburgh, attended by leading men from Northwestern Virginia and Western Pennsylvania, and a committee was formed to take necessary measures for the public good. A petition was addressed to the Continental Congress, in which the fear was voiced that emissaries of the British were urging the Indians to attack the frontiers.

The Continental Congress received the petition from Pittsburgh and referred it to the delegates from Virginia and Pennsylvania. It was decided that the conference with the Indians at Pittsburgh, which had been appointed by Dunmore for the summer of 1775, should be held, and Virginia named commissioners to take the matter in hand. The congress likewise appointed commissioners. One of those appointed was Benjamin Franklin, and another George Washington, but it developed that their other duties would not permit them to attend, and the committee was made up by the appointment of Lewis Morris, James Wilson, Thomas Walker, James Wood, Andrew Lewis, John Walker, and Adam Stephen.

James Wood was sent upon a special mission among the Indian tribes of Western Pennsylvania and Ohio to sound their sentiments on peace and to invite them to attend the conference in Pittsburgh. He discovered that the British had been tampering with the savages, and were employing French agents to win them over to the side of England in the approaching struggle. Mr. Wood found most of the Indians inclined to peace, but they were perplexed. It had been represented to them that in a contest with England the Americans would ultimately lose. It had been further represented that the Americans were determined to take all of the western land, as they had already taken some of it; but that the English would respect the rights of the Indians. The Virginia commissioner won the day. All he asked of the Indians was that they remain neutral in the approaching war, and this the most of them were anxious to do.

In September large numbers of Ottawas, Wyandots, Shawnees, Mingoes, Delawares and Senecas assembled at Pittsburgh for the proposed treaty. The Ottawas were from the neighborhood of Detroit, and the Senecas were Iroquois from the upper waters of the Allegheny river. They were represented by their chief Guyashusta, whose influence and authority later proved to be of the greatest value to the Americans. The

Shawnees were represented by Cornstalk, who had led them at the battle of Point Pleasant. His influence was also valuable while he was permitted to live, which, unfortunately was not long. While the Indians gathered in large numbers at Pittsburgh, the British at Detroit sent a spy in the person of Drouillard, a Frenchman, to watch the proceedings and report what occurred. He did not dare enter the camp at Pittsburgh, but approached within ten miles of the town and remained in concealment, while Indian emissaries came and went between him and the treaty house, and kept him posted concerning all that happened. He lost no time in carrying his news to Detroit.

After a discussion of several days, during which a number of the Indian chiefs made speeches, a treaty was concluded. The Indians agreed to give up all prisoners and property which they had carried from the settlements, and to maintain peace with the frontiers.

So far as West Virginia and Kentucky were concerned, the treaty proved of the utmost importance, and only of a little less importance to the rest of the country. Looking back from a distance of nearly 140 years, one is apt to lose sight of what was accomplished by the Pittsburgh treaty of 1775. The Revolutionary war was just commencing, and the Indians pledged themselves to neutrality and kept the pledge for two years. That gave the back parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky peace on their borders, and permitted soldiers to cross the mountains and join the patriot armies which were fighting near the seacoast. The first troops that reached Washington's army after he assumed command before Boston were Western Virginians. The help which the patriot generals received from the back woods near the Ohio was of the most substantial kind. That assistance could not have gone to the front had an Indian war been raging on the frontiers.

The two years of peace at that critical time came as a deliverance in another way. It gave the frontiers a chance to establish themselves and prepare for the storm which followed. Had the Indians attacked the border settlements from Pittsburgh to Kentucky at the same time that the British attacked in the east, in all human probability the settlements would have broken up between the Ohio river and the mountains, and in Kentucky. The frontier would have been thrust back where they were twenty years before, along the eastern base of the Alleghanies. The two years allowed sufficient time to build forts and prepare for the worst.

Had the frontiers been pushed back, there is no telling what result it might have had on the boundary between Canada and the United States, at the close of the Revolution. George Rogers Clark would not have led his little army into the Ohio valley and broke up the British authority there. When the time came for the treaty of Paris which ended the war, the British would have been in possession of all west of the Ohio river, if not all west of the Alleghany mountains, and it is not improbable that they would have been left in possession.

The neutrality of the Senecas on the Allegheny river stood the Americans, and especially the western settlements, a good turn later. When the British force at Niagara was preparing to march south to attack Pittsburgh, the Seneca chief Guyashusta reminded them that his territory, which lay between Niagara and Pittsburgh, was neutral, and that if they undertook to march through it, he would fight them. The British did not care to stir up an Indian war at that time, and the attack on Pittsburgh was abandoned.

The history of Western Virginia in the Revolutionary war is largely a history of hostilities with the Indians upon the frontiers. By the commencement of 1777 it became apparent that the western Indians would not remain much longer at peace. Acts of hostility were becoming fre-

quent on the borders, and the settlers were building forts, and on all sides preparations for war were seen. The British had finally succeeded in winning to their side the wild men of the wilderness.

Connolly's Plot—Dr. John Connolly was an evil genius on the western frontier of Virginia and Pennsylvania in the first year of the Revolution. His power for harm was considerable, and that his plans finally failed was due to the vigilance and good luck of the patriots. He was Dunmore's western agent, and he stuck to his chief with a faithfulness worthy of a better cause. Dunmore placed him in power at Pittsburgh and his wide acquaintance with men and conditions on the frontiers made him a hard man to circumvent. He saw as soon as anybody that the colonists would go to war with England, and he was Dunmore's willing and able tool in stirring up trouble with the Indians. He finally failed to start them upon the warpath against the frontiers. Connolly's grip of affairs about Pittsburgh was shaken loose when Dunmore lost his hold of affairs in Virginia. Early in the summer of 1775 Connolly saw that if he struck the Virginia frontiers he would have to do it with force other than Indians.

Dunmore had found it necessary to escape from Virginia on board an English ship, but he was hovering around Chesapeake bay and the mouths of the rivers. Connolly succeeded in escaping from the west and boarding Dunmore's vessel in York river. He there laid before the fugitive governor a plan for breaking up the western settlements of Virginia, and so plausible was his arguments that he convinced Dunmore that the plan was practicable. Thereupon Dunmore sent him by sea to General Gage at Boston to submit the plan to headquarters, to obtain approval, and to secure the means of putting the scheme through. General Gage approved, and Connolly set out for Canada to begin his destructive work in the neighborhood of Detroit.

The plan contemplated an invasion of Western Pennsylvania and Virginia by an army from Canada. The force was to consist of British regulars to be drawn from garrisons in Illinois and Detroit, with Canadians, Indians, and such loyalists from Virginia and Pennsylvania as might join. Connolly was to be in command, and was to be supplied with money. Authority was conferred on him to act in any emergency that was likely to arise. He was to have a train of artillery to batter down blockhouses and other fortified places. He intended to march first against Pittsburgh, and when he had taken that place, proceed against Wheeling, which was then the second strongest post on the western frontier, in the Ohio valley. Having taken Pittsburgh and Wheeling it was not expected that any serious resistance would be encountered west of the mountains, and Connolly believed that a short time would suffice for the subjugation of all the west. He then planned to march his army east to Alexandria, Virginia, where Dunmore was to meet him with a fleet and army.

Connolly set out from Boston for Canada, but American armies were operating about the lakes and he doubted whether he could get through. He therefore turned back, and undertook to make his way west through Maryland. He reached Frederick, where he was recognized and placed under arrest. A paper giving the details of the plot was found in his baggage, and his plot was discovered and defeated. He afterwards made his escape, and fled from the country.

Indians Go on the Warpath—The year 1777 was long remembered on the Virginia frontiers as "the bloody year of the three 7s." At the close of 1775, Governor Hamilton at Detroit wrote to Guy Carleton that he expected to see the Indians upon the frontiers the next summer, but the British were not able to move the savages as rapidly as Hamilton supposed they could, and it was not till 1777 that the western tribes were upon the warpath. Scattering bands of Indians went out months before, and the

alarm was general in every exposed settlement from Kentucky to Pittsburgh, and forts and places of shelter were built in many places as a matter of precaution against sudden attack.

Fort Randolph at Point Pleasant was built to take the place of Fort Blair, which was abandoned and burned in 1775. As early as May 15, 1776, Captain Matthew Arbuckle with a company of Virginia troops, left Pittsburgh for Point Pleasant to garrison the fort. There was extended correspondence between officials and men of influence in the east and people of the western country on the subject of equipping forces for the defense of the frontiers.

Fighting in what is now West Virginia occurred in many places during the Revolution; but in most instances no British appeared in arms, though it was generally understood that the Indians who did the fighting were armed, and in some instances paid, by the British. In a history as condensed as this, it is not practicable to give much more than an outline and a few details of the principal events of the war. It would require a volume for a single county in some instances to present the details of the war. Events in Monongalia, Ohio, Harrison, Randolph, or Greenbrier county would alone fill a book, if written fully as they deserve. All that can be here attempted in one chapter is to single out a few of the leading occurrences, and omit all that are of comparatively minor importance. The Revolutionary war proper in Western Virginia, including only the actual fighting in the state or directly effecting it, extended from September, 1777, to September, 1782, almost exactly five years. There were many important occurrences prior to 1777, and the war with the Indians did not cease with the conclusion of peace in 1783; but the period of five years above named took in most of Western Virginia's share in the Revolution within its borders.

During the Revolution the present territory of West Virginia was three times invaded by forces large enough to be called armies, and narrowly escaped invasion another time. Three of the hostile forces were commanded by white men in British pay, though Indians constituted most of the rank and file. The first invasion was in 1777, when Fort Henry at Wheeling was attacked. The second occurred in 1778, when an Indian army marched against Fort Randolph at the mouth of the Kanawha, and continued the invasion as far as the Greenbrier river. The third invasion was planned for July, 1782, against Wheeling, but did not materialize; and the fourth was directed against Wheeling in September, 1782.

In addition to these occurrences there were others in which the destiny of West Virginia was vitally concerned. One was the capture of Kaskaskia, in Illinois, and of Vincennes, Indiana, by a small army, chiefly Western Virginians, under George Rogers Clark. There were numerous raids and pillaging expeditions by the Indians in all parts of the country from Greenbrier river to the Pennsylvania line. These irruptions were not into the fringe of the frontiers alone, but in some cases extended from the Ohio river to the very base of the Alleghany mountains, and on one occasion across the mountains into Pendleton county on the waters of the Potomac. Small raids by the stealthy savages tried the courage and determination of the settlers more than invasions by armies; for the movements of large bodies could not be long concealed, and the people had time to fight or fly; but the noiseless advance of a few, skulking through the woods, waylaying paths, and falling without warning and without mercy upon the defenseless cabin, struck terror everywhere. No exposed cabin was safe between the mountains and the Ohio, and every rock and tree by the lonely paths were ever-inviting hiding places for assassins. None who have not studied minutely the chronicles of those awful years

can form a conception of the desperate situation in which the people were often placed.

The correspondence between the leaders of the people among the western valleys and mountains and the authorities at Richmond give a picture which constantly raises astonishment that people could hold their ground under such circumstances. The petitions to the people in the east to send food, because no crops could be raised; or to send powder, for there was none in the settlements; or to send a bar of lead for bullets; or a piece of steel to mend gunlocks; or flints for firing the guns, were numerous and show the straits to which the pioneers were often reduced. Sometimes these appeals were partly granted—they always were if possible—but too often the message came back that it was impossible to do anything. There was nothing to do but fight on, and beat off the savages, or die in the attempt. More than once those appeals for help went across the Alleghanies toward Richmond accompanied with the despairing assertion that unless powder came, or food was found, the settlements must "break." That word meant that all must be given up and the people seek safety in a retreat across the mountains. How nearly that came to pass on more than one occasion is shown in brief sentences in that short and poorly spelled correspondence, of which the following are examples among scores of others: "Buckhannon settlement has broke"; "fourteen Tygarts valley familys were on foot yisterday, and others must go"; "not three loads of powder remain".

Appeals that crossed the mountains did not fall on unsympathetic ears. Hampshire county sent its militia two hundred miles to defend the wilderness frontiers along the Ohio; and even Staunton responded in the time of need, though the resources of the valley of Virginia were drained to the limit to fight the British in the east. Militia crossed the Alleghanies to the Greenbrier settlements; went down the Kanawha; penetrated to the mouth of the Little Kanawha; helped the people on Cheat river in Tucker county, where the settlers had only eighteen men; sent soldiers to Tygart's valley, where the hard pressed settlers were once on the point of giving up the fight. The eastern counties spared militia also for the Wheeling district, and for the Monongahela. The help thus given in the hours of greatest need doubtless saved the day. On more than one occasion the militia that crossed the mountains found it impossible to remain long because of the famine. The settlers were often on the verge of starvation, and there was nothing to divide, even with the defenders who had come to help fight.

It was not the custom among the people on the frontiers to lie still and wait to be attacked. Scouts, who were almost invariably called spies in the early court documents where the records are to be found, were kept in the woods, constantly on the lookout for Indians. These men usually remained out ten days at a time, when they were relieved by others. They waylaid the paths by which the savages were accustomed to enter the country, and upon making any suspicious discovery, the settlers within twenty or thirty miles were warned. The very best woodsmen were detailed for that duty, and many a life was saved by their vigilance. The Indians, who invariably came from Ohio, had certain routes which they followed. When they were discovered upon a path, it was known within a fair degree of certainty what place they intended to strike. It was then the scout's duty to outrun them and spread the alarm. The scouts usually ranged well off toward the Ohio river. They were not always successful. The Indians were quick to learn that the paths were watched, and they deviated from their usual courses, and escaped the watchful eyes of the spies. Sometimes the scouts were waylaid and caught by the very savages they were watching. It would be hard to

FROM THE PAINTING OF JOSEPH A. FARIS.

imagine a life more beset with peril than those of the spies on the frontiers. Some of them never received pay, while many years afterwards some were placed on the pension rolls as Revolutionary soldiers.

First Siege of Fort Henry—The larger events in the transmontane Revolutionary history of Virginia were opened by the siege of Fort Henry at Wheeling in September, 1777, by an Indian army led by a white man, erroneously believed for many years to have been Simon Girty, who was a notorious renegade in the Indian country. It is now known that the leader was not Girty, who at that time was serving in the garrison at Pittsburgh and who did not desert to the Indians until six months later.

The fort at Pittsburgh was under command of General Hand in the summer of 1777. He was a regular army officer and had been sent west to take charge of military affairs in that district. In August he learned from his spies that the Indians were preparing a formidable attack upon some part of the frontiers, and he believed that Wheeling was the objective point. Messengers were sent to warn the settlements near the Ohio from Pittsburgh to Point Pleasant. The fort at Wheeling was an alluring place, in the eyes of the Indians; and in the course of the war they made three attempts to take it. General Hand undertook to discover the line of the enemy's march in time to give specific warning to the place threatened. He sent spies west of the Ohio to watch all the principal paths leading to the river; but in spite of that precaution, the Indian army reached the river undiscovered, and appeared before Fort Henry September 1, as suddenly as if they had risen from the ground. It was afterwards learned that they had made their way to the river in small parties, and by unfrequented routes, and had assembled by prearrangement just below Wheeling, on the Ohio side.

Fort Henry had formerly been called Fort Fincastle, from one of Dunmore's titles; but when he became odious because of his activity in combatting the Virginians, they changed the name in honor of Patrick Henry, governor of the state. Fort Dunmore for a like reason became Fort Pitt again; Dunmore county ceased to exist, as did Fincastle county. The odious ex-governor was stripped of his namesakes as far as the Virginians could do it. Fort Henry was made a place of considerable strength, but was not calculated for defense against artillery, as the Indians had none. It was made of logs 21 feet long, set on end, four feet in the ground, and seventeen above. There were bastions at the four corners, on which the defenders could station themselves to pick off the assailants. It was the purpose to mount small cannon there, but none had been provided. A wooden dummy was set up in a position to make it visible from the outside, and it was hoped that the Indians would be afraid of it. They discovered it was a sham, and sarcastically challenged the garrison to fire it. The walls of the fort were too high to climb, too strong to break down with any means at the disposal of the Indians, and the plan of defense consisted in preventing the battering in of the gates or setting the fort on fire.

The savages drew near the walls of the fort on the night of August 31, and instead of attacking openly, they set an ambuscade and waited for daybreak. When the people about the fort began to stir, a few of the Indians showed themselves, and pretended to retreat. Captain Mason went in pursuit with fourteen men, and fell into the trap set for him. All of his men were killed but three. The firing called out a rescuing squad from the fort, and Captain Joseph Ogle with twelve men went to the rescue. He fell into the same trap and nine of his men were killed. That left about a dozen men in the stockade to resist the attack of more than 300 Indians. The fort contained no soldiers, and was defended by men,

women, and children of Wheeling and vicinity. In the fighting that followed the women handled rifles the same as the men.

Before the enemy began the assault on the fort, the white man who seemed to be the leader posted himself at the window of a cabin within hearing distance, and proceeded to read a demand for the surrender of the place, and accompanied it with a proclamation which he pretended was signed by Governor Hamilton of Detroit. The demand for surrender was made in the name of Great Britain, and not the Indians. The king's protection was promised to all who would lay down their arms and submit; and warning was given to all who offered resistance that the savages would attack them, and if they fell into the hands of the Indians their safety could not be guaranteed. Colonel David Shepherd, commandant of the fort, replied that the place would not be surrendered. The white man at the cabin window undertook to show by argument that the fort could not offer successful resistance, but his talk was cut short by a shot fired at him from the fort, and he withdrew.

The assault commenced a few minutes later with a rush against the gate. It withstood the attack. The Indians endeavored to push the posts of the stockade down. In that they failed also. The people in the fort fired at short range with deadly effect. The assailants recoiled; but their courage was not abated. They came up again and again in determined rushes against the gate and the palisades, employing logs and stones as battering rams to break the wall. These attempts met with no better success, and some of the boldest tried to set the fort on fire. Once more they failed. The bullets from the port holes picked off the enemy rapidly and finally drove them away from the walls.

The Indians having spent their rage in fruitless rushes against the logs of the palisades, withdrew to a safer distance, and renewed the attack with less danger to themselves. Their best riflemen ensconced themselves behind shelter, or hid in neighboring cabins, and tried to pick off the defenders by shooting through the portholes. They wasted a large quantity of British lead and powder to no purpose, for they killed no one in the fort. They kept up the fire, with repeated attempts to storm the place, during two days and nights. They amused themselves with burning the cabins and barns of Wheeling, and practically nothing was left. They also drove up the cattle found about the neighboring fields and killed them, and feasted on the spoils. On the third day, when their vigilance was relaxed, fourteen men under Colonel Andrew Swearingen succeeded in landing near the fort, and entered its walls without loss. A second reinforcement arrived soon after in command of Major Samuel McCulloch. His forty men were not so successful in reaching the fort without a fight as Swearingen's had been. The Indians attempted to intercept them, and a sharp encounter occurred, but all reached the fort except the leader. He was cut off, and made his escape by riding his horse down a precipitous bluff two hundred feet high. The Indians saw all hope of success vanish, and they raised the siege and marched off. They had one-tenth of their number killed. They displayed courage of the highest quality in their attacks on the fortified place. Few civilized armies will continue a long and offensive fight which costs them one man in ten.

The Grave Creek Ambuscade—Soon after the Indians departed from Wheeling a disastrous ambush occurred at the Grave Creek Narrows, near the Ohio, a short distance below Wheeling. There seems to be no positive evidence that the Indians concerned in it were part of those who had lately besieged Fort Henry, but such was probably the case. The party must have been large, for they made quick work of Captain William Foreman and twenty-one Hampshire county militia. The remainder of the party was saved from destruction by the alarm of the Indians, who mistook the

advance of a few men for the van of a large force, and fled. They did not go so precipitately, however, but that they were able to carry off nine guns and twenty blankets belonging to the slain men. Sundry other arms and accoutrements were carried off also, the whole of which was afterwards paid for by the state, amounting to more than five hundred dollars in value.

Assassination of Cornstalk—Though many of the Ohio tribes were openly at war with the Virginians in the summer of 1777, the Shawnees remained at peace. They were probably the most powerful tribe in Ohio. They had formed the strength of the confederacy which had been defeated at Point Pleasant three years before. In the treaty at Camp Charlotte, following the battle, Cornstalk, the chief of the Shawnees, had pledged that he would keep the peace, and ever since he had tried to do so. His task became extremely difficult as the summer of 1777 advanced, and war parties from among the other tribes were constantly going out. The Shawnees were restless, and were restrained only by the influence of Cornstalk. The agents of the British were among them, doing all in their power to turn the Shawnees upon the frontiers. Cornstalk frankly explained to the officers on the frontiers the troubles which the peace party among his tribe was having. Some of the young men had gone on raids in spite of him. Even then he did all he could to repair the damage they did. He conducted to Point Pleasant some of the stolen horses carried off by his people.

Early in the fall Cornstalk came again to Fort Randolph at Point Pleasant, and brought the intelligence that the Shawnees were getting beyond his control, and that some influence which he could not understand was leading them. The influence was undoubtedly British bribes. Red Hawk, another chief of the Shawnees, came with him. Under the circumstances the commandant of Fort Randolph thought it advisable to detain the two chiefs as hostages to secure the good behavior of the Shawnees. The chiefs were not unwilling to be detained, and were well treated during their stay at the fort.

In the fall a number of militiamen arrived at Point Pleasant from the east for the purpose of invading the Indian country. While waiting at the fort, a young Indian, Elinipisco by name, son of Cornstalk, arrived at the fort to learn what had become of his father, who had long overstayed his time. Scarcely had the young man reached the cabin where his father was before word was brought that a soldier had been killed by Indians within a mile of the fort. It happened to be one of the militiamen who had lately come. His companions declared their belief that the Indians who killed the soldier had come with Elinipisco, and had concealed themselves in the woods for the purpose of killing a white man. Refusing to listen to reason, they rushed to the cabin where the Indians were, and murdered them on the spot. The victims had warning a few moments before the assassins arrived, and might have saved themselves by flight, but Cornstalk refused to do it, and advised the others to die like men. When the murderers appeared at the door, Cornstalk stood up, and without a word, received the bullet that killed him.

Few lives have been more dearly paid for than the Virginians paid for Cornstalk's. The Shawnees hesitated no longer, but plunged immediately into the war against the frontiers, and few were the Shawnee warriors who did not, during the five succeeding years, consider it his duty to personally avenge the death of his chief by taking ten lives for one, if possible. Four years afterward, when Colonel William Crawford fell into the hands of the Indians, he was burned at the stake to avenge the death of Cornstalk, as was expressly declared by some of the Shawnees.

Fort Randolph Attacked—The season was too far advanced when the

tribes learned of the death of Cornstalk for offensive movements by large bodies to be carried out before winter. The Indians could not campaign in cold weather because their clothing was insufficient. The frontiers could depend upon peace and security after the first deep snows of the fall until the spring thaws.

In May a force of Shawnees, estimated at 200, crossed the Ohio river secretly and approached Fort Randolph in the night. The fort stood on the Point Pleasant battlefield, and the savages came with full recollection of the defeat they had suffered there less than four years before. They repeated almost exactly their tactics of the year before at Fort Henry, but with less success. Early in the morning a few Indians showed themselves in a field near the fort to decoy a party in pursuit; but the trick was suspected, and the plan for an ambuscade came to naught. Finding that the soldiers would not fall into the trap, the savages threw off all disguise, and boldly rose from their concealment, forming an unbroken line from the Kanawha river across the neck of land to the Ohio, cutting off the garrison's retreat by land, should such a step be undertaken. Their purpose had been, as was supposed, to decoy as many of the garrison out as they could, fire on the party, and pursue the fugitives to the fort, and entering at their heels before the gate could be closed. The failure of that plan made an open assault necessary, unless they wished to abandon the purpose of attack.

Several attempts were made to take the fort by storm, but the assaults were weak. The Indians displayed little of the fierce courage they had shown at Fort Henry. Their experience on that occasion had taught them prudence; and, besides, they must have realized from the start that their force was too small to capture the place unless it could be done by treachery or surprise. That turned out to be impossible, and they settled down to a siege, and during one week they closely invested the fort, discharging their guns occasionally in the direction of the stockade. Finally, they packed up their belongings and moved off; but instead of recrossing the Ohio and returning to their own country, they marched up the Kanawha. That meant only one thing—that they intended to attach the Greenbrier settlements, 160 miles distant. The region between the Greenbrier country and Point Pleasant had no settlers at that time.

Assault on Donnally's Fort—The commandant at Fort Randolph realized the danger the Greenbrier people were in. If that army of two hundred Indians should fall on them unawares, the settlements would be wiped out. As soon as it became certain that the savages were headed for the Greenbrier, the commandant of the fort called for volunteers who would try to pass the Indians on the way and warn the people. The danger of the undertaking was pointed out, but there were volunteers enough. Two soldiers were chosen for the work. They were dressed and painted like Indians. A sister of Cornstalk, who had remained at the fort since the year before, notwithstanding the murder of her brother and nephew, assisted in painting the scouts and disguising them to make them look as much like Indians as possible.

The scouts traveled day and night, and overtook the Indians on Meadow river, about twenty miles from the Greenbrier settlements. The vacant house of a frontier settler stood at that place. Some of his property remained there, hogs among other things. The Indians were in the act of killing and eating the hogs when the scouts passed them unseen, and a few hours later reached the outlying settlement of the Greenbrier colony. There having been no Indian alarm that spring, the people were in their fields, putting in crops. Two forts had been erected for their protection in time of danger. One stood ten miles north

of the town of Lewisburg, and was known as Fort Donnally, the other was Fort Savannah on the site of Lewisburg. A few hours after the scouts sounded the alarm, the entire settlement was on the way to the forts. Twenty men with their families assembled at Donnally's before dark, and five times that number were within the walls of Fort Savannah, ten miles distant.

Donnally's fort was a two-story log house with port holes through which assailants could be fired on from the loft. It has been claimed that the building was enclosed with palisades, but that seems to be doubtful, as the enemy in the attack in 1778 approached the walls of the house, crawled beneath the floor, climbed the corners in an endeavor to reach the roof, and in other ways conducted the assault as though not embarrassed by the presence of palisades.

The Indians, after reaching Meadow river, directed their march toward Donnally's fort instead of Fort Savannah, because they supposed, and rightly, that the former was weaker. They arrived in the night and lay in wait near the fort till morning. The inmates had prepared for a siege by providing a store of food and water; and strict orders had been given the evening before that the door should not be opened in the morning until an examination had been made to see that the coast was clear. It is strange that in the face of danger which was known to be imminent, the occupants of the fort would sleep through the night without posting guards to watch for the enemy. The wonder is that the historian is not called upon to relate how the building was approached in the darkness and set on fire. The Indians lost that opportunity of winning an easy victory; and contented themselves with lying in wait to strike a sudden blow in the morning.

About daylight one of the inmates, contrary to strict orders, went to the yard for kindling wood, and left the door open. One white man and a negro slave were awake in the house, but all others were asleep. The man who stepped into the yard was immediately shot, and the savages rushed for the open door. A blow from the whiteman's tomahawk killed the first that tried to enter, and the negro discharged a musket loaded with shot, into the faces of the Indians who were pushing toward the door. They were checked, and the door was shut. The savages began to hew it with their tomahawks. Some of them having crawled under the house attempted to raise the puncheons and force an entrance that way, while others climbed the walls.

The first shots waked the men upstairs, who fired through the port holes with such deadly effect that seventeen of the assailants were killed so near the walls that their comrades dared not approach to remove them. Those who were climbing the walls mocked the men within whose words could be heard, and were repeated: "Aim good," "shoot 'em sure," "powder scarce." There was powder enough, however, to dislodge the assailants from their position near the walls and drive them from the vicinity of the fort. They retired to a safer distance and fired at long range for several hours, but without doing any damage. Hundreds of bullets were buried in the logs, but none passed through.

In the afternoon help came from Fort Savannah. As soon as the people who fled for refuge to that place were safely within, they sent out expert woodsmen to get in touch with the enemy. They approached sufficiently near Donnally's fort to hear the firing, and carried the news to headquarters. Sixty-six men were sent to the relief of the people at Donnaly's, and the Indians fled without long sustaining the attack. They left the country without doing further damage. Their campaign as a whole had failed, as they had been able to kill only one person.

The Illinois Campaign—Indiana and Illinois were far removed from

what is now the territory of West Virginia, and on the face of it, it might seem that events happening there in 1779 and 1780 would have little connection with West Virginia's history; but such was not the case. It had become apparent by that time that no permanent relief from Indian raids and invasions need be expected as long as the borders fought on the defensive only. War brought no hardships to the Indians, but rather amusement and recreation, if they were permitted to carry it on in their own way. They made a pastime of skulking about the settlements, stealing horses which they were able to sell to the British and to traders, and taking scalps for which the British paid them well. They sometimes met reverses on these raids, but generally not.

An invasion of the Indian country was looked upon as the only means of securing permanent relief. The prompt and satisfactory peace which followed the campaign of 1774 was cited as an example of what a successful invasion of the enemy's country would accomplish. In 1778 Fort McIntosh was built on the north bank of the Ohio below the mouth of Beaver creek, and army headquarters were moved from Pittsburgh to that place in order to be nearer the borders of the Indian country. The same year Fort Laurens was built still nearer the Indian country, on the bank of Tuscarawas creek, and Colonel John Gibson with 150 men was stationed there. The building of these forts disconcerted the Indians, and excited their hostility in a special degree. They took measures to harrass the places as much as possible. On March 22, 1779, Captain Byrd, a British officer from Detroit, with a following of eight white men and 120 Indians, appeared before Fort Laurens, and besieged it. His force was too weak to assure any measure of success in assault, but he waylaid provision convoys and attacked small parties, and for a month made his presence felt. He retired when he saw no opportunity to do further mischief.

In 1778 a force was raised and placed under command of George Rogers Clark for an invasion of Illinois. The blow was aimed at British posts in that region, whence the Indians received much encouragement in their war against the Virginia settlements. Clark's force was largely made up of West Virginians, from the Monongahela valley and elsewhere within the present boundaries of the State. He surprised Kaskaskia in Illinois, and Vincennes, Indiana, and captured them. He left Captain Helm in charge of Vincennes.

When Hamilton, Governor of Canada, learned of the success of the Americans, he set out from Detroit October 8, 1778, with thirty-five British regulars, forty-four irregulars, seventy militia, and sixty Indians to recover the lost ground and restore British influence in that quarter. He increased his force by picking up other Indians on the way, and on December 17 he appeared before Vincennes, and Captain Helm was surrounded and compelled to surrender. Governor Hamilton then dismissed his Indians to their homes, and ordered them to assemble at Vincennes early the following spring to renew the campaign. His designs were ambitious. He expected to drive the Americans out of Illinois, break up and destroy the settlements in Kentucky, repeat the work in Virginia west of the mountains, and capture Wheeling, Fort Randolph, and Pittsburgh. He calculated that he could do more than Connolly had planned.

He calculated without duly considering that George Rogers Clark lay with a small but well-seasoned force one hundred and fifty miles west of him. Winter had come by that time, and Hamilton intended to do nothing till spring, and he expected no movement meanwhile by anyone else; but Clark prepared for immediate action. Marching from Kaskaskia in mid-winter he passed undiscovered through the forests and

across the prairies of Southern Illinois, wading water often waist deep, and before the British at Vincennes suspected the proximity of an enemy, Clark's little army appeared before the place. The British had a force large enough to have fought, even on open ground, with fair prospect of success; but they were deceived concerning the number of the Americans. Clark marched the same companies of troops several times across a rising ground in full view of the fort; and so concealed the movements that he led the British to believe that the force they saw was much larger than it really was.

Demand for the surrender of Vincennes was refused at first by Hamilton, and Clark approached within rifle range, and opened fire. A few minutes sufficed to send up the white flag at the fort, and Hamilton surrendered. The Americans won a victory which, in far-reaching results, has had few equals, if any, in this country. Its full scope was not very clearly understood at the time, and the immediate fruits were looked upon as the chief prize. These consisted of the release of one hundred white prisoners who were found in Vincennes; the capture of military stores worth fifty thousand dollars, and the clearing of the whole country of British from the Mississippi to Detroit. The ardor of the Indians was greatly dampened, and they learned for the first time that the British were not able to protect them. The Americans from that time forward held the country as far west as the Mississippi river.

Governor Hamilton was sent a prisoner to Richmond. He was cordially hated by the Americans, by whom he was called "the hair buyer," in allusion to his policy of buying scalps from the Indians. It was claimed that his standing offer of high prices for the scalps of men, women and children (for he made no distinction), caused many a murder of prisoners taken by the Indians. They killed captives for the scalp money. In view of the hatred felt for Hamilton, some relief was felt by those in charge of him when he was delivered safe in Richmond. He remained there a year as a prisoner, and he was the subject of heated correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and British officers who undertook to secure his release on parole. Jefferson contended that Hamilton's conduct had put him outside the pale of civilized war. He was exchanged in 1780, and was again for a time Governor of Canada.

Last Siege of Fort Henry—An expedition was sent against Coshocton, Ohio, in 1781, under General Brodhead with 150 regular soldiers and an equal number of militia. He met with small loss on his part, and inflicted severe damage on the savages.

In the summer of 1782 the Ohio Indians prepared for attacking Wheeling. The town had been rebuilt after it was burned by the savages in 1777. The fort was the same, and the only addition to its strength was the mounting of a small cannon on one of the bastions. A British officer named Caldwell with a few white men appeared in Ohio in July to lead the army of 300 Indians against Wheeling. Among the white men in this proposed expedition were Simon Girty, the renegade, and his brother George. The expedition was only fairly on foot when a report spread through the Ohio tribes that General Clark with a large army was invading the Indian country and that General Irvine with another army was on his way to Canada. It was a false report, but it broke up the march toward Wheeling. Reinforcements for Canada were asked for, and such Indians as did not feel that their presence at home was absolutely necessary, moved toward Canada to lend their aid. Later the army, or part of it, which had intended to attack Wheeling, crossed the Ohio into Kentucky, and appeared before Bryant's station, August 14, 1782. Caldwell and the two Girtys accompanied that force.

The British did not give up the design of attacking Fort Henry when

Caldwell and his three hundred Indians marched off toward Kentucky; but commenced gathering a new force. As a nucleus of an army, Captain Pratt entered Ohio with forty British regulars from Canada. Little trouble was experienced in collecting as many Indians as were needed, and toward the last of August 282 savages were ready to march with the regulars. On September 11 this force appeared before Fort Henry, and demanded an immediate surrender, which Captain Boggs, the commandant, refused. The experience of the Indians in rushing forts by day taught them prudence, and they remained out of range until after dark.

The delay was of much advantage to the people in the fort. There were less than twenty men within the walls when the enemy appeared, but women and children were numerous. While the foe was waiting for darkness, a boat came down the Ohio under charge of a man named Sullivan. It was loaded with cannon balls for the army operating in Illinois and Indiana, and had a crew of a dozen or more men. Sullivan saw the situation, and succeeded in landing near the fort, where he tied the boat, and joined the garrison, and assisted in the defense.

The British flag flew over the camp of the enemy, and the blowing of the bugle was a constant reminder that a considerable part of the threatening force consisted of white soldiers. Under cover of darkness they made more than twenty attempts to set the stockade on fire. They piled hemp against the wall and applied the blaze, but the hemp was damp, burned slowly, and the savages and their white allies were doomed to witness the repeated failures of their incendiary efforts.

Near the walls of the fort stood Ebenezer Zane's cabin. He considered it near enough to be successfully defended, and he was anxious to hold it, as it was believed that the enemy would burn all the houses in their power as they had done in 1777. Two white men and a negro remained in the cabin with Zane. While the attack was delayed, the discovery was made that a keg of powder which was needed in the fort had been left in Zane's cabin. To fetch it while scores of Indians were within shooting distance was extremely perilous, but several volunteers offered themselves for the service. Among them was Elizabeth, daughter of Ebenezer Zane, and upon her insistence, she was sent for the powder. As she ran from the fort across the open space to the cabin, the Indians saw her but refrained from firing, simply exclaiming contemptuously, "A squaw." But when she emerged from the cabin door a few minutes later with the powder in a table cloth that had been tied around her waist by her father, the purpose of her mission was suspected and bullets struck all about her as she ran, but she fortunately escaped harm and safely entered the fort.

The firing was very sharp from the fort and the cabin while the Indians were trying to set the place on fire. They were especially galled by the shots from the cabin, whose fire raked them in the flank during their assaults on the fort. Late at night they attempted to rid themselves of the cabin by burning it, and an Indian, with glowing brands in his hands, crawled almost to the wall before the negro, who was at that moment on guard, discovered him. The savage had exposed himself to view in the darkness by waving the billets to kindle their embers to a blaze. The moment he exposed himself the negro fired. It was believed that the savage was struck; and at any rate, he dropped his firebrands and hobbled howling away.

A number of Indians took possession of a cabin loft some two hundred yards from the fort, and made night noisy with yelling and dancing. At length the cannon on the bastion was trained on the cabin, and the ball broke a joist, causing the upper floor to fall with all its load of

savages, and effectively stopped the revelry in that quarter. The cannon was fired sixteen times during the siege.

The Indians, or more probably their white auxiliaries, conceived the notion of making a cannon of wood. The idea was suggested to them by the capture of the cannon balls in the boat which had stopped there on its way down the Ohio. A hollow maple log was procured, and the balls were found to fit the cavity. With chains procured in a neighboring blacksmith shop the log was securely bound, and the breech was plugged. The improvised weapon was pointed adroitly toward the fort gate, and a live coal was applied to the train of powder set to discharge the piece. The explosion burst the cannon, scattering broken chains and pieces of wood far and near, doing no damage to the fort, but injuring several of the savages who had crowded as near as possible to witness the effect of the shot.

The Indians made several attempts to break the gate open, but failed in all of them. Meantime a relief force had been collecting in the surrounding settlements, and seventy men marched to Fort Henry. The enemy did not stand for a fight in the open, but raised the siege and marched off. A portion of the attacking force appeared before Rice's fort a few miles distant, defended by a few men. In the attack there they lost four warriors and accomplished nothing. In a few days the last stragglers of the formidable invading force had recrossed the Ohio, and no Indian army ever after that set foot on the soil of West Virginia.

The man who carried the British flag in the attack on Wheeling was shot, and fell with the flag. That was nearly eleven months after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, and it is claimed that it was the last flag to fly over a British force in fight on American soil during the Revolution. Consequently, it has been claimed that the siege of Fort Henry, in September, 1782, was the last battle in the War of Independence.

The Loyalists—When the Revolutionary war came on, political lines were drawn, and hatred and hostility divided the factions. By no means all of the people were in favor of separation from England, and doubtless many who were opposed to a separation were honest and sincere in their views. The great majority, however, espoused the American cause and in most parts of the country the tories—the name applied to those who took sides against their country—were in such minority that they were powerless for harm. The greatest strength of the tories was seen in those parts of the country which the British were able to overrun and dominate, particularly parts of New York, New Jersey, and South Carolina. Where it was believed that British protection could be depended upon, large numbers of American citizens declared for England, and some took arms to fight their countrymen who were struggling to gain their independence. It frequently happened that the tories were vindictive, and went out of their way to make trouble for their neighbors who had espoused the patriotic cause. This naturally led to reprisals and retaliation, and finally the animosity between tories and their patriotic countrymen grew intense.

There has been a good deal said by writers of local history in West Virginia, west of the mountains, of tory plots along the Ohio and Monongahela. It was popularly believed that one of the purposes of the Indian and British invasion in 1777 which ended in the siege of Wheeling, was to furnish safe transportation to Western Virginia tories who were anxious to quit the country and go to Canada. No one ever seemed able to name or count any who took advantage of the opportunity to depart. There were rumors of plots in the Monongahela valley in which

tories planned crimes and misdemeanors against the property and lives of their fellow citizens. It was long ago published as history that tories were deported from the country, and that in one instance their leader was drowned—supposedly by design—in Cheat river.

It is not easy, by use of the vague historical and traditional data available, to prove or disprove much that has been asserted. It is probable that the accounts are pretty evenly divided between truth and falsehood. It is evident that in 1775 Dr. John Connally, who was Dunmore's agent, believed that many of the people west of the mountains would come out for the English cause if they dared. In his scheme for invasion from Canada, as narrated in preceding pages, he made provision for those who would be found on his side when his army entered the country. How correct his judgment may have been in that matter is not now know. It is certain, however, from what is well known, that the tories west of the Alleghanies were very far from being in the majority. Most of the men carried arms on the other side, and as it was nearly always free choice with them whether they would go into the army or not, it is reasonable to conclude that they took the field in defense of the cause in which they believed. There were probably fewer tories west of the mountains in Virginia than in any other part of the country, in proportion to the total number of people.

East of the Alleghanies in what is now Hardy, Grant, and Pendleton counties, a tory plot came to a head when it was believed that Cornwallis would subdue Virginia and drive the patriot armies out. The center of the plot was near Petersburg in Grant county. It is said that a number of the tories implicated in the trouble lived twenty miles above there at Upper Tract, and that some came from Moonfield river, along the base of the Shenadoah mountains. The first intimation of rebellion appeared when they refused to pay their taxes or contribute to Hampshire's quota of men to be raised for the army. Colonel Van Meter with thirty militia was sent from Old Fields to enforce the payment of taxes. Fifty tories armed themselves and assembled at the house of John Brake, a German, and declared that they would resist the demands by force and arms. Colonel Van Meter, who knew most of the tories personally, marched his men to meet them, but instead of a fight there was a parley. The leader of the militia attempted to convince them by argument that they were in the wrong and must ultimately suffer for it, but they had the best of the argument, as it would seem, for the militia went home and left them in arms and defiant. The fact probably was, Colonel Van Meter saw that he was not strong enough to fight them successfully, and he retired to make better preparation.

They thought themselves victorious and became more insolent and defiant than before. They organized a company, elected John Claypole their captain, and prepared to march off and join Cornwallis as soon as he arrived within reach of them. They seemed to be fairly well posted on the movements of the British army which at that time was threatening lower Virginia. General Daniel Morgan of the Continental army happened to be at that time in Frederick county, some sixty miles distant. Learning that the tories had organized a military company he thought it time he took a hand. He collected 400 militia and did not open parley with the insurgents, but pressed them so closely that Claypole surrendered, and William Baker was shot when he refused to throw down his gun; but he was not killed. After one other had been shot, Brake surrendered, and the tory uprising was at an end. When the tories duly reflected upon what they had done they repented, and in order to make amends, they joined the American army and fought till the end of the war. A cavern is pointed out seven miles from Upper Tract which

is still called Tory Cave, because of a tradition that some of the terrified men who escaped General Morgan's militia were hiding in it for some days.

Buying Powder in New Orleans—The scarcity of powder in the western settlements, and for that matter in the whole country, has been spoken of. The friendliness of the Spanish, who then held New Orleans, induced the belief that a supply might be obtained in that city, if some way could be devised for bringing it to the colonies. To send it by sea would be to invite almost certain capture by English ships. The only other way was up the Mississippi and the Ohio. John Linn and a number of others were sent in a small boat, with a couple of thousand dollars, to buy powder in New Orleans. They reached that place safely, and the Spanish government received them in a friendly manner, but the town was full of British spies who at once surmised that the Americans had come on some secret mission, and they urged the Governor to arrest them. After Governor Galvez had secretly informed the Americans of what he was about to do, and the reason for doing it (to allay the suspicions of the English spies) he had one of the Americans arrested and placed in jail, but left Linn and the others at liberty, with his consent to buy all the powder they could pay for, provided they kept the transaction secret.

The spies were thrown off their guard, and their vigilance was relaxed. Linn quietly purchased ten thousand pounds of powder for $1800, had it loaded in a boat, and with his men he pulled off up the Mississippi with it. After several weeks had passed, the Spaniards released the prisoner whom they had held as a blind, and he returned to Virginia by sea. Months passed before any tidings came of the powder boat on the Mississippi. Scouts were sent down the Ohio with instructions to search to the mouth of the river, examining the mouths of all streams as they passed. In case they could hear nothing of Linn and the powder when they reached the Mississippi they were instructed to go to St. Louis and make inquiries there. An old letter is in existence in which one of the scouts wrote to ask an officer where St. Louis was, and the officer in reply said he had no idea.

Meanwhile, Linn toiled slowly up the Mississippi against the current. Winter had set in by the time he reached a post in Arkansas, and he put in there to wait for spring. He was well treated, and passed several weeks pleasantly. and his men rested in preparation for the long journey ahead of them. They set forward early in the spring and in several weeks reached the mouth of the Ohio, 150 miles or more below St. Louis. The Spanish officer in command of the St. Louis fort had by that time heard of the mysterious boat ascending the Mississippi, and when it turned up the Ohio, he sent Indians across the country to the falls at Louisville to intercept and capture it. The Indians were not fast enough. Before they reached the designated place, Linn's powder boat had passed, and they returned to St. Louis. Linn continued up the Ohio and finally landed the powder at Wheeling, and it was put to good service during the remainder of the war.

SOLDIERS AND SUPPLIES

It was easier to raise troops for the Revolutionary war than to find their supplies. Factories, as the term is now understood, did not exist in this country then. Small shops and individual workers made nearly all the clothing, shoes, blankets, tents, and a considerable part of the arms. If contractors undertook to furnish supplies, they had to go among the people for them. The weaving and spinning were done by hand; leather

was tanned in small yards, and a few hides at a time was generally the capacity. No factory took orders to make army wagons, but the blacksmiths in the villages and at crossroads made them, and the equipment of a regiment made necessary a call upon all the surrounding country for what was wanted. There was no other way to equip an army and keep it in the field. Braddock lost farm wagons worth $100,000 which the farmers of Pennsylvania had supplied on Benjamin Franklin's promise that he would see that they were paid for. Washington's armies were supplied in the same way—when they were supplied at all. The Congress called on the states for supplies, and the states called on their counties, and the counties had to go to the individuals.

In October, 1780, the Virginia assembly made a direct call on the counties. The counties in what is now West Virginia supplied clothing, beef, wagons, horses, and drivers. Berkeley's share was 71 suits of clothes, each suit to consist of two shirts of linen or cotton, one pair of overalls, two pairs of stockings, one pair of shoes, one hat of wool, fur, or felt, or a leather cap. In addition to that, Berkeley furnished 71 cattle each weighing not less than 300 pounds net; one good wagon, with four horses and harness complete, with a driver whose wages for one month were paid by the county. Other counties furnished supplies in like proportion.

Calls for Troops—Virginia laid levies for troops both for defense of its western frontier and for use of the Continental army. Ten calls were issued during the Revolution, all of which were promptly answered. These were in addition to almost constant calls in the counties for militia to fight Indians who were raiding the settlements, and for scouts and spies to guard the paths by which the savages made their way into the country. The West Virginia counties had a military burden to carry during that time which well nigh reached the limit of endurance. Sometimes it was beyond their power. Greenbrier county fell in arrears $30,000 in state taxes. There was no money with which to pay. The state made arrangements that the sum be worked out in road building, and the Greenbrier people built a highway from their settlement to the Kanawha valley in lieu of cash taxes.

Virginia's first call for soldiers was in July 1775, the second in October 1776, third in October 1777, fourth in October 1778, fifth in May 1779, the sixth was later in the same month, seventh in May 1780, eighth in October 1780, ninth in May 1781, and tenth in May 1782. It is not possible to determine exactly what was the total number of soldiers raised by the ten calls in the seven years, but it was about 3500. It does not necessarily mean that that number of individuals enlisted, for the same men may have joined more than once. Neither is it possible to ascertain where all of these men served. It is known that they fought at Kaskaskia on the bank of the Mississippi river, and at Boston. Some of them were in almost every important battle of the Revolution, and in every campaign against the Indians. A number of West Virginians, though in Colonel Crawford's Pennsylvania regiment, were in the army of Gates at Saratoga, and Gates himself was a West Virginian. Soldiers from the banks of the Monongahela and along the Ohio helped George Rogers Clark win and hold Illinois for the American cause. Captain George Jackson raised a company of 104 soldiers at Buckhannon and marched with them to the west; General Morgan with a much larger number marched from Berkeley county, 600 miles, to Boston. Wherever fighting and hard campaigning was to be done, the soldies from the mountains of West Virginia were on hand to help do it.

Pension Legislation—During thirty-five years after the close of the Revolution, Congress made no provision for paying pensions to the sur-

viving soldiers of that war. In 1818 the first pension law was passed. It was so difficult and so humiliating to comply with its terms that comparatively few availed themselves of its privilege. They must, in the first place, acknowledge themselves paupers, that is, "in need of assistance." They must have served to the end of the war, or at least nine consecutive months at one period. About 194 Western Virginians applied for pensions under that law. They were residents in 1818 of what is now West Virginia, though they may have moved into the state long after the close of the Revolution. About 8000 Revolutionary applicants for pensions filed their claims in the United States.

Congress became suspicious that many of the applicants were not in need, and in 1820 a law was passed requiring all pension claimants to file schedules of their property, containing their whole estates and incomes. Congress was plainly hostile to Revolutionary pensions, and sought to shorten the rolls by numerous eliminations.

In 1832 the law was amended so that those who had served six months or more might draw pensions proportioned to the length of their service. Under this law 447 Western Virginians applied. The number of rejections was large. In 1850 there were still living in Western Virginia 127 Revolutionary soldiers whose claims for pensions had been rejected. That was sixty-seven years after the war closed, and it is surprising that so many were still living. Most of them must have been very young when the war ended, for the most frequent reason for rejecting their claims to pensions was that they did not serve six months. It was not at all uncommon for boys fifteen years old to serve as soldiers. Some of the other reasons recorded for rejecting claims were the following: "A more perfect narrative of his services needed." "A frontiersman." "Was a wagon master." "Neighborhood service against the Indians." "A frontiersman engaged in garrison duty only." "Service in Indian wars of 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780." "Collecting beeves for Continental army." "Did not serve six months in his first term and his second requires additional proof." In 1840 there were 203 Revolutionary pensioners still living in West Virginia.

Fixing the Boundary—As the international boundary between the United States and Canada was finally agreed upon, West Virginia was concerned with it only in common with all the other states, but before the question was settled, and while the negotiations were under way at Paris in 1783, the territory now in West Virginia between the mountains and the Ohio river, was in peril of falling dangerously near undesirable neighbors. For that reason, a brief review of the negotiations which finally fixed the boundary should be of peculiar interest to West Virginia. It is not possible to say with certainty what would have been the historical consequence had the boundary been fixed as some of the parties at the treaty of Paris wanted it; though it is probable that the United States would have grown westward anyhow, peaceably if it could, forcibly if it must, as it did in taking Texas, California, Louisana, and Oregon. Boundary lines in many places are not strong enough to check and defeat the expansion of the growing Anglo-Saxon nation. It never was within the power of any European nation or combination of nations to lay down a line across the fertile plains and navigable rivers of North America, in the path of American growth, and say to the United States, "hitherto shalt thou come, and no further." Fortunately for the future peace of the United States, its commissioners at the Paris treaty were men of such foresight, firmness, and diplomatic skill that they did not permit the boundary to be fixed in a place where it would lead to future wars. The way was cleared for westward expansion; and when an English statesman was informed that the Americans would listen to no

western line short of the Mississippi river, he exclaimed with prophetic truth, "the Pacific is their goal."

Four nations were concerned in fixing the boundary between the United States and Canada—England, France, Spain, and this country. The principal parties to the treaty were the United States and Great Britain, but France was admitted as an ally of the United States, and Spain insisted on taking an indirect part, because she claimed the territory beyond the Mississippi. It transpired before the close of the negotiations that Spain's ambitions and hopes looked to getting possession of the whole Ohio valley, nearly if not quite up to the Alleghany mountains. Her schemes to that end were deeply laid, and her claims to the country went back to the discoveries by De Soto. The victories by George Rogers Clark really told more against Spain's pretensions than against England's; because from Spain's point of view, Clark won the country by conquest, and Spain did not dare dispute that conquest gave right. The danger that Spain might get its claim allowed by England lay in the fact that Great Britain would rather see Spain in the Ohio valley than to have it become a part of the United States. The plot—if it was a plot—was defeated by the firmness of the United States commissioners. They would not listen to it, and they let it be clearly understood that if any such terms were insisted on, there would be no treaty in which the United States was a party. Thereupon, Spain's claim to the Ohio valley was withdrawn, and England undertook to save the region for herself. First, she insisted that Quebec included all the territory between the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers, and that the Ohio was the line between Virginia and Pennsylvania on the one side and Canada on the other. But that line would leave what is now Kentucky, Tennessee, and the region still south a district still in dispute, and to eliminate it from consideration, it was proposed that a line be drawn from Western Georgia to the mouth of the Kanawha river, and the United States be confined east of that line. It may be inferred that Spain was to have the country south of the Ohio and west of that line, and England would be content with what was north of the river. If that arrangement had been carried through, Spain would have come into possession of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi, and Florida; and England would have held Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. The United States would have been confined to the Atlantic coast, with a little land west of the mountains. What is now West Virginia would have been the extreme western region of the United States. England even claimed part of western Pennsylvania and western New York. One of the French statesmen, who was supposed to be friendly with this country, expressed the opinion that the United States ought to be content with the region drained by rivers flowing to the Atlantic ocean.

Once again the United States commissioners set their seal of absolute disapproval on any such division. England modified the terms to the extent of leaving the Ohio valley, or part of it, as a neutral region for her Indian allies, who would be under England's protection. These terms were likewise rejected, though it was looked upon more favorably than the proposal to extend the province of Quebec to the Ohio river. It was clearly seen, however, that any arrangement that gave England a protectorate in the Ohio valley would lead to trouble later, for ultimately England would own it or it would become necessary to drive her out. Another proposition was brought forward by the English commissioners. They proposed that the loyalists who resided in the United States, or who had been forced to quit the country because of the hostility toward them, be given the Ohio valley, or a part of it, as a compensation for their loss of property, and as a place of residence. That proposal acted upon the

American commissioners like flourishing a red flag in the face of a bull. Benjamin Franklin in particular would hear to nothing of the kind. The Americans hated the tories with an inappeasable hatred. They would rather have wild Indians for neighbors. Franklin declared that, if the tories were to be settled as neighbors over our borders, he would insist on having the border follow the Arctic ocean coast. As to compensating the tories for their loss, he sarcastically suggested that England sell its barren Canadian lands and give them the proceeds, but under no circumstances to settle tories even in Canada.

The United States commissioners at the Paris treaty came forward with two propositions for fixing the boundary, either of which they would accept. One was the forty-fifth parallel of latitude. That corresponded with the present northern boundary of New York and Vermont extended westward across Canada, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota to the Mississippi river. The United States was to have all south of the line, England all north. The other line proposed was the same as the present boundary, but west of the Lake of the Woods its extension was not definite. The English accepted the second proposition. It has been said that they accepted under a misunderstanding of the country's geography. They thought the Mississippi's source was north of the line, and they expected in the future to claim a right to the navigation of that river, and saw a place for an opening wedge by which they hoped to split away forever the transmississippi country from the United States, and doubtless expected ultimately to come into possession of it southward to Spain's possessions. When it was ascertained that the source of the Mississippi was south of the line, dreams of possession west of the river vanished until years later they came up in another form in the Oregon question.

END OF THE INDIAN WARS

The Revolutionary war ended in 1783 with the Treaty of Paris, and the subsequent trouble with Indians on the Western Virginian frontiers was an independent matter, and can be given only the briefest mention in this chapter.

In July, 1783, Governor De Peyster called the Indians together at Detroit and told them that the war between the English and the Americans was at an end, and he dismissed them from the English service, and advised them to make peace. They obeyed in a sullen manner. In the autumn of 1783 when the order was given for the evacuation of New York by the British, Lord North, acting for an excuse on a petition of the fur traders of Canada, withheld the order for the evacuation of the posts about the Great Lakes. On August 8 of that year Baron Steuben, who was sent for that purpose by the Americans, demanded of Governor Haldimand of Canada that British garrisons be withdrawn from posts northwest of the Ohio. Two years later the British garrisons were yet occupying posts in Ohio and Indiana, and the excuse for so doing was that some of the states, especially Virginia, had not yet opened their courts to British creditors for collection of debts against Americans incurred before the war. Thus the British continued to hold posts clearly within the United States, much to the annoyance of the American people.

The Indians were restless, and the belief was general, and was well founded, that the British were encouraging them to hostility. They became insolent, and invaded the settlements in West Virginia and Kentucky, and in 1790 the United States declared war upon them and took vigorous measures to bring them to terms. General Harmar invaded

the country north of the Ohio at the head of a strong force in 1790. He suffered his army to be divided and defeated. The next year General St. Clair led an army into the Indian country, and met with one of the most disastrous defeats in the annals of Indian warfare. General Wayne now took charge of the campaign in the Indian country. When he began to invade the northern part of Ohio, the British about Lake Erie moved south and built a fort on the Maumee river, opposite Perryville, Ohio. This was in the summer of 1794. The object in building the fort was clearly to encourage the Indians and to insult the Americans. On August 20, 1794, General Wayne found the Indians within two miles of the British fort, prepared for battle. He made an attack on the savages, routed them in a few minutes and drove them. They were crushed and there was no more fight in them for fifteen years.

General Wayne was a Revolutionary soldier, and had little love for the British. The sight of their fort on American soil filled him with impatience to attack it; but he did not wish to do so without a pretext. He hoped to provoke the garrison to attack him, to give him an excuse to destroy the fort. He therefore camped his army after the battle within half a mile of the fort. The commandant sent a message to him saying: "The commandant of the British fort is surprised to see an American army advanced so far into this country," and "why has the army had the assurance to camp under the very mouths of His Majesty's cannon?" General Wayne answered that the battle which had just taken place might well inform the British what the American army was doing in that country and added: "Had the flying savages taken shelter under the walls of the fort, His Majesty's cannon should not have protected them." Two days later General Wayne destroyed everything to within one hundred yards of the fort, and laid waste the Indian fields of corn, pumpkins and beans for miles around. The country was highly cultivated, there being thousands of acres in corn and vegetables. Finding that his efforts thus far had failed to provoke an attack by the garrison, General Wayne led his soldiers to within pistol shot of the walls, in hope of bringing a shot from his inveterate enemies. But the only reply General Wayne received was a flag of truce with another message, which stated that "the British commandant is much aggrieved at seeing His Majesty's colors insulted." Wayne then burned all the houses and destroyed all the property to the very walls of the fort. This campaign ended the depredation of the Indians in West Virginia.

CHAPTER IX

WASHINGTON'S INTEREST IN THE TRANSALLEGHANY COUNTRY

When George Washington's mother objected to the seafaring life which her son had decided to enter, she wielded one of the most profound influences that has ever been traced in American affairs. At her request the boy gave up his idea of going to sea, and soon afterward turned his steps westward in the direction of the wilderness. Though large affairs afterwards claimed many years of his time, he never ceased to look toward the west and to dream dreams of its future. His interest did not end with mere dreaming, but his plans were converted into action, and his schemes into realities, if not fully within his own lifetime, the fruition has come since. Washington, in what he planned, looked beyond the life of one man, and when he spoke of the "rising empire" beyond the Alleghanies, and speculated upon what would be accomplished by steam navigation upon the western rivers, he talked of things that were fully accomplished in the century following.

Washington's interest in the region west of the Appalachian ranges was centered in material things, not in theoretical politics. He looked to the creation of property, the expansion of trade, the development of resources, the pushing forward of the frontiers, and the solidifying of political power. He was the greatest expansionist that the United States has produced, and he may be called the first. He blazed the trails for all who followed him, and he made possible all territorial and nearly all trade expansion which have since taken place. It ought to be a matter of pride to West Virginians to inquire somewhat minutely into the interest which so great a man had in this region in its formation period, when it was passing from a threatened fate to an assured destiny; when the transmontane country was in the balance whether it would become a hemmed-in province or the center of a republic. He saw with remarkable clearness the exact meaning of the overmountain country that lay athwart the natural route of westward expansion.

Washington's first experience with what was then the western country was gained in 1748, when he had charge of a company of surveyors for Lord Fairfax in the upper waters of the Potomac. He did not at that time cross the ranges to the rivers flowing west, but he was at the very foot of the Alleghanies while working on the South Branch of the Potomac, and the gigantic crests of the mountains loomed big on the horizon. The long, regular summit of the main Alleghany mountain, when viewed from the points from which Washington saw it, rises three thousand feet above the valley, and rests against the sky like a delicate blue line, often so nearly the color of the sky that the mountain and the ether that touches it can scarcely be distinguished from each other. The Alleghany mountains in that region, when looked at from the east, present one of the finest pictures in the state. It is hard to say which is the grander panorama, the view of the mountain from the valley, or the valleys when seen from the top of the mountain. Washington saw the former only on the occasion of his first visit, for he went no farther toward the west than the valley of the South Branch which for sixty miles lies along the base.

Doubtless at that time the youthful Washington looked eagerly toward the ranges, and planned to cross them when opportunity should

come. He was not only on the extreme frontier then, but little was known of what lay beyond. A few adventurers were occasionally crossing the mountains even in 1748. They were pricipally traders with packhorses, and one of their routes to the west crossed the South Branch valley.

The next trip made to the west by Washington was three years later —not taking account of a surveying journey undertaken in the interval. That was his mission to the French military forces on the Allegheny river, and an account of it is given elsewhere in this book. He crossed the mountains on that occasion, reached the upper Ohio, and had his first sight of the transalleghany country. In 1754 he went again, that time with the unsuccessful expedition which planned to take possession of the forks of the Ohio, but which ended by surrendering at Fort Necessity in Southern Pennsylvania, July 4, 1754. He went again the next year with the ill-fated expedition led by General Braddock. Three years later he crossed the mountains for the fourth time, and was gratified to capture the site where Fort Duquesne had stood at the forks of the Ohio. The four journeys across the mountains were for military purposes, but the foundation was laid for Washington's future business relations with the west.

THE OHIO COMPANY

The beginning of land speculations west of the Alleghanies goes beyond the time of the military expeditions which ended in the capture of Fort Duquesne. An important factor appeared in 1749 in the west, the Ohio Company. Ostensibly organized for business, it was really a political body. It carried on commercial transactions, but that was not the chief purpose in calling it into existence. The British government and the Colony of Virginia had long looked with concern upon the progress of the French in gaining a foothold in the Ohio valley, and the need of some counteracting influence in that region was seen. That led to the organization of a company, half commercial, half military, which was to become active west of the mountains. Storehouses and forts were to stand side by side. The packsaddle and the canoe were to carry the trade, and the musket and shotpouch were to afford protection to the traders. The company was to oppose the French, and take from them the region's trade. It was the British government's first move to hold the Ohio valley.

The plan of the Ohio Company was devised in 1748 at Old Town, Maryland, sixteen miles east of the site of Cumberland, at the residence of Colonel Thomas Cresap, but the idea doubtless originated a good while before that time. The company was chartered by the British government in 1749, and a grant of half a million acres of land was made to it on condition that one hundred families be settled west of the Alleghanies in seven years. That grant was made and plans consummated for the settlement without any regard for rights which Indians might have in the land.

George Washington never had any financial interest in the Ohio Company, but his two brothers, Augustine and Lawrence, had. At the time the company was organized, George Washington was only seventeen years of age, and was not old enough to enter as a partner; but without doubt he felt an interest in the enterprise because his brothers were in it. At any rate, the organization of the company for the purpose of operating in the west attracted attention in that direction, and as soon as Washington had an estate of his own, and leisure to turn his thoughts toward western lands, he became an investor in real estate there, and ultimately

a large owner. Lawrence Washington gave his personal attention to the matter of procuring settlers for the land which had been granted to the Ohio Company along the Ohio river in what is now West Virginia and western Pennsylvania. His efforts were not finally successful, but through no fault of his, but rather because Virginia at that time had a state church and compelled all property holders to support it with their money whether they believed in the doctrines of the church or not. Lawrence Washington attempted to settle the land with Pennsylvania Germans, but they would not subject themselves to Virginia's church laws, and the colonization scheme fell through. The Ohio Company finally failed to accomplish the work for which it was organized, and the investors lost large sums of money.

SOLDIERS' LANDS

In 1754 when Virginia undertook to raise a military force to send to the forks of the Ohio to build and garrison a fort to hold the region against French encroachments, volunteers responded so slowly, and there was so little enthusiasm, that for a time it appeared likely that the expedition would have to be abandoned. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia finally hit upon a scheme to increase enlistment. He promised a grant of 200,000 acres of land west of the Alleghany mountains to be apportioned equitably among officers and soldiers who would enlist in the army and serve to the end of the campaign. The promise produced the desired result and the army was soon on the march to the west. That promise was a long time in being fulfilled, and much interesting history is connected with it. The land bounty became the means of associating Washington with western lands. He was under no particular obligations to look after the interests of the soldiers to whom the land was promised; but they turned to him for advice during the following years, and he gradually felt that the soldiers regarded him their protector.

They needed some one of patience and judgment to look after their interests; for a long, vexatious period intervened between the promise and its fulfillment. Some of the soldiers were dead and almost forgotten when the land was finally apportioned.

Washington was one of the claimants to the bounty lands west of the Alleghany mountains. He was an officer in the army of 1754, and several thousand acres were coming to him. He kept the business all the time in view; but Virginia found one excuse after another for not completing the transaction by apportioning the land among the soldiers. Nine years passed, and the soldiers seemed as far from their bounty as ever. That was in 1763. In that year an event happened which threatened to cheat the soldiers out of what was promised them. The British government issued a proclamation forbidding all settlements and all sale of land west of the Alleghanies. That proclamation has been more fully explained elsewhere in this book. It will suffice to state here that its purpose was to prevent settlers from taking possession of land which the Indians claimed between the Ohio river and the Alleghany mountains.

Washington was much worried on account of the proclamation. He recognized in it a danger that the soldiers would lose the land. It is evident that he was in no manner taken into the secret of those responsible for the withdrawal of the western lands from settlement. He ventured the guess in one of his letters that the real purpose was to quiet the fears of the Indians, and that ultimately the country would be opened to the people.

In 1767 he wrote to Colonel Crawford, who lived near the site of Connellsville, Pennsylvania, that he intended to buy land west of the

mountains, and he engaged Colonel Crawford as his agent to pick out good locations for him. Washington's good business sense was clearly shown in his instructions to his agent. None but the best land would suit him. He insisted that it must be not only level, but rich. He expected that the proclamation of 1763 would be revoked, and he made ready to possess himself of choice land as soon as it could be lawfully bought. He had it surveyed and the boundaries marked. He instructed Colonel Crawford to proceed very quietly in locating the land, and not attract attention to what he was doing. While the surveyor was at work, he pretended to be hunting game. Some of the land thus located was on the Youghioghany river near Connellsville, Pennsylvania, and some was in what is now Washington county, that state. Some of it was afterwards subjected to long litigations. A number of his tenants who had settled on the land, and at first regarded themselves simply as tenants, afterwards thought they had discovered flaws in his title, and when they failed to convince him that his right was not good, they undertook to law him out of the land. They lost their suits. That, however, was nearly twenty years after Washington's survey.

An old mill was very early built on one of the Youghioghany river tracts. The millstones were cut from grit rock on the summit of the mountains above Connellsville. The mill, of course, was run by water-power; but the property was neglected and in 1784 when Washington visited it, the mill was in a bad state of repair. The site was known as the "old Washington mill" a hundred years after it had passed out of his possession. One of the tracts bought by Washington was the land on which the battle of Fort Necessity was fought, July 4, 1754.

Colonel Crawford in his land hunt in 1767 located tracts for Washington within the present borders of West Virginia. One was near Wheeling, another near Parkersburg, a third some distance below, on the Ohio river. The land in West Virginia was forbidden at that time; but he purchased some in western Pennsylvania at from one to two cents an acre.

The treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768 secured from the Iroquois Indians their right, or pretended right, to West Virginia lands between the mountains and the Ohio. There was no longer any excuse for keeping in force the proclamation of 1763 which forbade the settlement of those lands, but the proclamation remained in force, as far as it had any force. The treaty transferred the title of the land from the Indians to the King of England. Under the law, if the treaty was a law, Virginia no longer owned the western land. It looked as if the soldiers of the old war would not come into possession of their bounty lands at all. Fortunately, the Indian treaty of 1768, and the land title which it transferred to the King of England, were not taken very seriously by the Virginians. They intended to take the land anyhow, and circumstances show that Washington meant to have his share of it, and meant that the soldiers should have their share. Prior to that time Virginia had made grants of three million acres of the western land which the King of England afterwards claimed as crownland. The title was becoming much complicated by many claims and denials. It required the Revolutionary war to clear the western land titles by wiping out all claims of the crown to any part of the western country.

Washington's Trip to the Ohio—Sixteen years after Virginia promised bounty lands to the soldiers, Washington made a journey to the west to take measures looking toward securing them. The law did not yet provide for giving title, but Washington expressed his purpose of marking large tracts for the soldiers, and thus take a step toward securing them. In addition to marking out claims for the soldiers, he wanted to

see his own possessions in that country. He had not yet seen the land which Colonel Crawford surveyed for him.

It was in the fall of 1770 that Washington crossed the mountains on land business. He was accompanied by Dr. Craik and three negro slaves. All were mounted, and an extra horse carried the camp baggage. They followed the Braddock road much of the way, and crossed the Alleghanies without incident, and passed down the Youghioghany. Washington visited Colonel Crawford and discussed land matters. The party then passed on to Pittsburgh, which at that time consisted of a fort and about twenty log houses, most of which were occupied by Indian traders who made that their headquarters. One of the houses was an inn, and there the party found lodging, but the commandant of the fort insisted upon entertaining the distinguished guests. That was Washington's first visit to Pittsburgh since he had taken the leading part in driving the French out thirteen years before. One of the guests who sat down to dinner at the fort with Washington was his old friend George Croghan, a romantic and interesting character who knew the frontiers well, and was intimately acquainted with the Indian country. He knew also where most of the good land was.

The next day Washington visited Croghan at his house on the Allegheny river four miles above the fort. Here Washington met several Indians, some of whom remembered him, though they had not seen him for seventeen years—in 1753 when he was on his mission to the French on the Allegheny river. The chief made a speech in which he welcomed Washington to the country. Washington delivered a speech in reply, as was always expected by Indians when they met distinguished visitors.

The horses were left at Pittsburgh and a large canoe was procured for the voyage down the Ohio. It was a journey not without danger, though the Indians were then at peace. Travelers were always liable to be robbed unless they were able to defend themselves. Washington secured two Indian canoemen and a white man for interpreter, and with eight men and all their baggage in the canoe, they pushed from the shore for a voyage of nearly three hundred miles down stream.

Washington was an enthusiastic hunter, and it being in the height of the hunting season, he killed game to his heart's content, and loaded the canoe with deer, shot at the water's edge, and with wild turkeys which were fattening on the mast near the river. Washington was a keen observer, and took note of all he saw, but was particularly observant of anything which concerned land values. He judged the fertility of a soil by the character of trees growing on it, and he was always taking note of fine, level tracts of land that would make desirable farms. The travelling was done by day; and the night camps were made on shore, where the kettle steamed with its contents of venison and turkey.

The canoe passed Wheeling without stopping. There were a few cabins there at that time. Washington does not mention the place in his journal, from which it is inferred that the canoe passed behind Wheeling island, through the channel next the Ohio side. Where the town of Marietta now stands, the party went ashore to visit a chief known as Kiashusta, who had his hunting camp at that place. As Washington approached the chief he recognized an old acquaintance. The Indian was one of Washington's guides in his mission to the French in 1753. Kiashusta remembered Washington well, and made him as welcome as possible. Among other attentions, he gave the canoe party a quarter of buffalo which he had just killed, and he insisted that they should camp together that night. As some hours of daylight still remained, and not wishing to delay the travelers, the Indian packed up his own camp and went along with them till evening, and they all

camped together. Washington and the chief sat up late that night talking over old times, and discussing the policy which white men and Indians ought to follow in their mutual dealings on the frontiers.

It may be cited as an instance of the rapidity with which news traveled among the Indians, that Kiashusta knew before Washington arrived at his camp that he had talked with Indians at Croghan's above Pittsburgh; and the substance of what had been talked over was well known by the Indian.

At the mouth of the Kanawha the party went ashore at the farthest limit of the journey. Shortly after they went into camp, in walked another Indian who wanted to renew a former acquaintance with Washington; but his acquaintance had not been as personal or as pleasant as Kiashusta's. After the initial ceremonies of the meeting were ended, the visitor said he had seen Washington in the battle in which Braddock was defeated, and had several times shot at him, and had directed other warriors near him to do the same, but had missed every time, from which circumstance he had concluded that Washington could not be killed by a bullet.

At the mouth of the Kanawha Washington took up the business in hand and marked some of the corners of tracts which he intended to have surveyed for the soldiers; and he likewise did not let pass that excellent opportunity to look up some more land for himself. To some of the land he was entitled as an officer, and some he subsequently bought of those who had soldiers' claims.

Washington owned land in what is now West Virginia, west of the mountains, as follows: At Round Bottom on the Ohio 587 acres; at the mouth of the Little Kanawha 2,341; sixteen miles below that place 2,448; lower down, at the Big Bend, 4.395; on the west side of the Kanawha near its mouth 10,000; on the east side of the Kanawha, 7,276; at the mouth of Cole river 2,000; opposite the mouth of Cole river 2,950; at the Burning Spring, on the Kanawha, 125. Washington owned land east of the mountains also in what is now West Virginia.

The surveys of most of his western land were made in 1773 and 1774. In the chapter on the Dunmore war, in this book, some account is given of the work of surveyors on the Kanawha and the Ohio in those years, to which the reader is referred for a fuller account of the work than is given here. Most of the soldiers' claims, included in the 200,000 acres of bounty land, were surveyed at that time. Fifteen thousand acres were awarded to a field officer; nine thousand to a captain; six thousand to a subaltern, and so on down the list. At the present day that amount of land looks like a large bounty for a soldier for a few months of service, yet its cash value was very small when the promise was first made, and was not very large when the soldiers finally secured the land. Washington bought some of his western Pennsylvania land at one and two cents an acre, and the Western Virginia land at that time was probably worth no more. The soldiers did not finally receive patents for the land until after the close of the Revolutionary war, some thirty years after the bounty was first promised. Long before that time many of the soldiers were dead, or had become discouraged and had sold their claims for what they could get for them, which generally was little enough. Washington finally came into possession of some of the claims. Among others whose claims were bought by Washington was Van Braam's, the Dutchman, whose blunder in translating from French into English the articles of capitulation at Fort Necessity, was the cause of Washington's signing a paper which made him out an assassin. He also bought Major Stobo's claim. That officer and Van Braam were given as

hostages to the French at the capitulation at the Great Meadows, July 4, 1754, and passed through many adventures afterwards.

Another claimant was Colonel George Muse. His claim was admitted with difficulty, for he was charged with cowardice, and Washington was not very enthusiastic in supporting him. However, the claim was allowed, but Colonel Muse was dissatisfied with what he got, and wrote a letter to Washington about it. The letter has been lost, but Washington's reply has been preserved in Irving's Life of Washington, and is worth reproducing as an example of severity which the Father of his Country could exhibit under provocation. "Sir," writes Washington:

"Your impertinent letter was delivered to me yesterday. As I am not accustomed to receive such from any man, nor would have taken the same language from you personally, without letting you feel some mark of my resentment, I advise you to be cautious in writing me a second of the same tenor; for, though I understand that you were drunk when you did it, yet give me leave to tell you that drunkenness is no excuse for rudeness. But for your stupidity, and sottishness, you might have known, by attending to the public gazette, that you had your full quantity of ten thousand acres of land allowed you: that is 9,730 acres in the great tract and the remainder in the small tract.

"But suppose you had fallen short, do you think your superlative merit entitles you to greater indulgence than others? Or, if it did, that I was to make it good to you, when it was at the option of the governor and council to allow but five hundred acres in the whole, if they had been so inclined? If either of these should happen to be your opinion, I am very well convinced that you will be singular in it; and all my concern is that I ever engaged myself in behalf of so ungrateful and dirty a fellow as you are."

Washington showed no disposition to leave his western lands wild and uncultivated. He wanted to lease them on long terms. He even offered to sign leases running 999 years, under certain conditions as to the payment of annual rent, the clearing of new land every year, planting orchards, laying out meadows, and other matters regarding the care and up keep of the land. The usual terms, however, on which he offered to lease his lands included much shorter periods, from ten to twenty-five years. When some of the land had been cleared and was under cultivation he sometimes rented by the year, and when he could not get cash rent, he agreed to accept wheat. He rented most of his Pennsylvania land, though on terms not very profitable; but poor success attended his efforts to put good tenants on his Western Virginia lands. He would have sold most of his western holdings before the Revolutionary war, if he could have got his price; but he was a man who never set a low price on anything he had to sell, and he received no satisfactory offer. The property remained his until his death.

About 1770 and later a movement was underway to form a new western state or province, to be called Vandalia, with its capital at or near the mouth of the Kanawha river. The enterprise never passed further than the paper stage. An account of the plan is given in another chapter which deals with proposed new states west of the mountains prior to 1789. Washington was interested. His western lands would lie in proximity to the capital of the proposed state, and would increase in value.

In 1773 Washington formally put his Western Virginia land on the market, not for sale, but for lease. A Baltimore newspaper in that year published the following advertisement, dated July 15:

"The subscriber having obtained patents for upwards of twenty thousand acres on the Ohio and Great Kanawha (ten thousand of which are situated on the banks of the first mentioned river, between the mouths of the two Kanawhas, and the remainder on the Great Kanawha or New river, from the mouth or near it upward

in one continued survey) proposes to divide the same into any sized tenements that may be desired, and lease them upon moderate terms, allowing a reasonable number of years rent free, provided within the space of two years from next October, three acres for every fifty contained in each lot, and proportionately for a lesser quantity, shall be cleared, fenced, and tilled; and that, by or before the time limited for the first rent, five acres for every hundred ,and proportionately as above, shall be enclosed and laid down in good grass for meadow; and moreover, that at least fifty good fruit trees for every like quantity of land shall be planted on the premises.

"Any person inclinable to settle on these lands may be more fully informed of the terms by applying to the subscriber near Alexandria, or, in his absence, to Mr. Lund Washington; and do well in communicating their intentions before the first of October next, in order that a sufficient number of lots may be laid off to answer the demand.

"As these lands are among the first to be surveyed in the part of the country they lie in, it is almost needless to promise that none can exceed them in luxuriance of soil or convenience of situation, all of them lying on the banks of the Ohio or Kanawha, and abounding with fine fish and wild fowl of various kinds, as also in most excellent meadows, many of which (by the bountiful hand of nature) are in their present state almost fit for the scythe.

"From every part of these lands water carriage is now had to Fort Pitt by an easy communication; and from Fort Pitt up the Monongahela to Redstone, vessels of convenient burden may and do pass continually; from whence, by means of Cheat river and other navigable branches of the Monongahela, it is thought the portage to the Potomac may and will be reduced within the compass of a few miles, to the great ease and convenience of the settlers in transporting the produce of their lands to market. To which may be added that as patents have now actually passed the seals for the several tracts here offered to be leased, settlers on them may cultivate and enjoy the lands in peace and safety, notwithstanding the unsettled counsels respecting a new colony on the Ohio; and as no right money is to be paid for these lands, and quit rent of two shillings sterling a hundred, demandable some years hence only, it is highly presumable that they will always be held upon a more desirable footing than where both these are laid on with a very heavy hand.

"And it may not be amiss further to observe that if the scheme for establishing a new government on the Ohio in the manner talked of should ever be effected, these must be among the most valuable lands in it, not only on account of the goodness of the soil, and the other advantages above enumerated, but from their contiguity to the seat of government, which more than probable will be fixed at the mouth of the Great Kanawha.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

No success whatever attended Washington's efforts to colonize his western lands with tenants. It was not surprising that such was the case. He did not propose to sell them the land, but to permit them to occupy it on payment of rent, and upon fulfillment of certain other conditions enumerated in the advertisement above quoted. They would never become land owners, but would always be tenants. That did not suit the spirit of the thousands of settlers who were then crossing the mountains or were turning their eyes in that direction. They wanted to be landowners, not tenants. Virginia had not yet opened a western land office, and did not do so for nearly ten years, and it was then very difficult to secure land in fee simple west of the mountains; but the people firmly believed that such a land office would in time be opened, and that every settler would be given a good tract. The people being firmly convinced of that, it is not surprising that they were unwilling to fix themselves as tenants on the lands of others. They built cabins and cleared fields in the wilderness, and fought the Indians for years, until finally Virginia gave them the land as their own, while Washington and other large holders advertised in vain for tenants.

Though the place of a tenant was not attractive to the Western Virginian, it appealed strongly to certain people on the other side of the ocean who had never been anything but tenants, and upon terms much less favorable than those which Washington offered. Negotiations were commenced in 1773 for planting a large colony of Irish Catholics on the Kanawha river. Among those who saw Washington's advertise-

ment in the Baltimore newspaper was Daniel Carroll of Maryland, who on September 1, 1773, wrote to Washington as follows:

"In the winter of 1771 I received a letter from a merchant of my acquaintance in Galway in Ireland, strongly recommending some Irish families who had embarked for America. These poor people, finding that they could not live under the exactions of their landlord, on their leases falling, resolved to venture into this part of the world, were able to pay their passages, and bring with them some family goods and working utensils. Besides the particular and strong recommendations I received, they will show you the testimony given in their favor by the mayor and principal inhabitants of Galway. They have had house room and firing on my land since their arrival. The men have worked abroad, and by their conduct have justified the recommendations given of them; and I am certain will be of singular service wherever they settle, particularly in making meadows, to which they have chiefly been accustomed. Thus much in justice to these poor people I have thought proper to say, as they have an intention of treating with you about some of your back land.

"Three of these men have been so far back as Buffalo land over the Monongahela. Upon their report they have all concluded to move with their families and occupy lands, as many others have done, in expectation of having the refusal when the property is ascertained; but on seeing your advertisement I advised them to wait on you and know your terms. I have reason to expect, if these people settle themselves to their satisfaction, a very considerable number of their relations will be soon with them, who are now only waiting to hear from them. It would not, I apprehend, be bad policy in those who possess large body tracts of land, to lay out a glebe for a clergyman. This would have considerable weight with many Roman Catholics who would probably bring there own clergyman with them.

"I intended myself taking a trip into these new countries, as they are called, and purchasing some land, if terms and title were agreeable, in hopes of making it turn to advantage, as my connections in Ireland enable me to procure a number of very industrious settlers, and among them some with property with whom I correspond. I have recently received a letter dated New York, July 26, from Mr. Foxcroft, one of the seventy-two intended proprietors, by which I find the charter was not then obtained. Should matters be settled in time enough this fall, I shall put my resolution in execution, and if you intend to make an excursion that way, shall be glad to attend you."

The plans underway in 1773 to colonize land along the Kanawha and the Ohio did not succeed. The Indians became hostile the next year, and though they were compelled to sue for peace after they lost the battle of Point Pleasant, the Revolutionary war began the next year, and no land business on a large scale could be transacted on the frontiers. When the Revolutionary war closed, the time for settling tenants under the old system was at an end.

The settlement of the country caused Washington's western lands to increase in value. Before his death he placed on them a value of several thousand dollars. It is claimed that he was the richest man in America, and it is significant that much more than half of his wealth consisted of lands west of the Alleghany mountains. He owned in what is now West Virginia more than 30,000 acres. He always concerned himself with natural resources. The timber was a perpetual interest to him, though he did not seem to value forests on account of any worth they might have as timber resources, but as evidence that the soil was good. There was no sale for lumber west of the mountains at that time. Wood was so plentiful that no man cared to buy what he was privileged to cut free at his own door. Washington was one of the first persons to discover and become interested in the Connellsville coal. Little did he forsee what it would some time be worth. It is said that the coal on his Pennsylvania lands has since reached the enormous value of twenty million dollars—the same land that he bought, coal and all, for one and two cents an acre. He looked ahead with a clear sight as anybody could, but the glimpses he had of future values of coal and wood were dim. He foresaw the steamboat—he had seen Rumsey's model—but the most he could predict for it was that it would be able to

work its way up stream. He thought it highly probable that steamboats would carry commerce on the Ohio and the Monongahela. He had no vision of the locomotive and the railroad.

He was interested in a small way in natural gas. In fact, he was the owner of the first gas well—a natural well or spring—in West Virginia. It was on the Kanawha above Charleston. He regarded it more as a curiosity than as a thing which could ever have commercial value. He became the owner of 125 acres surrounding the burning springs, which were so called because the issuing gas burned when a blaze was applied. It was nothing less than natural gas escaping from a fissure in the ground. That was the first locality in this country where natural gas was employed for fuel. It was used by salt makers.

Washington died in ignorance of another great resource which he possessed—salt under his Kanawha lands. He was aware of the saline springs, for the Indians had been accustomed to repair to that place to boil brine for salt since 1671, when Batts and Fallows first heard of them and called them the "Salt Indians." Since that day more than one hundred and fifty millon bushels of salt have been manufactured in that locality. It is evident that Washington considered wild game and fish a more valuable resource than minerals and timber, but he made no under estimate of agricultural values. He considered farming as the principal source of permanent property, and he was not wrong, though he might have placed higher value on timber, coal, salt, and gas, all of which he owned in large amounts.

After his death his western lands were sold, and soon passed out of his family. It is difficult to say what they are worth now; but it is certain that if one man still owned them he would be a millionaire many times over.

CANALS AND HIGHWAYS

Though Washington's private interests west of the mountains were large, his public interest was larger. He did not accumulate property in the undeveloped country and sit in idleness, as some did, and wait for others to open up the region and make a market for its resources. From the earliest years of his manhood until the end of his life he was working on plans for digging canals and constructing roads to connect the coast with the west. He saw clearly that the two regions must be united by easy means of communication, or two countries instead of one would be the result. His schemes of canals and roads have been described in another chapter; but his particular interest, and his personal effort were concerned chiefly in a highway, part road and part canal, connecting the Potomac river with the Monongahela, and by that route with the Ohio and all the west. His immediate purpose was to reach the upper navigable waters of the Ohio, but he had no intention of stopping there. He had the Mississippi in view, and the Great Lakes. If he could open a route across the Alleghanies to the western waters, he expected that the rest would be easy. A land road and canalized rivers would supply the route from the Ohio to Lake Erie, through the present state of Ohio. He never lost an opportunity to inquire concerning the best routes. If he met a traveler who had been much through the region he plied him with questions as to routes, distances, navigable streams, and the height and steepness of hills.

It must be borne in mind that in the lifetime of Washington few competent engineers had ever stretched a line or set a sextant on the mountains or among the valleys beyond. The trader and the hunter had picked the paths and committed to memory the rapids, pools, and meanders of the rivers; but few plats had ever been put on paper. The

general geography of the west was known, but the details were not, and it was on details that success or failure of roads and canals depended. Washington more than once complained of the lack of scientific information. The men with whom he talked could not tell him how steep a mountain was, or what was the gradient of a stream which he hoped might be made navigable. They freely gave him their opinion—often based on hearsay—but the opinion was often a poor one. It is now known that a very important link in his overmountain route—one which he was led to believe was possible—could never have been used. It was the gorge by which Cheat river flows through the Laurel ridge in Preston county, West Virginia. Hunters and frontiersmen misinformed him of its possibilities. They may have been honest but they were incompetent judges. He was deceived too, in distances. It is a pathetic, and an inspiring spectacle, that great man, groping through darkness, trying to find a way to connect the east and the west. So earnest was he that he questioned every man he met, who might throw light on the subject, now a frontier hunter, now a rural surveyor, and not even neglecting to ask question of the ginseng diggers whom he met on the lonely mountain trails.

River Improvement—In 1754, when Washington was twenty-two years old, he was considering the possibilities of improving the Potomac river from the falls to Cumberland, to make it navigable for boats. It was not an impossible scheme. A canal along the river bank was not part of the earliest plan. The next year Braddock thought he might be able to send cannon by water up the Potomac when he marched toward Fort Duquesne. The people who lived on the South Branch, later, however, than 1755, were able to send flour by boat to market at Alexandria and further down. From 1755 to 1770 there was little agitation of the question of a highway for commerce to the west, but in 1770 Washington was again heard from with a plan for a canal or river navigation, with a road over the mountains. It had then become a matter of state pride with him, as well as a question of national importance. He wanted Virginia to have a route of its own to the west. New York and Pennsylvania were taking steps toward establishing such a route, and if they should succeed in monopolizing the trade of the western country, Virginia would decline in influence and would not advance in wealth.

From 1770 to 1774 Washington kept the plan in view, and in the latter year he appealed to the Virginia assembly to take steps toward constructing the canal and road. The approach of the Revolutionary war was too near, and Virginia could take no steps in the direction of internal improvements. Washington was soon called to Boston to take charge of the American armies, and for nearly nine years he had little time for anything except military affairs. The plans for canals and roads rested, but they were not forgotten.

Washington's Journey of 1784—No sooner was the war of the Revolution brought to a close, than Washington took up the scheme of transmontane trade routes. He began where he had left off in 1774. He had been many times across the mountains, but he decided to go again. His lands in Pennsylvania and in western Virginia were not profitable, and he purposed to visit them and see if they could not be put on a paying basis. In addition to that he intended to reach some definite conclusion, if possible, as to feasible canal routes and lines of river and overland travel.

Dr. Craik, who has been his companion in the journey to the Ohio in 1770, was to accompany him again in 1784. They planned a horseback journey with only the necessary baggage for camping. It was not ex-

pected that they would sleep many nights in the woods, for the country through which they would travel was tolerably well settled. They rode 680 miles in a month, and during much of the time were not traveling. The horse which Washington rode was expected to make five miles an hour, and to keep that pace on narrow paths as well as where roads were good.

It was Washington's intention to leave the horses on the Youghioghany river, near Connellsville, and procure a canoe there, and proceed by water down the Youghioghany and Monongahela to Pittsburgh, and thence down the Ohio to the Kanawha. He made arrangements in advance for the canoe; but when he reached the Youghioghany he learned that the hostility of Indians on the Ohio made travel dangerous on that stream. He was not satisfied at first that the rumors of danger were well founded, and was not disposed to abandon the boat trip; but so many people advised him not to put himself in the perils of the Ohio river region at that time, that he reluctantly decided to go no farther west than the Monongahela.

He spent a few days looking after his lands, and found that a dozen or more of his tenants, instead of paying rent, were banded together to law him out of his property by attacking the validity of his title. Those were his Pennsylvania lands. He found most of the fences in poor order, and the condition of the property bad. He then turned southward through Pennsylvania, crossed Cheat river near its mouth and entered Virginia in what is now, and was then, Monongalia county. He went to a house of a man named Pierpont, four or five miles from Morgantown, and looked over the land records which were kept at Pierpont's. He was under the impression that he owned land in that vicinity. Colonel Crawford had located lands for him years before, and Washington had understood that some of them were near Morgantown. Colonel Crawford was dead. He had been burnt at the stake by Indians two years before, and had left the land business in such condition that Washington was uncertain where his were. He was disappointed in not finding any surveys recorded for him at Pierpont's.

In his diary Washington dismissed the matter without much comment, and turned at once from private to public business—the canals, the overmountain highway, and the improvement of western rivers to make them passable for boats. Cheat river was an important link in the chain of communication. It flowed within three miles of Pierpont's. Washington had crossed the stream near where it empties into the Monongahela. He observed it carefully and noted that it was about one hundred yards wide. The dark color of the water caught his attention, and he noticed what thousands have noticed since, that the dark water from Cheat river does not quickly mingle with the muddy water of the Monongahela, but for some distance below the confluence of the streams the black current keeps near the east bank, and the muddy water near the west bank. Washington concluded, perhaps correctly, that the dark color of Cheat river was due to thickets of laurel near the sources of the stream.

A Notable Conference—When Washington had made examination of the land records at Pierpont's and found no survey in his name, he turned to the other matter of business and began to ask about routes for roads and canals. He was told that if he would remain at the cabin that night, men at Morgantown who were well acquainted with the country would be sent for and they would give him all the information in their power. He gladly accepted the offer and the Morgantown men came. Zackwell Morgan was one of them, the man from whom Morgantown was named. Among the others was a young man of very

broken accent which showed him to be a foreigner. He was recently from Switzerland. He had little to say, and Washington's diary made no mention of the young man who was afterwards three times secretary of the United States treasury. The story of the meeting at Pierpont's which the young foreigner left among his writings is the best account of the affair in existence, next after Washington's diary. He was Albert Gallatin, and it was by chance that he dropped in the log cabin where the meeting was held.

Washington had figured out a course for the trade route by boat up the Potomac to the foot of the Alleghanies to where the Northwestern turnpike crosses the North Branch of the Potomac. From that point a wagon road would lead across the mountains to Dunkard Bottom on Cheat river, a distance of about thirty miles. Boats were expected to ascend Cheat river to that point, and the particular matter on which Washington wanted information was whether Cheat river could be made navigable. He had even hoped that it would be found navigable forty miles above Dunkard Bottom, to the Horseshoe, and that a road might be built from the point to the upper waters of the Potomac.

When the Morgantown citizens were called together, Washington questioned them one by one and wrote their answers slowly and deliberately. He endeavored to ascertain what sort of channel Cheat river had between its mouth and Dunkard; whether it could be cleared of obstructions so that boats could pass up and down; and whether there was room along the banks for a canal. The answers which he received show that the men were painting the best picture they could. They underrated the difficulties in the way of navigating the stream, and overestimated the favorable points. Some of the men who gave the most favorable account admitted that they did not speak from personal knowledge, but from hearsay. He was told that canoes and rafts occasionally negotiated the Cheat gorge from Dunkard Bottom to the mouth of the stream. It was said also that there was room on one bank or the other for digging a canal. Neither of these statesments was true, in the sense in which Washington understood them. It is said that one or two canoemen have been known to pass through the gorge in safety, but others who have tried it have lost their lives in the white water of the cataracts and ledges. Unless the stream were in extreme flood it would be impossible for a raft to make the passage, and even in flood it would be one chance in a hundred if it went through.

The rugged part of the gorge is more than ten miles in length. The distance from the mouth of Cheat river to Dunkard Bottom is thirty-two miles. Washington was led to believe that it was about half that far. He was not wholly convinced from what the people told him, that the river could be made passable for boats, both up and down, but he was inclined to believe it. He was anxious to believe it, and strained a number of points in order to reach a favorable conclusion. That link in his trade route was so essential that he clung to it in spite of the unfavorable reports made by mountaineers who had seen or heard of the gorge.

The United States government surveyed that part of Cheat river years ago and pronounced impracticable the scheme for its navigation. The current is so terribly swift that in time of flood locks and dams would need to be of the strongest construction to hold. A descent of fifty feet in a mile occurs more than once. One hundred and twenty-two years after Washington's investigation to determine whether Cheat river was navigable from its mouth to Dunkard Bottom, a newspaper correspondent made his way through the gorge on foot with the expressed purpose of seeing what Washington failed to see. He spoke

of the gorge as almost as much of a mystery as it was in the days of the great statesman's visit. Few people can yet be found who have followed the river its entire course through Laurel hill. After entering the gorge in the upstream direction where the river emerged, the correspondent described the journey:

"Within half a mile the miserable path which I had been following ended in a tangle of laurel at a point beyond which no fisherman ever goes. The jungles on the canyon sides were so dense that I preferred wading in the bed of the river to trying to break my way through. It was not often possible to wade the channel, for at one step the water might be six inches deep, and at the next twenty-five feet. Sometimes the river, which was always very rough, spread to a width of three or four hundred feet, and again contracted to one-fourth of that size. Boulders blocked the channel in many places, and I was unable to see how any canoeman ever shot the chutes, as somebody told Washington had been done.

"Many of the rapids are so rough that the water, despite its natural red color, assumes the whiteness of snow. Where the eddies are placid and the depths cavernous, the water looks as black as ink. There are places where the depth is evidently very great. At times within a foot of the shore a pole twenty feet long will not reach bottom.

"At noon that day I had thirteen miles of gorge ahead of me. When darkness settled I still had eight. Many a cliff had to be climbed to pass round precipitous banks, and many a boulder larger than a house blocked the only footing near the river. When darkness made farther travel impossible, I selected a flat rock in the river, separated by channels of water from copperheads on shore, and lay down without pillow or covering to pass the night. I had expected to get through before dark, and had brought no food or baggage. Tired as I was, the rock was too hard for sleep, and a rain that came at midnight added nothing pleasant to the situation. There were not even dreams enough to furnish a background for a picture of Washington's flat boats, laden with commerce, passing up and down that roaring stream. At dawn I proceeded breakfastless.

"I am no novice in making my way through rough countries among obstacles, but I had a nearer approach to starvation and physical exhaustion while in that canyon than ever before in my life; yet that was the identical route which Washington believed would become the great highway over which would pass the interchange of commerce between the east and the west. It is a strange commentary on the schemes of that great man that the portion of the route to which he gave the closest investigation and about which he found out the least, should remain to this day as it was nearly a century and a quarter ago, when he called together the mountaineers of the region to ask them about it, and not one of them had ever been through the gorge. It is the more remarkable because a man in the canyon is so near civilization that if the roar of the river could be hushed, he might hear the whistle of locomotives in three or four directions; and the smoke of hundreds of coke ovens is so near that a favorable wind might drive it into the gorge.

"On the morning of the third day I completed my thirteen miles through the canyon, and got my first meal since starting. That was five miles below Dunkard Bottom—a farm of a thousand acres and one house. Here Washington thought a city would grow up—perhaps like Pittsburgh—at the head of western navigation and at the terminus of the highway across the Alleghanies. 'Dead the dreamer, dead the dream.'"

An account of a survey of the canyon forty-four years after Washington's visit will be found in this book in the chapter concerning the Baltimore and Ohio railroad.

While Washington was questioning Zackwell Morgan and others in the Pierpont cabin concerning diffierent overmountain routes, Albert Gallatin (he was 21 years old) stood without a word for a long time, but finally, without his opinion being asked, he spoke up, interrupting Washington's examination of the witnesses, and declared that it was plain enough that the best route for a road led not to Dunkard Bottom, but down the Youghioghany river to the Monongahela. Washington laid down his pen and looked long and earnestly at the young man who had interrupted him, but did not speak. He then picked up his pen and resumed the examination. After a long time he turned to Gallatin and said: "You are quite right, sir." Nearly half a century later, engineers who surveyed a route for the Chesapeake and Ohio canal and high-

way across the mountains said also that Gallatin was right. They selected the route which he said was best, but the canal never crossed the mountain because by that time railroads had come into use.

Washington was so favorably impressed with the young foreigner that he offered him employment in looking after western business; but Gallatin declined the offer.

The trade route over the mountain and down Cheat river to the Monongahela was only part of Washington's plan. He discovered that day, apparently for the first time, that Cheat river flowed three miles through Pennsylvania before it emptied into the Monongahela. He had supposed its whole course was in Virginia, and he was disappointed.

Washington had been told that boats could pass down Cheat river and up the Monongahela into the present county of Harrison or Lewis, and approach within nine or ten miles of a branch of the Little Kanawha river which might be made navigable. He hoped to work out a route that way to the Ohio river with only a passage of six or seven miles through Pennsylvania territory. He interrogated the settlers as to the feasibility of the Little Kanawha route, and he was favorably impressed with what they told him. The fortiersmen underestimated the distance, as they had done in the case of Cheat river. It would require much canalization to render passable for boats some of the streams which they told Washington were navigable.

The next morning after the conference at Pierpont's cabin, Washington turned his back forever upon the western waters. He rode down the hill to Ice's ferry, where he crossed the river. He saw a canoe there which he was told had come down from Dunkard Bottom the day before, and this circumstance strengthened his belief that the stream was navigable. He pursued a moutain path that day through Preston county, and that night was in Garrett county, Maryland, where he stopped at a countryman's cabin, and made a supper of boiled corn while his horse had nothing to eat. He crossed the mountains by way of the upper waters of the South Branch and the Shenandoah Mountains to Staunton, though the exact route which he followed cannot now be determined with certainty. He spent one rainy night in the woods sitting under a tree with no shelter but his cloak.

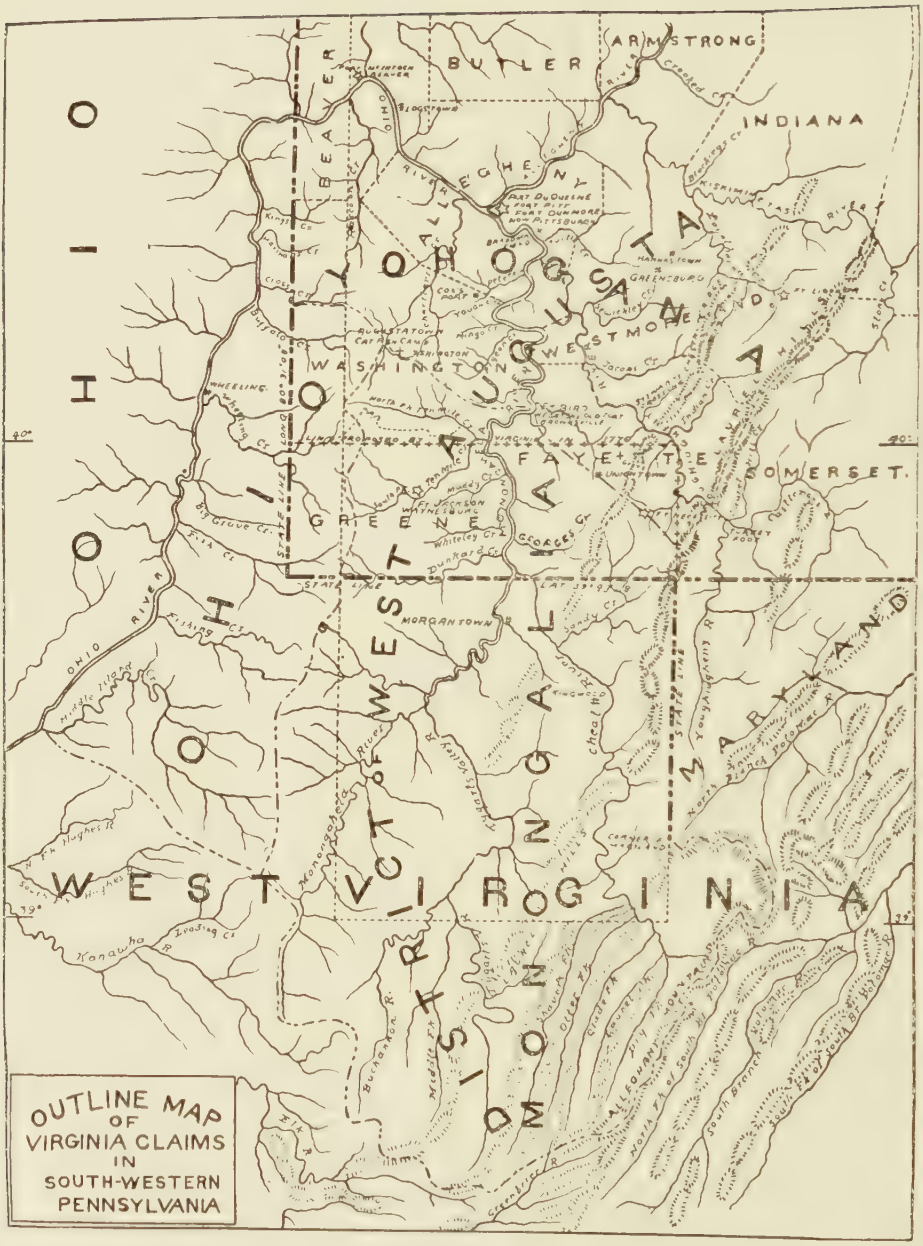
During the years which followed, Washington busied himself with plans and companies for constructing canals and roads across the mountains and along the rivers. When he became president his work called him elsewhere, but to the end of his life he never lost interest in the great undertaking to which he had devoted so many years and so much thought.

Washington and West Augusta—The declaration of Washington during the Revolutionary war that if defeated on the seaboard and driven to the interior, he would retire to West Augusta and raise there the standard of liberty and continue the fight, has been often quoted, with many variations. The words were spoken in the latter part of 1776. Misfortune after misfortune had attended the American arms. The campaign in Canada had failed. Finances were in so low a state that it seemed impossible to fall lower. The British had captured some of the strongest forts on the Hudson, and large numbers of prisoners had fallen into their hands. It was with the greatest difficulty that an army could be kept in the field, and as winter closed in it appeared doubtful if a successful stand against the enemy could be made. Washington believed he was brought face to face with the problem of selecting some stronghold where he could rally his forces and make a last stand for liberty.

General Mercer was present, and in discussing the matter with him,

Washington asked his opinion if the Pennsylvanians in the back country would stand, if the east fell, and whether the army would be supported by the people if it made a stand there. General Mercer expressed his doubts. "If the lower counties give up, the back counties will do the same," was the discouraging reply. "We must then retire to Augusta county, in Virginia," said Washington. "Numbers will repair to us for safety, and we will try a predatory war. If overpowered, we must cross the Alleghanies."

The part of Augusta county to which he proposed to retire if the Pennsylvanians would not stand by the cause of liberty, was the upper part of the Shenandoah valley, about Staunton. There was no question of the sticking qualities of the Scotch-Irish in that region, and Washington seemed to fear only that the British might pursue him there and overpower him. In that event he meant to retreat across the Alleghanies and make his last stand among the hills and narrow valleys beyond. The region which he meant when he spoke of crossing the Alleghanies was that portion of the present states of West Virginia and Pennsylvania between the mountains and the Ohio river. It is not improbable that Kentucky also came into his mind in that connection. He had faith that the mountaineers would rally round him, and that patriots from the east would gather to his standard in the western wilderness, and that he could keep up the fight until the tide would turn and victory would be gained at last.



OUTLINE MAP OF VIRGINIA CLAIMS IN SOUTH-WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

CHAPTER X

PROPOSED WESTERN STATES PRIOR TO 1789

It is not easy to say when the first idea of a state, colony, or province west of the Alleghany mountains originated or who was the originator. The plan was not a sudden creation, but grew from vague beginnings which began to take form first in the French mind when the plan was conceived of building a chain of forts and settlements to connect Canada and Louisiana. In that scheme the Ohio valley was an important part, for it was impossible to leave it out of consideration. The earliest trace of a corresponding purpose among the English appears in the official actions of Governor Spotswood of Virginia, soon after the opening of the eighteenth century. The picture which he draws of transmontane establishments is vague. It could not be otherwise in the state of knowledge which then obtained, regarding the geography of the overmountain country.

The plan could not assume ample proportions or possess clear outlines while its originator confidently believed that the Great Lakes were within sight of the Blue Ridge. Spotswood's purpose was to circumvent the French, and in a shadowy way he seemed to plan a state or colony beyond the mountains. It was the beginning of that dog-in-the-manger policy on the part of English statesmen which continued to come to the front on every occasion down to the close of the Revolution. They did not care to make much of the Ohio valley themselves, but wanted to keep others out. Spotswood's purpose was to protect the settled part of Virginia—the country east of the Blue Ridge—against danger from French encroachment on the west, and he conceived the idea of doing it by establishing forts or colonies in the Ohio valley.

Virginia was in no condition in the time of Spotswood to set up settlements and governments west of the mountains. Many persons have accustomed themselves to think of Virginia in the first decades of the eighteenth century as though it were a powerful state. It was not that by any means. The whole population of the province was about equal to that of Richmond at the present time, that is, a little above or below one hundred thousand persons. That number was no more than sufficent to hold in a feeble way the lower country, and it would have been ridiculous for it to attempt to send out colonies to hold the western country and establish there any semblance of a state or a government. Governor Spotswood's thoughts of possession of the western valleys may therefore be dismissed as an impracticable dream so far as he was concerned. He never undertook to turn his plans to practical account.

Thirty or forty years later came the schemes of the Ohio Company, which was a corporation organized to deal in western lands. At first it had the support of the government, and its work was supposed to consist in counteracting the influence of the French in the west. The idea of a separate colony or province was not clearly stated, but settlements were planned on the Ohio river, and the scheme necessarily called for some kind of organization or government in the region. The movement was political and commercial. The promoters of the enterprise expected to sell land, and the English government calculated that the presence of colonies and trading posts in the western valleys would check the progress of the French in that quarter. To that extent it was a movement to establish a state or province, but the plans did not work

out in practice, and its place in history is with schemes that failed to materialize.

Indiana Territory—At the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, when the Iroquois Indians ceded to the King of England the land between the Alleghany mountains and the Ohio river, a company of traders put in a claim for damages against the Indians, aggregating several hundred thousand dollars. They pretended that the Indians had robbed them of merchandise to that extent. They asked that a tract of land in the west be given in payment, and it was done. The land thus set apart, which was supposed to lie in Southwestern West Virginia and in Kentucky, was called the Territory of Indiana. It was a private adventure, and only the name suggests that it was designed to become a western state. The enterprise failed, and the scheme was lost sight of.

Vandalia—The first real attempt to found a state or province west of the Alleghany mountains was in the case of Vandalia, which Bancroft called "Franklin's inchoate province stretching from the Alleghanies to the Kentucky river." The foundation for it was the Walpole grant of land, named from Thomas Walpole, the largest stockholder, or rather the most influential member of the company. Benjamin Franklin was the ablest defender of the proposed province when its enemies attacked it on the grounds that it was not to the interest of the government to establish or permit settlements west of the Alleghany mountains. Much that is known of the purposes and pretensions of the promoters of the enterprise is contained in Franklin's reply to Lord Hillsborough's objections to the creation of the new state. The reply is a storehouse of historical statistics and information relating to the western country at that period. Lord Hillsborough learned on that occasion, as other English public men learned later, that to join issues with Benjamin Franklin in an argument was a serious matter. His facts and logic simply overwhelmed his opponents. The discomfiture which Franklin's reply brought upon Lord Hillsborough caused him to resign his office in the government. The details of the Vandalia movement may be given briefly.

The land west of the Alleghany mountains and east and south of the Ohio river was admitted to belong to the Iroquois Indians of New York up to the year 1768. The King of England recognized the claim of the Indians and by proclamation forbade settlers to enter the region. The proclamation did not keep squatters out, and in 1766 and the next year soldiers were sent from Pittsburgh to drive the settlers out of the country. They dispossessed a few on the Monongahela in the present state of Pennsylvania, and on Red Stone creek, and also on Cheat river perhaps as far up the stream as Dunkard Bottom. The soldiers had scarcely withdrawn before the settlers returned and brought others with them, and it was apparent to most persons acquainted with the circumstances that it would be impossible to keep people from occupying the fertile land between the Alleghanies and the Ohio river.

Well posted men, and George Washington was one of them, did not believe that the British government ever had seriously intended to prevent the colonization of the region, but that the proclamation forbidding settlement was intended as a temporary expedient to quiet the fears of the Indians, who were disturbed by the prospect of having the country occupied near the Ohio. So firmly convinced was Washington that the land would be put on the market that he took steps to procure large tracts on the Ohio, Kanawha, and elsewhere for himself and others. He had locations made, expecting to be given the refusal of the land when it was put up for sale or pre-emption. He also took steps to lay out tracts for soldiers who had served in the French and Indian war and who

had been promised bounty lands in the west. The highest officers were promised several thousand acres each, and the allotment graded down according to rank until the share of a private soldier was fifty acres. The particulars of those land surveys and their history are given elsewhere in this book.

Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Walpole, and others saw no reason why they should not have some of the western land, but they knew that the King would not let them have title to it until the Indian title was quieted. Steps were taken to bring that about. The Cherokees claimed ownership as far north as the Kanawha river, and the Iroquois insisted that themselves were the sole proprietors of the whole region from New York to Tennessee. There was an overlapping of Indian claims as to the land between the Kanawha and the Kentucky rivers; but the Cherokee pretension was not generally taken seriously. However, steps were taken by speculators to obtain the Cherokee title, and by a scheme engineered by Stuart, an Indian agent, the Southern Indians ceded away their claim to the country as far north as the Kanawha river. This occurred at the treaty of Lochbar, South Carolina, in 1768. The same year, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, N. Y., the Iroquois ceded to the King of England their right, title, and interest in the country south and east of the Ohio river. By virtue of that treaty the crown claimed the land west of the Alleghanies, and the title thus acquired was adverse to Virginia's claim under its old charter. In other words, the King had formerly granted to the Colony of Virginia, by charter, the whole region "from sea to sea," which included the Ohio valley; but in 1768 by recognizing the Iroquois claim to the country, and then accepting title from the Indians, the King held the land as his.

That was the status of affairs in 1769 when Thomas Walpole applied for a large grant for himself and his associates. Benjamin Franklin was a Pennsylvanian and was naturally unfriendly to Virginia's pretended ownership of the country beyond the mountains. The Walpole company first applied for 2,500,000 acres, but at the suggestion of Lord Hillsborough, they increased the amount nearly ten fold. "Ask for enough to make a province," was Hillsborough's advice, and he afterwards admitted that he gave that advice for the purpose of defeating the scheme by inducing the company to ask for too much. When the promoters acted on his suggestion and asked for nearly two-thirds of the present area of West Virginia and a large part of Kentucky, he openly opposed them. The province of Vandalia extended from the western boundary of Maryland to a line drawn from the mouth of the Scioto river to the Cumberland gap. The petition was filed in 1769, but it was not finally approved until 1775, although favorable action was taken in 1771 and 1773. The matter was heard before the Board of Trade and Plantations, and it was there that Lord Hillsborough filed his protest, and Franklin made his reply.

Soldiers' Claims Menaced—It has been stated that Washington had taken steps to secure for the soldiers of the French and Indian war the lands in the west which Virginia had promised them. These lands were on the Kanawha and the Ohio, and therefore within the boundaries of the proposed province of Vandalia. There was much uneasiness among the claimants as to the effect the creation of the new province would have upon the claims which had not yet been granted. Virginia was to give title, but if the new province were created, it would come into possession of the land, and it might not recognize the claims of the soldiers. For that reason there was some coolness toward the Vandalia scheme on the part of the soldiers. Yet there does not seem to have been open opposition. Washington was the recognized advocate of the

soldiers, and he spoke of the probability of establishing the capital of Vandalia at the mouth of the Kanawha, and was not uneasy.

Hillsborough's Opposition—The fight against the creation of the province of Vandalia came from Lord Hillsborough, as already stated. He was a leading and influential member of the Board of Trade and Plantations, and the question of creating the province would come before that body. The paper which he filed in the case is of great importance, not particularly because it concerned Vandalia, the proposed new state, but because it set forth the policy of the British government in dealing with trade and colonization in America. In no other extant document, perhaps, is it made clearer that a certain class of British statesmen looked upon America, and the colonies in America, as existing primarily and almost solely for the benefit of the British government. The rights of the colonists were only such as the home government chose to give them, and their prosperity was desired solely that it might benefit the mother country. Those colonies were spoken of as if they had been established by the English government for the purpose of increasing trade for the home merchants, and gathering supplies for the government's use.

The fact was lost sight of that the American colonies were made up of individuals, and that the individuals had come to America to improve their own condition, and not to raise hemp and collect naval stores for English merchants and the home government. The lack of understanding of the matter by English statesmen is amazing. They held that England was everything and America nothing. They claimed for themselves the right to say where colonies might or might not be planted in the wide, open lands of America; what products the people might sell; what articles they might make, and what they must buy in England; what things they might export and where they should send them. In short, England insisted not only upon the political dependence of America, but also upon its trade dependence down to the most trifling details and in the most narrow minded way. The War of the Revolution was an inevitable result of that irritating and overbearing interference.

Lord Hillsborough opposed the establishment of a new province west of the Alleghanies on several grounds, not one of which had any justice in it when viewed in the light of history. First, he declared, that colonies are established to extend England's commerce by producing raw commodities and exchanging them for fully manufactured articles. For that reason the colonies should be confined near the coast where exchange of commodities would be easy; for, if people established themselves far inland, they will find it difficult to supply themselves with manufactured products from across the sea and will be tempted to undertake manufacturing for themselves. Raw materials, therefore, will not go to England to be manufactured. Lord Hillsborough suggested that, instead of planting colonies on the Ohio, they be established in Nova Scotia and about the mouth of the St. Lawrence river where fish could be caught and lumber cut.

If settlers establish themselves on the Ohio, argued Lord Hillsborough, they will not only themselves contribute nothing to British commerce, but their inland prosperity might attract foreigners who had been accustomed to buy and sell in English markets, and home trade would thus suffer loss. It was strongly urged that colonists ought to be hindered if they undertake to manufacture articles for themselves.

Lord Hillsborough foresaw serious disturbance of the western fur trade if the colony was allowed to grow up on the Ohio. The Indians in that event would be deprived of their means of livelihood, and at the same time of their ability to purchase British goods. Besides, the set-

tling of the country near the Ohio might provoke the Indians to hostility, and at any rate would disturb their peace and contentment. "Let the savages enjoy their deserts in peace," said he. He declared that there was no need of new country west of the mountains for colonization purposes, for the vacant land along the Atlantic coast would be sufficient to supply all growth in population for a century to come, and he again referred to the vast vacant country about the mouth of the St. Lawrence river. He thought the natural desire of people to own land should be curbed. He declared that they all wanted to become landowners, and that their disposition to roam from place to place in search of land should not be encouraged.

He pointed out dangers ahead unless a curb were placed upon the tendency of the Americans to make their homes in new and distant regions. They would first take up manufacturing on their own account, and when they had learned to supply their own wants they would attempt to attain political independence of England.

He dwelt, with no small inconsistency, upon the inability of a colony so far inland to produce any article of barter which could be exchanged for English manufactures. He could think of nothing but furs which such a wilderness could produce, and the Indians already had that trade and were buyers of British merchandise to the extent of their ability. Therefore, said he, it could not possibly be of any advantage to British merchants to take the fur trade from the Indians and hand it over to white competitors. Besides, by settling the country, the fur trade must inevitably diminish, and the home merchants must suffer loss. He emphasized what he had already said, that the savages ought to be let alone in their country.

Franklin's Reply—Benjamin Franklin published his reply to Lord Hillsborough concerning Vandalia in 1772. It was a pamphlet and was offered for sale. It convinced the Board of Trade and Plantations almost instantly that the province of Vandalia ought to be established. When Franklin saw that his purpose was so quickly accomplished he withdrew his pamphlet from sale. It is said that no more than five copies were sold.

The reply to Hillsborough was logical and powerful. It showed a mastery of the subject so far superior to Hillsborough's that comparison was almost impossible. Every argument was answered, and the answers were supported with arrays of facts and statistics which carried conviction at that time; but subsequent events have shown that Franklin was mistaken in some of his conclusions. For example, his claim that cotton would be one of the paying crops in the proposed province of Vandalia has not been borne out by history. The season is too short in any part of that region to mature cotton with sufficient certainty to make it a reliable crop. His prediction regarding the culture of silk has not materialized, though there seems to be no climatic obstacle that could not be overcome.

Franklin took up one by one the advantages and resources of the region where the new government was to be set up. The climate was declared to be ideal for the support of a civilized community. It would produce wine grapes, flax, hemp, the grains, and tobacco. These commodities would supply the articles of commerce on which the board of trade laid so much stress. Instead of nothing to export except furs and pelts, it was shown that the land would produce the very articles which were most desired in England. Among such were naval stores for the shipping and lumber for the West Indies, to be exchanged for sugar, and the sugar to go to the English merchants to be distributed over the world.

One of Franklin's most telling arguments was in reply to Hillsborough's assertion that even if commodities were produced in the Ohio valley, they could never be transported to market because of distance and cost. Franklin called attention to the Ohio and Mississippi rivers as avenues of commerce. That great waterway seemed to have escaped the notice of the objectors. They appeared to consider only the difficulties of an over-mountain route for commerce from the Ohio valley. Even accepting the way across the Alleghanies, Franklin quoted prices to show that freight could be carried cheaper from the Ohio to Alexandria in Virginia than from Northampton to London. Franklin based his calculations on the use of the upper tributaries of the Ohio to the western base of the Alleghanies, and the Potomac on the eastern side, with a portage across the mountains. That was the trade route on which Washington so strongly insisted later. Franklin gives figures which are important, considering their early date (1772). He speaks as if the transportation of freight by that route was already an established business. The cost of water carriage from Alexandria to Cumberland was about 27 cents a hundred pounds, and by wagons from there to the Monongahela at Redstone (now Brownsville), was 97 cents a hundred, or $1.24 per hundred pounds. It would be interesting to know to a certainty if Franklin was quoting actual figures, obtained from schedules of freight carriers, or only theoretical figures—those which might be expected to prevail when the route should be improved.

The suspicion is that Franklin's figures on freight cost were theoretical. The Potomac had not been improved, and boats would have encountered very rough water in the passage between Alexandria and Cumberland; and the possibility of carrying freight for twenty-seven cents a hundred is doubtful—at least in ascending the stream. The route across the mountain at that time was Braddock's road. The distance from Cumberland to navigable water on the west side was more than forty miles, which is the distance given by Franklin. It has been generally stated, too, that the freight charges for the overmountain haul on Braddock's road were more than 97 cents a hundred pounds.

The principal argument advanced by Franklin to show that Ohio valley products could reach English markets without being overloaded with freight charges, was based upon the use of the western rivers for ships which could load at the banks of the Ohio and discharge their cargoes in any open seaport in the world. It is not known that any ship had ever done so before that time, but it was abundantly demonstrated afterwards that Franklin was right. From January to April, said he, large ships may be built on the Ohio and be sent to England, laden with hemp, iron, flax, and silk. He does not quote the exact cost of carriage by the river route, but he compares it with rates then in force from Philadelphia and New York, and says that the interior river route would be cheaper than the sea route when the objective points were West Florida and the West Indies. He listed among the articles which would constitute the river cargoes down stream as flour, corn, beef, and lumber.

Concerning the return freight or cargoes up the Mississippi and the Ohio, Franklin said it was cheaper, and must ever remain cheaper, than the cost of hauling from the coast to most of the counties of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.

The English merchants were especially solicitous at that time to procure commodities which could be readily exchanged with the West Indies sugar growers for their output, and lumber seemed the easiest and best medium of exchange. Franklin drove a strong point by showing how easily and to what enormous extent the Ohio valley could meet

ORIGINAL MAP
OF THE
DISTRICT OF WEST AUGUSTA
AND COUNTIES OF
OHIO
YOHOGANIA
AND MONONGALIA
CONSTRUCTED FOR THIS WORK
BY JOHN G RUPLE C E

the conditions of that exchange. When exports from the Ohio valley began a few years after that time, lumber was among the first to reach market, and its market was to the southward. The expectation of procuring naval stores for the Ohio valley was not realized. Hemp for rope making was never largely grown there; and the yellow pines from which tar, pitch, and rosin are procured, were found in sufficient quantity only in regions further south.

Franklin confined his reply chiefly to answering Lord Hillsborough's objections; but he gave many sound reasons why a province should be established in the west. It would afford protection to the eastern provinces in case of hostility from the Indians, and it would make the holding of the uninhabited western territory easier and less expensive by providing supplies for frontier garrisons without excessive transportation charges. Besides, as the number of people in the country west of the mountains increased, there would be need of fewer forts, and protection could be afforded by smaller garrisons.

The petition of the company was granted and the province of Vandalia was established, but it was a province and a government on paper only. It was understood that its capital was to be at the mouth of the Kanawha, yet no visible capital was ever established there. The province was to have a governor, but the King procrastinated, and no governor ever occupied the office. There was no governmental machinery, no government business, no taxes, no officers, and the very metes and bounds of the province were never surveyed, and in some parts were never definitely located. The whole province lay within territory claimed by Virginia, yet there is no evidence that Virginia ever considered that any of its territory had been cut off or in any way alienated. Surveyors went ahead locating lands for soldiers and for private parties, assuming all the time that they were on Virginia soil. When General Lewis marched his army across the Alleghanies and down the Greenbrier and Kanawha in 1774, and fought the battle of Point Pleasant, he traversed the supposed territory of Vandalia nearly two hundred miles, and there is not one word in all the published correspondence concerning the campaign indicating that a single person in the army knew anything about Vandalia, or suspected that the army was outside of Virginia and marching through another province. The battle of Point Pleasant was fought in the capital of the province, yet the fact was not suspected at the time, and it is doubtful if a dozen of the soldiers ever heard of it afterwards.

No man knows when Vandalia ceased to exist. It was still on paper when the revolution came on, and in the general shakeup and readjustment consequent on that event, the province disappeared. Fifteen years later it was momentarily heard of again. That was after the adoption of the United States Constitution. Virginia had ceded her land west of the Ohio river to the general government, but retained that lying east of the river, now a part of West Virginia. Vandalia now appeared, through representatives, and asked that its rights be duly considered. It was not made to appear that it had any rights that the government should recognize, and the history of "Franklin's inchoate province" of Vandalia was closed.

Transylvania—In 1775 what might have become a new state appeared south of the Ohio river, and was considerably larger than the present state of West Virginia. It was bounded by the Kentucky, Ohio, Holston, and Cumberland rivers, as far as these streams could be connected in a boundary. The boundary was, therefore, somewhat vague, and the southwestern part of West Virginia was concerned. As the promise of a state, it should be taken much less seriously than Vanda-

lia. In that instance, the promoters took proper steps to procure title to the land from the British crown, and the consent of the Board of Trade and Plantations to the enterprise. But the man back of the proposed province of Transylvania had not even that small base on which to build. They bought the land from Indians who pretended to have a right to sell, but who certainly did not have power to deliver the goods. Nine men constituted the company which purchased the land. For fifty thousand dollars in Indian goods they bought a tract of eighteen million acres, which was more than three acres for a cent.

There were a considerable number of settlers on the land at that time. The proprietors, if the purchase made them such, probably did not expect much political power to accrue from the transaction, but looked to financial returns for their profit. The end came sooner than was expected. In December, 1776, the county of Kentucky came into existence, and the province or state of Transylvania vanished.

Westsylvania—A movement began in August, 1776, looking to the formation of a "sister colony and the fourteenth province of the American confederacy" west of the Alleghanies under the name of Westsylvania. The boundaries were identical with those of Vandalia with the addition of a section of Maryland and portion of Pennsylvania extending as far eastward as Altoona and northward to the line established by the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, about fifty miles north of Pittsburgh. A memorial asking for the new state was presented to the Continental Congress under the caption: "The Memorial of the Inhabitants West of the Alleghany Mountains," and it set forth that 25,000 families lived in the area of the proposed state, having settled there since 1768. It was stated that they were separated from the rest of Pennsylvania and Virginia "by a vast, extensive, and almost impassable tract of mountains by nature itself formed as a boundary between this country and those below it."

That may be regarded as the first real embodiment of the idea of a new state which ninety years later led to the formation of West Virginia. It partook much more of a state movement than Vandalia. The former was a private land enterprise with no visible basis for a commonwealth; but Westsylvania consisted of people enough for a state and property to give permanency to it. As early as 1773 Croghan at Pittsburgh estimated that 60,000 people were on the Ohio and its tributaries below that place, and immigration was pouring in rapidly.

The reasons given in the memorial for a western state were good and sufficient. Nature had separated the east from the west by mountain ranges. Though highways might be constructed over the mountains, the mountains still would remain as barriers separating the two regions. A serious obstacle was in the way of forming the proposed new state. Its territory was to be taken from three states, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Opposition might be expected to come from all of them, for states and provinces are not disposed to part with their territory. At that time several thousand square miles on the Monongahela and Ohio were in dispute between Pennsylvania and Virginia. The latter state claimed Pittsburgh and all south of it and east of the Ohio, while Pennsylvania had set up its claim to a tract covering several modern counties in West Virginia. The two states had agreed to a truce in their land disputes when the Revolutionary war created a common purpose in which they could unite; but it was understood by both that their boundary lines would come up for settlement in the future. Maryland had a dispute, or grounds for a dispute, over boundaries along the upper Potomac which might affect some of the territory west of the mountains.

These conflicting claims were in abeyance when the memorial for the new transalleghany state reached the Continental Congress. Perhaps some looked upon it as an easy way to settle the disputes by forming the new state from the disputed territory. But there was still further ground for conflict. The shadowy province of Vandalia was included in the proposed Westsylvania. Opposition to the new state might come from that quarter.

It was therefore apparent that the new state movement would have a rough road to travel, and it did not travel it far. Realization of the scheme never seemed very near. Pennsylvania and Virginia settled their differences by dividing the disputed territory, and Maryland was not called upon to assert or defend its rights. The movement for a new state dropped out of sight, and as far as Pennsylvania was concerned, it never came forward again. When it appeared next time, Virginia alone was concerned. Had the new western state been formed during or about the close of the Revolution, it might have materially affected the future history of the United States. It would have been a rich and powerful state, extending for one hundred miles north in western Pennsylvania to Tennessee, and west to the Kentucky river. Its area would have been sixty or seventy thousand square miles. It would have extended four hundred miles north and south, and at the present day its population would exceed five millions.

The effect which such a state, occupying that position, would have had on the cause of politics before and during the Civil war can scarcely be calculated. It would have been strongly for the Union, because the people of Western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Eastern Kentucky were that way, and they would have composed the population of Westsylvania, instead of being divided among three states. Acting as one body, that state would have constituted a vast Union wedge extending from the north down almost halfway across the Southern Confederacy. Its presence would have strengthened the hands and courage of the friends of the Union in eastern Tennessee and western North Carolina, and the history of the Civil war—if there had been any civil war—would probably have been quite different. It is an interesting field for speculation as to what might have happened; but since the state was never created, its probable influence can not now rise above the field of speculation.

It would have been much easier to have formed the state before the adoption of the United States Constitution than afterwards, because under the constitution it is necessary that states must give their consent before any part of their territory can be taken to form a new state. It is not probable that Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia would have consented after the adoption of the constitution. In only one instance has a state ever consented that part of its territory be taken to form another state. That was in the case of West Virginia; but it was hardly a fair test of what would be done in normal times, for it happened in war, when only part of Virginia's counties were represented in the legislature which consented to the division of the state.

CHAPTER XI

THE SCOTCH-IRISH ELEMENT IN WESTERN VIRGINIA

The early history of Western Virginia was largely influenced by the influence of the Scotch-Irish. These people were present in most of the settlements, and the work done by them, and the impressions which they left, have been lasting. It is necessary to explain who those people were, and are. The term is no longer applied, except in history, but the descendants of the people remain, and their influence continues. The belief that the Scotch-Irish were a mixture of Scotch and Irish is erroneous. They were not called Irish because they had Irish blood in their veins, but because they were Scotch who had lived in Ireland before coming to America.

Their Origin—It is not necessary to be minute in tracing their origin back through ancient times; and it would be difficult to do so, because the Scotch were already in Scotland when historians first heard of them. Even at that time there were different clans or tribes. Far back in the Highlands, which lie in the north of Scotland, lived people differing from the Lowlanders whose homes were in the southern part of the country, next to England. The people now known as Scotch-Irish were the Lowlanders, with certain intermixtures from other sources. They first appeared in history in the time of the Romans. They resisted the Roman invasion, and though often defeated in battle by the superior arms and discipline of the invaders, they were never wholly subdued. They were a fierce and bold people, emerging from their forests and glens at unguarded places, attacking the Roman outposts and garrisons, loading themselves with plunder, and retreating into the northern fastnesses where pursuit was difficult, and where they had every advantage over their pursuers until brought into actual battle. In that test they were not able to stand against the science of the Romans, but when defeated in fight they fled farther into the woods, ready when a favorable opportunity came to fall upon some weak place in their enemy's position. It was in reviewing this trait of theirs, and in exhorting his soldiers on the eve of the battle of the Grampian Hills that Agricola, a Roman general, made a speech to his troops, which has been preserved by Tacitus the historian. It is interesting, though of ancient date (more than eighteen hundred years ago), because it shows some of the characteristics in the Scotch which were still prominent in the Scotch-Irish in American when they fought the Indians and French on the western frontiers, and stood almost to a man against the British in the Revolutionary war. An extract from Agricola's address follows:

"It is now the eighth year, my fellow soldiers, in which, under the high auspices of the Roman empire, by your valor and perserverance you have been conquering Britain. In so many expeditions, in so many battles, whether you have been required to exert your courage against the enemy, or your patient labors against the very nature of the country, neither have I ever been dissatisfied with my soldiers, nor you with your general. In this mutual confidence, we have proceeded beyond the limits of former commanders and former armies; and are now become acquainted with the extremity of the island, not by uncertain rumor, but by actual possession with our arms and encampments. Britain is discovered and subdued. How often on a march, when embarrassed by mountains, bogs, and rivers, have I heard the bravest among you exclaim, 'When shall we descry the enemy? When shall we be led to the field of battle?'

"At length they are unharbored from their retreats; your wishes and your valor

now have free scope, and every circumstance is equally propitious to the victor, and ruinous to the vanquished. For, the greater our glory in having marched over vast tracts of land, penetrated forests, and crossed arms of the sea, while advancing toward the foe, the greater will be our danger and difficulty if we should attempt a retreat. We are inferior to our enemies in a knowledge of the country, and less able to command supplies of provision; but we have arms in our hands, and in these we have everything. For myself, it has long been my principle that a retiring general or army is never safe. Not only, then, are we to reflect that death with honor is preferable to life with ignominy, but to remember that security and glory are seated in the same place. Even to fall in this extremest verge of earth and of nature cannot be thought an inglorious fate.

"If unknown nations or untried troops were drawn up against you, I would exhort you from the example of other armies. At present, recollect your own honors, question your own eyes. These are they who the last year, attacking by surprise a single legion in the obscurity of the night, were put to flight by a shout —the greatest fugitives of all the Britons, and therefore, the longest survivors. As in penetrating words and thickets, the fiercest animals boldly rush on the hunters, while the weak and timorous fly at their very noise, so the bravest of the Britons have long since fallen. The remaining number consists solely of the cowardly and spiritless, whom you see at length within your reach, not because they have stood their ground, but because they are overtaken. Torpid with fear, their bodies are fixed and chained down in yonder field, which to you will speedily be the scene of a glorious and memorable victory. Here bring your toils and your services to a conclusion; close a struggle of fifty years with one great day; and convince your countrymen that to the army ought not to be imputed either the protraction of the war or the causes of rebellion."

Though the Romans could defeat the natives in battle, they were not able to subdue them. Finally the Emperor Hadrian built a wall between England and Scotland, and fortified it, hoping by that means to end the raids of the Scotch into the Roman dominions south.

The long history of the Lowlands of Scotland may be omitted until about the year 1600. The wild tribes which had worried the Romans for centuries, had become civilized and Christianized, and were substantial and industrious people. It was that which led large numbers of them to settle in Ireland, where they later became the Scotch-Irish because they were Scotch who lived in Ireland. The first colonies that crossed the sea went over to settle on vacant land in the north of Ireland, the old kingdom or province called Ulster. The land had been left vacant by the ravages and misfortunes of war. The Irish lords in that province had rebelled against Queen Elizabeth, and at the end of a long struggle, they were completely crushed. Their land to the extent of 3,800,000 acres was confiscated and became property of the crown. That was the condition about the year 1610. The substantial people were gone from the land. Many had lost their lives during the wars, others had fled to foreign countries, and the poorer sort who had escaped with their lives and were unable to leave the country, took refuge in the forests and bogs. They made raids upon whatever property was within their reach, and made the country unsafe for those who attempted to cultivate the soil or live in fixed abodes.

Queen Elizabeth's successor conceived the idea of bringing colonies from Scotland to occupy the vacant farms and estates in the north of Ireland. It was not the purpose to throw the lands open to all comers; but the King wanted men of means who could bring tenants with them, and could defend the property with arms. The land was divided in 1610. The Scotchman who received 2,000 acres was required to establish on the land 48 men eighteen years of age or more. Everyone of these men was to have a farm and house, on a lease of twenty-one years or for life. These tenants were required to be men who were born in England or Scotland. It was intended that no place should be given to the native Irish, who had been driven to the woods like Indians. The owner of the land was required to arm himself and tenants with muskets

and hand arms, and to keep a supply of weapons constantly within reach.

The plentiful supply of land attracted the Scotch. They did not hesitate to take it through any qualms of conscience because the land had been seized by force from its rightful owners. They went to Ireland, took their tenants with them, and thus began the Scotch-Irish occupation of the northern part of Ireland. The Irish in the woods and bogs made trouble from the first. They carried off everything on which they could lay their hands. These unfortunate natives were called "wood-kerns." They had no way of living, except by plunder, and they plied that trade with such success that the Scotch tenants were compelled to guard their herds by night and day, and to build their houses close by the landlord's castle for protection. Woe unto the unfortunate wood-kerne who was caught. He was liable to be hanged without trial; and certain to be hanged if tried. The country was overrun by wolves which destroyed the farm animals. Between the wild men and the wild beasts of the woods, the men from Scotland who had been lured by the prospect of free land, had a rough road to travel for some years.

During the ten years following 1610, from 30,000 to 40,000 Scotch went to Ireland. The number was greatly increased in succeeding years. The prosperity of those that went induced others to follow; and the misfortunes that came to the colony from time to time checked the immigration. There were many ups and downs which these pages cannot narrate. The tide of settlers from Scotland to Ireland ceased about the year 1700. During the preceding ninety years about 50,000 families had gone, and the Scotch-Irish population of Ireland must have exceeded 200,000.

Scotch-Irish Industry—The Scotch immigrants landed in Ireland to find the country ruined as far as war could ruin it. The estates were deserted. The houses were gone. Fences were destroyed. Ditches were choked and meadows had become swamps. Fields were grown up with unprofitable weeds. Cattle had disappeared. The industrious immigrants went about the task of restoring. They opened the ditches and drained the country; planted fields and replaced fences and buildings; cleared the meadows of wild growth, and restocked the pastures with cattle and sheep. Much of the forest land which had never before been cleared was stripped of its woods, and the fresh soil produced crops generously. Good results were two-fold. New land was brought under cultivation and was made productive, and the hiding places of wolves and the retreats of the half wild natives were broken up, and the region was made safe. In a few years the country reached a condition of prosperity which it had never before known. Travelers in passing from other parts of Ireland into the districts occupied by the Scotch could notice the difference as soon as the line was crossed. There were industry and thrift not observable elsewhere.

The Irish lords who had occupied before, had always regarded work as humiliating, and the low order of improvement on their estates bore evidence of the faith that was in them. The Scotch who succeeded them in possession of the land, held the opposite view, and the change which had come upon the country showed the results.

The Woollen Trade—The Scotch who settled in the north of Ireland found it a country where pasture was good and flocks of sheep did well. The production of wool and of woollen fabrics soon became a profitable business. Sales were easy and prices good. Prosperity came to the people. The tyranny of the English government soon began to appear. It was the same policy which later did a great deal to drive America into rebellion. The rights of colonies to manufacture articles

for sale were denied. The manufacturing must be done by English factories, and the selling by English merchants. In competition along that line between the people in England and the people of the colonies, the latter were not recognized as having any rights. It was their business to produce raw material, send it to England to be manufactured, and then buy back such of the finished product as they needed. England wished to do the manufacturing for her colonies, and no competition in that line was tolerated. A clear and precise statement of that policy, as it was intended to apply to America, will be found in this book, in the chapter dealing with the formation of western states and provinces prior to 1789. The policy was put in full force in Ireland long before that time, and brought about the most harmful results in that country.

The first blow was aimed at the north Ireland wool industry. That was at the close of the sixteenth century, about ninety years after the first of the Scotch went to that country to occupy the vacant land. They had covered their fields with sheep, and were sending their woollen goods to market, where they came in competition with cloth woven in England. The English objected to the competition. Trade was depressed along all lines, and the English manufacturers saw an opportunity to better their condition by stopping the woollen cloth trade in Ireland. Accordingly in 1698 parliament petitioned the King to have laws passed for the protection of English woollen manufactures by suppressing those of Ireland. It was a cold-blooded proposition, but it was not the last one of the kind in England. The laws were passed, and the weaving industry in Ireland was ruined. The sheep owners sought markets for their wool. The best markets were not in England, and the product was sold elsewhere. The English manufacturers quickly discovered what was going on, and had supplemental laws enacted forbidding the Irish to export their wool to any country but England. That effectually killed the sheep industry among the Scotch in the north of Ireland. It was the first of a series of blows aimed by England at those people, which drove them to America. England ultimately paid dearly for every blow she struck the Scotch-Irish. The day of reckoning arrived at last when the Scotch-Irish who had been driven to America had an opportunity to strike back, and they made every blow count from Bunker Hill to Yorktown. But three-quarters of a century was to elapse between the suppression of the Irish wool trade and the surrender of Cornwallis, and there was much intervening history.

Emigration set toward America. Many Scotch had gone before that time. They had landed on the coast all the way from Boston to Virginia. In 1652 two shiploads of Scotch prisoners were put ashore at Boston. They had been taken at the battle or siege of Dundee, Scotland. Prisoners from Scotland were sent also to the Carolinas very early, so that, by the year 1700 there were Scotch in all settled parts of America, and the country was not a strange land when trade troubles, and religious persecution began to send thousand across the sea from the north of Ireland.

Religious Persecution—The Scotch who settled in Ireland were nearly all Presbyterians. They were at first welcomed, and their religious belief brought no criticism or hostility; but that state of affairs unfortunately did not exist always. The religious history of the people in Ireland is too voluminous and too complicated for discussion here, except in the briefest outline. They were uncompromising enemies of the Catholics, and when it was probable that those adhering to that religion would gain the mastery in England and Ireland, the Scotch

Presbyterians were the most stubborn defenders of protestantism. They fought when all chances seemed against success. Their defense of Londonderry in Ireland was one of the most memorable in history. It has been said that it was the Scotch in Ireland who saved England to protestantism. If so, they were poorly paid for the service when the protestants regained power. They were more persecuted by the established church of England than they had ever been, or probably would ever have been, by the Catholics, and in time they came to hate the English church almost as bitterly as they hated popery.

They were incapacitated from holding public employments; their marriages by their own ministers were invalid; they were forbidden to open a single school; and they could not hold a single office in town or county above the rank of a petty constable.

"And now," says Froude in his History of England, "recommenced the Protestant emigration, which robbed Ireland of the bravest defenders of English interests, and peopled the American seaboard with fresh flights of Puritans. Twenty thousand left Ulster on the destruction of the woollen trade. Many more were driven away by the first passage of the Test Act. The stream had slackened, in the hope that the law would be altered. When the prospect was finally closed, men of spirit and energy refused to remain in a country where they were held unfit to receive the rights of citizens; and thenceforward, until the spell of tyranny was broken in 1782, annual shiploads of families poured themselves out from Belfast and Londonderry. The resentment which they carried with them continued to burn in their new homes, and, in the War of Independence, England had no fiercer enemies than the grandsons and great-grandsons of the Presbyterians who held Ulster against Tyrconnell. And so the emigration continued. The young, the courageous, the energetic, the earnest, those alone among her colonists, who, if Ireland was ever to be a protestant country, could be effective missionaries, were torn up by the roots, flung out, and bid find a home elsewhere; and they found a home to which England fifty years later had to regret that she had allowed them to be driven."

The Ruined Linen Trade—The woollen trade of North Ireland was ruined, beginning in an act passed by parliament in 1699. The destruction of the linen trade in the same country came later. It was not brought about by the passage of restraining laws, as the woollen business was, but was permitted to be accomplished by landlords raising rent to such figures that the farmers could not pay it.

The linen of north Ireland had become famous. It was skillfully made and was of good quality. The soil suited the crop. Nearly all the farmers grew flax, and the work of pulling, rotting, breaking, swingling, spinning, weaving and bleaching was carried on in and around every cottage. The flax crop provided work for the whole family and for the whole year. Nearly every house had a loom and a professional weaver. There was money in the industry for the whole population. The people were their own masters, and did not work for wages. The sense of independence and self reliance was bred in them. They talked terms with no employer. Their time was their own, and they used it as they pleased.

They did not own the land on which they grew flax, but held it under lease. Unfortunately, immense tracts were held by single landlords, a condition that ought not exist in any country. Large numbers of the flax growers were tenants on the land of Lord Donegal. The trouble between him and his Scotch tenants is told in the following paragraphs from Froude's "History of England":

"Many of his Antrim leases having fallen simultaneously [in 1772] he demanded a hundred thousand pounds in fines for the renewal of them. The tenants, all Protestants, offered the interest of the money in addition to the rent. It could not be. Speculative Belfast capitalists paid the fines, and took the land over the heads of the tenants to sublet. A Mr. Upton, another great Antrim proprietor, imitated the example, and a whole countryside were driven from their habitations. The sturdy Scots, who in five generations had reclaimed Antrim from the wilderness, saw the farms which they and their fathers had made valuable, let by auction to the highest bidder; and when they refused to submit themselves to robbery, saw them let to others. The most substantial of the expelled tenantry gathered their effects together and sailed to join their countrymen in the New World, where the Scotch-Irish became known as the most bitter of the secessionists.

"Flights of Protestants had been driven out earlier in the century by the idiocy of the bishops. Fresh multitudes now winged their way to join them, and in no tender mood toward the institutions under which they had been so cruelly dealt with. The House of Commons had backed up the landlords. The next year they had to hear from the Linen Board that many thousand of the best manufacturers and weavers with their families had gone to seek their bread in America, and that thousands were preparing to follow. Religious bigotry, commercial jealousy, and modern landlordism had combined to do their worst against the Ulster settlement. The emigration was not the whole of the mischief. Those who went carried their art and their tools along with them, and at the rate at which the stream was flowing, the colonies would soon have no need of British or Irish imports. In the two years which followed the Antrim evictions, thirty thousand Protestants left Ulster for a land where there was no legal robbery, and where those who sowed the seed could reap the harvest. They went with bitterness in their hearts, cursing and detesting the aristocratic of which the ennobling qualities were lost, and only the worst retained.

"Lord Townshend had spoken of endeavors to unite the popular party in Ireland and in America. Ireland was but a colony of longer standing, and the Americans saw a picture there of the condition to which an English colony could be reduced in which the mother country had her own way. The Scotch-Irish emigrants especially had their suspicions on the alert, whose grievances were more recent, and whose bitter feelings were kept alive by the continued arrivals from Ulster. None of the trans-Atlantic settlers had more cause to complain, for none had deserved so well of the country from which they had been driven. . . . During the first half of the eighteenth century, Down, Antrim, Tyrone, Armaugh, and Derry were emptied of Protestant inhabitants who were of more value to Ireland than the gold mines of California.

"Throughout the revolted colonies, and therefore probably the first to begin the struggle, all evidence shows that the foremost, the most irreconcilable, the most determined in pushing the quarrel to the last extremity, were the Scotch-Irish whom the bishops and Lord Donegal and company had been pleased to drive out of Ulster. It is a fact beyond question, says Plowden, that most of the early successes in America were immediately owing to the vigorous exertions and prowess of the Irish emigrants who bore arms in that cause. Ramsay says that the Irish in America were almost to a man on the side of Independence. They had fled from oppression in their native country, and could not brook the idea that it should follow them. Their national prepossession in favor of liberty were strengthened by their religious opinions."

The rents paid for land in Ireland were high. Never more than one-third and often not over one-fifth of the product went to the tiller of the soil. An increase in rent meant of course smaller returns for those who performed the labor. "Upon the whole," said Archbishop King, "I cannot see how Ireland can, on the present footing, pay greater taxes than it does without starving the inhabitants and leaving them entirely without meat or clothes. They have already given their bread, their flesh, their butter, their shoes, their stockings, their beds, their house furniture, and their houses to pay their landlord's taxes. I cannot see how any more can be got from them except we take away their potatoes, or flay them and sell their skins."

American Landing Places—The Scotch who came to America from Ireland entered the country at all the principal ports on the Atlantic coast. New England, Pennsylvania, and the Carolinas received the most of them. They did not take kindly to tidewater Virginia. Conditions there were probably too much like those which had proved unsat-

isfactory to them in the old country. The coast did not prove attractive to large numbers of them. They struck for the back country where room was more plentiful, and opportunity greater. Those who entered the country by way of the Carolina ports pushed west across the coastal plains and over the uplands next to the mountain ranges, and when they reached the Appalachian valleys which trended more in north and south directions, they followed the valleys and settled there. Some located on the headwaters of streams flowing to the Mississippi, such as the French Broad, Holston, Watauga, and others. Some sought valleys farther north, the Susquehanna, the Shenandoah, and others flowing into the Atlantic. Later they crossed the Alleghany mountains in large numbers, and settled in southwestern Pennsylvania, and from there spread into neighboring regions. Western Virginia received its Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania, some through Maryland into the upper Potomac basin, and some into the Monongahela valley by traveling southward from western Pennsylvania. It does not appear that many reached the present territory of West Virginia by traveling northward from Carolina, though some of the southwestern parts of Virginia were settled from that direction. Some of the best fighters at the battle of Point Pleasant were Scotch-Irish from what is now Eastern Tennessee, but which was then considered to be in Virginia.

Those people did not turn aside on account of danger. Had it been their principle to do so, they would never have pushed across the settled parts of the country to make their homes on the exposed frontiers. The fact that personal safety and ease did not influence them in choosing their new homes is proof that they felt themselves able to meet emergencies and master adverse conditions that might rise. They were not strangers to the fact that west of them and in immediate contact with them were tribes of hostile Indians whose dwelling places were the unbroken forests. They knew likewise that the land on which they settled must be cleared of its primeval wilderness by years of toil. With that knowledge, they made choice of the frontiers, and there they became a line of defense, back of the older settlements, and between them and the Indians. They occupied that line from New York to Georgia. They were not alone, it is true. The posts of danger and hardship were shared in common by Germans, English, Welsh, and Scotch-Irish, but in many localities the latter exceeded the others in numbers.

The Shenandoah Valley—The earliest of the Scotch-Irish in any part of what is now West Virginia were in Jefferson county; but that was simply a part of the settlement of the Shenandoah valley, and cannot be separately considered. The Fairfax grant included the lower part of the Shenandoah valley, but most of the early settlers ignored his claim and located on land procured in disregard of his asserted rights. Some of these grants of land became the homes of many Scotch-Irish colonists as well as those of other nationalities.

About 1726-28 a few German families located in what is now Jefferson county, at New Mecklenburg, now Shepherdstown. They went there from Pennsylvania, and many of them afterwards purchased the land on which they lived, from Richard ap Morgan, a Welshman who obtained it by a grant in 1734. About the same time Governor Gooch issued a grant to Alexander Ross, for 40,000 acres north, west, and south of the present site of Winchester. He was a Pennsylvania Quaker of Scotch ancestry. John and Isaac Van Meter, Hollanders from Pennsylvania, procured in 1730 a grant for 40,000 acres in the lower Shenandoah valley in the present counties of Jefferson, Clark, and Frederick. The next year they sold their grant to Joist Hite, a Hollander, who the next year came from Pennsylvania to settle on his land, and brought

with him fifteen families, most of them Scotch-Irish. They settled along Cedar, Opequon, and Crooked creeks, in Frederick county. That appears to have been the earliest Scotch-Irish settlement in the Shenandoah valley.

In the same year that the Van Meters received their grant, Governor Gooch issued a grant to Robert Carter for 63,000 acres lying along the west side of the river from near its forks nearly down to the mouth of Bullskin creek. Colonel Carter was a wealthy slave holder, perhaps owning a larger number than any other person in Virginia at that time. He was frequently called "King Carter." He built a mansion in what is now Clarke county, and when he died he left an estate of 300,000 acres of land and 1,100 slaves. Robert Harper, a Scotch-Irishman, settled at the mouth of the Shenandoah in 1734, and the town of Harper's Ferry was named from him. He operated a ferry at that place, the principal patrons of which must have been settlers coming from Maryland and Pennsylvania on their way south. An old map, however, dating within four or five years of Harper's settlement, shows that the "road from Philadelphia" struck the Potomac eight or ten miles above Harper's Ferry. Some old accounts say only two miles above. It probably followed down the north bank of the river to the ferry which he established, or his ferry may have had nothing to do with that road.

In 1736 Governor Gooch issued a patent for 118,491 acres of land "in the county of Orange, between the great mountains, on the river Sherando." That is, near the present town of Staunton on the Shenandoah river. The grantees were John Beverley, John Robinson, and Richard Randolph. The next day Robinson and Randolph conveyed their interests to Beverley, and the vast tract became known as the Beverley manor. This land soon became the home of many Scotch-Irish. The first to locate there was John Lewis. His son was Andrew Lewis, who commanded the Virginia army at the battle of Point Pleasant and who fought in the American army in the Revolution. He was Washington's choice for commander-in-chief of the American armies, but the Continental Congress appointed Washington. John Lewis, the first settler, was a fugitive from justice. He had killed his landlord in Ireland, being provoked by abuse to do it, and he fled to Portugal, and in 1731 was in Pennsylvania, where he was joined by his family. They first located on Opequon creek—on the Hite land—in 1732, and soon afterwards removed to a point near Staunton. He raised a family which afterwards took a prominent part in Virginia affairs. His son Charles was killed in the battle of Point Pleasant in 1774.

In 1736 Benjamin Borden received a grant for 500,000 acres on the headwaters of the Shenandoah and James rivers, just south of the Beverly manor. One of the conditions of the grant was that he should locate one hundred families on the land before receiving title. He had ninety-two cabins on the land within two years, and in 1739 he received a patent for the tract,

The tide of Scotch-Irish colonists was by that time flowing toward the valley of Virginia and regions adjoining. Most of the settlers came from Pennsylvania, where they had lived for some years. Some of them were born there. The counties which furnished the most were Chester, Dauphin, Adams, Cumberland, Lancaster, York, and Franklin. Some moved to Virginia from Newcastle county, Delaware, and from Frederick, Washington, Montgomery, and Harford counties, Maryland.

By 1737 so many Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were in Augusta county that they were able to organize a congregation with two or more preaching places. From that time forward the history of Scotch-Irish settlements is traced largely in their church annals. Wherever enough of

them could get together they organized a Presbyterian church, and the records of these churches have been pretty generally kept. The lists of their members, and the dates, show how many Scotch-Irish the settlements contained. There were, of course, some Presbyterians who were not Scotch-Irish, and a few Scotch-Irish who were not Presbyterians; but it was a rule which so generally held good that the Presbyterians and the Scotch-Irish in the years of the early settlments were one and the same, that little allowance need be made for exceptions to the rule. Using early church history as authority, a fairly complete list of Scotch-Irish settlements in what is now West Virginia can be compiled, with the date of the organization of the congregation. The settlement was usually a little older than the church; but not many years, for the Scotch were clannish, and they were such strong churchmen that they generally went in companies or colonies large enough for a congregation, and after they had built their cabins, the next step usually was to build a church. The following list is principally from Charles A. Hanna's "The Scotch-Irish."

Cedar Creek, Berkeley county, 1737-8.
Tuscarora, Berkeley county, 1738-40.
Bullskin, Jefferson county, about 1742.
Back Creek, Berkeley county, 1737-43.
Elk Branch, Jefferson county, before 1747.
Falling Waters, Berkeley county, before 1747.
Tuscarora, Berkeley county, 1755-58.
Tygart's Valley, Randolph county, 1760-70. (This date is doubtful).
Shepherdstown, Jefferson county, before 1775.
Hopewell, Jefferson county, 1775-80.
Little Levels, Pocahontas county, before 1783.
Camp Union, Greenbrier county, 1783.
Good Hope, Greenbrier county, 1783.
Charlestown, Jefferson county, 1785.
Romney, Hampshire county, before 1788.
West Liberty, Ohio county, 1788.
Forks of Wheeling Creek, Ohio county, 1787-90.
Martinsburg, Berkeley county, before 1793.
The Flats, Hancock county, 1793.
Greenbrier, Greenbrier county, before 1798.
South River, Hardy county, before 1798.
Springfield, Hampshire county, before 1798.
Morgantown, Monongalia county, about 1790.

The whole region, along the western base of the Alleghany mountains, from Monroe county to the Pennsylvania line, was occupied from the first settlements by Scotch-Irish. There were, of course, people of other nationalities, but the Scotch were important in all that region. Their names bear witness to their presence, even when nothing else is known of them. In some parts of that region it would seem that they were not as zealous in building churches as in the country east of the mountains. That was probably on account of the scattered condition of the population. East of the mountains many of the early settlers located on land held by a single proprietor, often in tracts of tens of thousands of acres. Such owners brought in whole colonies at a time and sold or leased them the land. They were numerous enough to establish a church at once. Other conditions prevailed west of the mountains. The land belonged to the state and was sold or given to settlers in homesteads, usually of from 400 to 1,400 acres. Hundreds of these were secured upon what was known as a "tomahawk right." The settler secured the land at practically no expense, except living on it a short time. The men who wanted land on those terms could go singly into the vast wilderness, select the piece of ground he wanted, erect a cabin, clear his fields, and in course of time the land was his. There was no need of colonies. One man could procure as favorable terms as if a hundred were with him; in fact, he could do better, for he could have his pick of the best land, and be free from rivalry. It thus happened that the western country's earliest settlers lived alone, a family here and one there, and not in groups. Under such circumstances it was

difficult for enough of them to get together to organize a congregation of any kind, much less one of a particular denomination. That probably accounts for the fact that so few early churches existed among the Scotch-Irish settlers in northwestern Virginia.

A list of men who filed claims to "tomahawk rights" in Monongalia county prior to January 1, 1778, is in existence. They were the pioneers in northern West Virginia. The first of them went over the mountains in 1766, and the last on the list had made their settlement by the close of 1777, a period of twelve years. The number of those settlers, after all doubtful names are omitted, was 1,117 men. If their names be accepted as a guide in determining their nationalities, there were 44 Irish, 97 German, 204 English, 85 unclassified, and 687 Scotch-Irish. Allowing for an element of uncertainty in many of the names, it is still apparent that the Scotch-Irish outnumbered all the others in the list of early homesteaders in Monongalia county.

The area of Monongalia county at that time is estimated at 8,485 square miles. It stretched from the Alleghanies to the Ohio river, and from the head of the Greenbrier river to the Pennsylvania line—in fact, a short distance north of the line as it now exists. The area was about one-third of that of the present state of West Virginia. The "tomahawk rights" men, that is, the homesteaders who took up land and lived on it, were scattered pretty regularly over the entire region. It can, therefore, be readily understood that 687 Scotch-Irish families in so large an area would be much dispersed. The average would be less than one family to twelve square miles. The surprise which has been expressed that they organized so few early Presbyterian congregations, ceases to exist. It was impossible for a sufficient number of families to get together to make a congregation. It was the same with other religions. Churches of any kind were almost unknown in the region for fifteen or twenty years after the country began to be settled. Now and then a Methodist or Baptist missionary went through the country preaching wherever a few people were found; but regular congregations of any denomination were few and far apart on the early frontiers west of the mountains.

SCOTCH-IRISH INFLUENCE

The coming of the Scotch-Irish to America, and the causes which induced them to come, having been spoken of, it is proper to consider the influence which they exerted. This is particularly appropriate in considering West Virginia's history, where those people have wielded a predominant influence in many ways. They were among the boldest pioneers in settling the country; the foremost in defending it against the Indians; in the front when resistance against British tyranny was called for; leaders the equal of any in advancing the cause of religious and political liberty and in encouraging education.

The Scotch-Irish school teacher—often called Irish—was largely responsible for what little education the frontier people had. The most of it was not a very advanced kind of education, but it was all that was possible under the circumstances. The teacher's influence was great. It is not possible to collect complete statistics for early years in Western Virginia, but as far as one is justified in judging from old records in court houses west of the Alleghanies, the clerks and other officers who were required to keep the records and transact the clerical business, were oftener Scotch-Irish than any other nationality. During the first sixty-three years of Randolph county, five county clerks were in office, and four of them were of Scotch-Irish descent. During the first fifty

years of the circuit court in the same county, all of the clerks were of that descent. For the first forty-eight years in Harrison county, the county clerks were Scotch-Irish.

The beginning of the struggle for independence in America speedily arrayed practically all of the Scotch-Irish on the side of the patriots who opposed the injustice from beyond the sea. The immigrants fresh from Ulster, where repression of trade and military and religious oppression had borne their worst fruit, became eloquent advocates of resistance to measures and policies which threatened similar results in this country. Those who had come from Ulster long before, or the children of such, bore no love for the English government. Recollection and tradition were against sympathy for the royal cause. In every corner of the country, in the towns of the east as well as in the remote valleys among the mountains of the west, wherever there was a Scotch-Irishman he was almost sure to be in favor of resistance and independence. That influence was far-reaching, and it produced results. It was a leaven that worked from New England to Georgia. It helped to crystalize the sentiment of the people for independence, and to prepare the way for armed resistance. There was little halting between two opinions among the Scotch-Irish. They were for independence on general principles, and, in addition to that, they had other scores to pay. Seventy-five years of wrong had produced an accumulation of resentment which was preparing to strike back in a way which would count .

There was not a battlefield and scarcely a skirmish in the Revolutionary war in which the Scotch-Irish did not participate on the American side. "There is a Bunker Hill close outside of Belfast," says Froude. "Massachusetts has forgotten how the name came to the Charlestown peninsula. It is possible that the connection with Ireland is a coincidence. It is possible that the name of a spot so memorable in America history was brought over by one of those exiles, whose children saw there the beginning of that retribution which followed so closely on the combination of follies which had destroyed the chance of making Ireland a Protestant country, and had filled Protestant Ulster with passionate sympathy for the revolted colonies."

Thus began the armed struggle in the north. Along the whole firing line to the extreme south, a distance of a thousand miles, the Scotch-Irish were ever present and taking part. There is some doubt as to their proportionate number at Bunker Hill; but there is no doubt on that point at King's Mountain, at the extreme south. Practically the whole army was Scotch-Irish which Campbell led in that fight. The annals of war show scarcely a cleaner sweep than they made of the army under Furguson which had been pillaging the country. Not one man escaped. All were killed or captured. When the British heard of the disaster they could account for it only by crediting the rumor that it was done by Daniel Boone, who "came over the mountains at the head of four thousand Kentucky desperadoes." The men who won that fight were largely from the headwaters of the Tennessee river, in what is now eastern Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina. Some of them had fought in the Point Pleasant battle against the Indians, at the mouth of the Kanawha river in 1774.

One of the most brilliant achievements of the Revolution, and one which had most important results, was the conquest of Illinois by Colonel George Roger Clark. He was descended from Scotch-Irish, and though his army was small, it was made up chiefly from the country west of the Alleghany mountains. Probably half his force came from the region drained by the Monongahela river. He had men, perhaps,

from every county, as they now exist, in northern West Virginia, but there is no sure way of showing by the records that such was the case. One company of 104 marched from Buckhannon, Upshur county, under George Jackson, who was of Scotch-Irish descent. These men came from the surrounding region, some of them from as far east as Cheat river. Clark's western regiment contained 210 men whose names indicate that they were of Scotch-Irish descent, and most of the names are often met with in the early history of Western Virginia.

Separation of Church and State—The support of churches by taxation was required by law in Virginia as long as it remained a colony of England, that is, until the Declaration of Independence. The support was not given equally to all denominations, but only to the established church, which was the Episcopal. The people were obliged to pay taxes to support that church whether they were members or not, and whether they sympathized with its teachings or not. That law had stood in the way of Virginia's development on more occasions than one. Settlers were kept away who would have added greatly to the prosperity of the colony. Hundreds of Germans from Pennsylvania would have colonized the Ohio Company's land on the Ohio river long before the Revolution, but they refused to locate in Virginia because they would be taxed or fined to support a church of which they were not members. It was clearly seen by statesmen of Virginia that the union of church and state was a hindrance to progress, and among such men there was a sentiment in favor of letting all religious denominations fare alike—either support all by taxation or support none. But that sentiment was not shared by the ruling classes in Virginia. They were generally members of the established church, and showed no favors to those who were outside of it. Efforts to change the law met no encouragement from the Virginia aristocracy before the Revolution; and even after the Revolution it was a long, hard fight to break away from the established order of things in church affairs. Speaking of this matter Thomas Jefferson said in his autobiography:

> "The first settlers of Virginia were Englishmen, loyal subjects of their king and church. In process of time, however, other sectarisms were introduced, chiefly of the Presbyterian family. By the time of the Revolution a majority of the inhabitants had become dissenters from the established church, but were still obliged to pay contributions to support pastors of the minority. This unrighteous compulsion, to maintain teachers of what they deemed religious errors, was grievously felt during the regal government, and without hope of relief. But the first republican legislature which met in 1776 was crowded with petitions to abolish this spiritual tyranny. These brought on the severest contests in which I have ever been engaged. The petitions were referred to the committee of the whole house on the state of the country, and after desperate contests in that committee, almost daily, from the 11th of October to the 5th of December, we prevailed so far only as to repeal the laws which rendered criminal the maintenance of any religious opinion, the forebearance of repairing to church, or the exercise of any mode of worship, and further, to exempt dissenters from contributions to the support of the established church."

The pressure brought to bear in the legislature of 1776 for separation of church and state in Virginia was strong, as Jefferson says in the paragraph from his writings quoted above. That pressure was continued and increased in the succeeding sessions of the legislature, and the pressure came from all the religious denominations in Virginia, except the established church. That, of course, was opposed to any change which would cut off support by taxes levied on the general public, and throw the support upon the members of the denomination. Robert Baird in his work on "Religion in America" says of this phase of the question:

"In the course of 1777 and 1778, petitions and counterpetitions continued to be addressed to the legislature on the subject of religion. Some of the petitions prayed for the preservation of all that remained of the Establishment; others advocated a general assessment for the support of all denominations; others opposed that suggestion. Some, again, called for the suppression by law of the irregularities of the 'sectaries,' such as their holding meetings by night, and craved that none but licensed preachers should be allowed to conduct the worship of God. Among the memorials was one from the Presbytery of Hanover, opposing the plan of a general assessment. After reverting to the principle laid down in their first petition, and insisting that the only proper objects of civil governments are the happiness and protection of men in their present state of existence, the petition continues: 'Neither does the church of Christ stand in need of a general assessment for its support, and most certain are we that it would be of no advantage, but an injury, to the society to which we belong.'

"This memorial, and probably still more, the strenuous efforts of the Baptists led in 1779 to the abandonment of the proposed general assessment, after a bill to that effect had been ordered to a third reading."

The contest continued six years longer. The Presbyterians and the Baptists pushed the fight. The Methodists were no less earnest but they were not so strong. The spirit of liberty in Virginia, and for that matter, in all of the states, was in favor of every denomination supporting its own ministers and church organizations. "The general impression prevails in England," says Robert Baird, above quoted, "and perhaps elsewhere, that the entire separation of church and state in America was the work of Mr. Jefferson, the third president of the United States, who took a distinguished part in the struggle. Still it was not Mr. Jefferson who induced the state of Virginia to pass the act of separation. That must be ascribed to the petitions and other efforts of the Presbyterians and Baptists."

In 1785 the Virginia legislature passed the act granting religious liberty. The act was written by Thomas Jefferson, but was passed, as he states in his autobiography, "with some mutilations in the preamble." It is a remarkable document, and well worth a place in history. It may be regarded as the most advanced step in human liberty that had been taken at that time. Without the assistance given by the Presbyterians and the Baptists in Virginia the law could not have gone on the statute books for many years after that time. The act follows:

"Whereas Almighty God hath created the mind free; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishment, or burthens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the holy Author of our religion, who, being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercion on either, as was in his almighty power to do; that the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such, endeavoring to impose them on others, have established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world, and through all times; and to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves, is sinful and tyrannical; and even the forcing him to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion, is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness, and is withdrawing from the ministry those temporary rewards which, proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to earnest and unremitting labors for the instruction of mankind; that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions any more than our opinions in physics or geometry; that therefore the prescribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow-citizens, he has a national right; that it tends only to corrupt the principles of that religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing with a monopoly of worldly honors and emoluments, those who will externally profess and conform to it; that though,

indeed, those are criminal who do not withstand such temptation, yet neither are those innocent who lay the bait in their way; that to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his power into the field of opinion, and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles on supposition of their ill tendency, is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all religious liberty, because he, being of course judge of that tendency, will make his opinions the rule of judgment, and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with or differ from his own; that it is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government, for its officers to interfere, when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order; and finally, that truth is great and will prevail, if left to herself, that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unless from human interposition disarmed of her natural weapon, free argument and debate; errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them:

"Be it enacted by the general assembly, that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

"And though we well know that this assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding assemblies constituted with powers equal to our own, and that, therefore, to declare this act to be irrevocable would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind; and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present, or to narrow its operation, such an act will be an infringement of natural right."

This chapter dealing with the Scotch-Irish element in Western Virginia has necessarily taken a view of the question in its larger sense. It was necessary to give some account of the Scotch-Irish before they came to this country, because they possessed characteristics already formed when they came; and it was also necessary to speak of events in which they took part and exerted an influence rather than to enter into details of the particular and minute parts performed by them. No more fitting conclusion for the chapter can be given than the summing up of the Scotch-Irish work and influence in this country in the first volume of "The Winning of the West" by Theodore Roosevelt:

"Along the western frontier of the colonies that were so soon to be the United States, among the foot hills of the Alleghanies on the slopes of the wooded mountains, and in the long trough-like valleys that lay between the ranges, dwelt a peculiar and characteristic American people.

"The backwoods mountaineers were all cast in the same mold, and resembled one another much more than any of them did their immediate neighbors of the plains. The backwoodsmen of Pennsylvania had little in common with the peaceful population of Quakers and Germans who lived between the Delaware and the Susquehanna; and their near kinsmen of the Blue Ridge and the Great Smoky mountains were separated by an equally wide gulf from the aristocratic planter communities that flourished in the tidewater regions of Virginia and the Carolinas.

"The backwoodsmen were American by birthright and parentage, and of mixed races; but the dominant strain of their blood was that of the Presbyterian Irish—the Scotch-Irish as they are often called. Full credit has been awarded the Roundhead and the Cavalier for their leadership in our history; nor have we been altogether blind to the deeds of the Hollander and the Huguenot; but it is doubtful if we have wholly realized the importance of the part played by that stern and virile people, the Irish, whose preachers taught the creed of Knox and Calvin. These Irish representatives of the Covenanters were in the west almost what the Puritans were in the northwest, and more than the Cavaliers were in the south. Mingled with the descendants of many other races, they nevertheless formed the kernel of the distinctively and intensely American stock who were the pioneers of our people in their march westward.

"They were a turbulent and obstinate people, and gloried in the warlike renown of their forefathers, the men who had followed Cromwell, and who had shared in the defense of Derry, and in the victories of the Boyne and Aughrim. The West

was won by those who have been rightly called the Roundheads of the South, the same men who before any other declared for American Independence.

"That these Irish Presbyterians were a bold and hardy race is proved by their at once pushing past the settled regions and plunging into the wilderness as the leaders of the white advance. They were the first and last set of immigrants to do this; all others have merely followed in the wake of their predecessors. But indeed, they were fitted to be Americans from the very start; thy were kinfolk of the Covenanters; they deemed it a religious duty to interpret their own Bible, and held for a divine right the election of their own clergy. For generations their whole ecclesiastic and scholastic systems had been fundamentally democratic."

CHAPTER XII

SLAVERY IN WESTERN VIRGINIA

Western Virginia never had many slaves in comparison with the eastern portion of the state, and that fact so materially influenced the cause of its history that it becomes proper to give an account of the institution west of the Blue Ridge, and more particularly west of the Alleghany mountains. In 1790, when the first federal census was taken, Virginia had a larger number of slaves than any other state, and more that 42 per cent. of all the slaves then in the United states. The slave population of the state each ten years from 1790 to 1860, both inclusive, was as follows: 1790, 287,959; 1800, 339,796; 1812, 383,521; 1820, 411,886; 1830, 453,698; 1840, 431,873; 1850; 452,028; 1860, 472,494. Figures which follow show from the same period the slave population of the part of Virginia now included in West Virginia: 1790, 4,668; 1800, 7,172; 1810, 10,836; 1820, 15,119; 1830, 17,673; 1840, 18,488; 1850, 20,500; 1860, 18,371.

The area of West Virginia is more than half that of the eastern part of the state; but the number of slaves was scarcely more than five per cent. at any time of the whole number in the state. Even in that portion of Virginia east of the Blue Ridge, the dispersion of the slaves over the territory was not even. The region between the James river and the North Carolina line was known as the Black Belt, and there the densest negro population was found. That was the tobacco country, and tobacco was for a long time Virginia's most profitable crop. The Shenandoah valley at the time of the Civil war had a large slave population; but for many years after the settlement of that region, slaves were few, except on certain large plantations where efforts were made to turn their labor into profit. Colonel Robert Carter, one of the largest slaveholders ever in Virginia, was an early resident of the valley, and part of his 1,100 slaves worked on his lands, but, it is said, without much profit to the owner.

In 1790 there were 34,026 slave-holding families in Virginia. Of these, 5,785 owned only one slave each; 9,510 owned from 2 to 4 each; 8,559 owned from five to nine; 6,745 had from 10 to 19 each; 2,998 owned from 20 to 49; 342 had from 50 to 99; 75 owned from 100 to 199; 12 possessed from 200 to 299; and none had 300. Sixty years later, 1850, the number of slave-holding families had increased, and the total number of slaves had increased in about the same ratio, but the average owned by each family was about the same—between eight and nine. The number of families owning slaves in 1850 was 55,063, and one family owned more than 300 slaves.

The importation of slaves from Africa ceased in 1808. Laws utterly prohibiting the trade became effective on January 1, of that year. The sentiment against the slave trade had been strong in the United States since the Revolutionary war, and also before that period, and efforts to stop it had been made from time to time. Few persons advocated it openly and publicly, for it was unpopular. Many who upheld the institution which was already fixed in this country, on the grounds that others had brought the slaves to these shores, and the present owners were not responsible for it, could put forward no such excuse in discussing the question of bringing more slaves from their native country.

For that reason, the public debates on the subject were nearly always one-sided, and few public men cared to go on record as favoring the foreign slave trade. Nevertheless, it was difficult to stop it. The business was profitable for those who engaged in it. The unfortunate Africans could be bought cheaply on the coast of their country, when brought from the interior by Arab slave dealers. The expense of bringing them by shiploads to this country was small, and they sold at good prices in all the slave-holding territory of the south. There were plenty of buyers ready to take the cargo off the importer's hands; and as long as the importer could make profitable sales, he would keep coming back with fresh cargoes. Many persons who publicly denounced the foreign slave trade, secretly encouraged it by purchasing the slaves, or by friendship and business relations with those who dealt in the human chattels.

The proceedings of congresses, conventions, legislatures, and other public meetings, and the speeches and writings of early leaders in this country, show how general was the disapproval of the importation of slaves. Unfortunately, it was left largely to the different states, acting separately, to put a stop to it. That explains why more than thirty years elapsed after the Declaration of Independence, and twenty years after the adoption of the United States constitution, before a final stop was put to the traffic. Congress might have stopped it by a single act, but conflicting interests, and the want of courage on the part of some of the statesmen, stood in the way.

Some of the ablest of the early Virginia statesmen, though slave owners, were opposed to the institution. Among these were Washington and Jefferson. There was no sham in their declarations that they would like to see slavery swept away. Washington would have freed his slaves, but he had not the legal power to do it, on account of not being full owner of all of them. Some came to him from his wife's estate, and there were complications. He did not say much on the subject in public, but what he did say was to the point. Jefferson was more outspoken, and he would have freed other people's slaves as well as his own. He advocated laws which would gradually emancipate the unfortunate class, and finally make all of them free. He wished to avoid difficulties and dangers which he believed would result if all the slaves were set free at once, and turned adrift upon the country. If he could have seen the way clear, he would have sent them back to Africa as fast as they were freed. He wanted Virginia to take an advanced step, and provide for gradual emancipation. When the state refused to take that step, he wrote, in his disappointment: "What a stupendous, what an incomprehensible machine is man, who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his liberty, and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trials, and inflict on his fellowmen a bondage one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose." Years after that, at the age of 77, Jefferson wrote concerning his failure to secure a provision for gradual emancipation:

> "It was found that the public mind would not bear the proposition. Nor will it bear it even to this day. Yet the day is not distant when it must bear it and adopt it, or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free. It is still in our power to direct the course of emancipation and deportation peaceably. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect."

For a third of a century after the close of the Revolutionary war, the literature of Virginia—particularly the literature relating to legislation—is full of anti-slavery sentiment. There was a class of people in

Virginia who stood in with slavery; but they were the non-progressive element, consisting chiefly of persons whose principal pride was in their family names, but who had never done much for anybody to be proud of. The men of energy, ambition, and intellect were largely in favor of some plan by which the state could free itself from what was generally admitted to be a curse. George Mason wrote what many a man believed at that time, but did not let his voice be heard. Said he:

"Slavery discourages arts and manufactures. The poor despise labor when performed by slaves. They prevent the immigration of whites, who really enrich and strengthen a country. They produce the most pernicious effect on manners. Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. They bring the judgment of heaven on a country. By an inevitable chain of causes and effects, Providence punishes national sins by national calamities."

If Virginia had stood alone in the matter of slavery it would have abolished it in course of time. It was becoming unprofitable in that state. Culture of tobacco had been one of the most important industries; but that crop speedily exhausts the soil, and by 1830 large areas in Virginia were worn out. Soil fertilization was but little practiced, and an exhausted field was generally abandoned. The end of profitable tobacco growing was in sight, and the slave owner could not see much for him in the way of profit. He was in a frame of mind which made him more willing than ever before to listen to schemes of emancipation, particularly if the scheme promised a chance to sell his unprofitable human chattels to the state for a fair price. That condition of affairs was largely responsible for the emancipation talk and sentiment about 1830, and a few years earlier and later. A memorial presented to the Virginia constitutional convention in 1829 asked that action be taken against the continuance of slavery. A paragraph of the memorial said:

"We humbly suggest our belief that the slavery which exists and which with gigantic strides is gaining ground among us, is, in truth, the great efficient cause of the evils we deplore. We cannot conceive that there is any other cause sufficiently operative to paralize the energies of a people so magnanimous, to neutralize the blessings of Providence included in a land so happy in its soil, its climate, its minerals, and its waters; and to annul the manifold advantages of our republican system and geographical position. If Virginia has already fallen from her high estate, and if we have assigned the true cause for her fall, it is with the utmost anxiety that we look to the future, to the fatal termination of the scene. As we value our domestic happiness, as our hearts yearn for the prosperity of our offspring, as we pray for the guardian care of the Almighty over our country, we earnestly inquire what shall be done to avert the impending ruin. The efficient cause of our calamities is vigorously increasing in magnitude and potency while we wake and while we sleep."

With the profits of agriculture decreasing in Virginia, the value of the land could not be maintained. The slaves had to be kept at work, and as there was almost no manufacturing in the state, there was nothing for them to do except to cultivate the soil already deteriorating because of too much unscientific cultivation.

A change in sentiment occurred with considerable suddeness. The invention of the cotton gin—a machine for removing the seeds from cotton—had an indirect, but strong influence upon the Virginia sentiment against slavery. "There is a wide difference between a wrong which yields a profit and one that does not," says Granville Davisson Hall in the discussion of this subject in "The Rending of Virginia." A good many years passed after the cotton gin was invented before its full value was realized. Virginia was not a cotton-growing state; but it had more slaves than any of the states where cotton grew, and the de-

mand for laborers in those states opened a profitable market for Virginia's surplus of slaves. The value doubled. The growing of cotton had become so profitable in the south that prices unheard of before were paid for black laborers. The slaveholders of Virginia went into the business of raising slaves for the southern cottonfields, in the same way that cattle were raised for market. The sentiment in favor of emancipation melted away. Slavery had become profitable in Virginia. The owners no longer looked with approval upon schemes to set the negroes free—for a consideration. From that time a savage opposition to all suggestions of emancipation appeared in slave-producing sections of the state. What a few years before had been an unprofitable and a somewhat unpopular institution, changed into a gold mine for those in Virginia who had no scruples against engaging in such a business. The annual sales of slaves ran into hundreds of thousands of dollars. Some place it at several millions, but such high figures may be overdrawn. An endless chain of slave caravans moved from Virginia to the cotton fields of the south, in exactly the same fashion as Livingston saw in Africa, and with little less brutality. The slave dealer—he was called a "soul driver"—appeared on the scene, and was a shame to humanity, a disgrace to civilization, and a curse to the country. Granville Davisson Hall, speaking from personal knowledge, says:

"This domestic slave trade was active in Western Virginia, though far less important there than in the east. When the writer of these pages was a boy there was, about three miles east of Clarksburg, near the home of a distinguished ex-governor of Virginia, then living, a negro ranch, where young negroes, from mere children upward, were corralled, ranged, and fed for the southern market, almost as if they had been sheep or swine. In summer the younger ones ran about naked, clothing for them being deemed a needless expense. There are people yet living in Harrison who will remember this establishment, though the proprietor, like the Lagrees and all of his kind, has long ago gone. This human stockyard was the consummate flower of the patriarchal institution which Northwestern Virginia was fighting to get away from; which some of her able politicians found it so heartbreaking to give up when the crisis was on us in 1861. The author's mother distinctly remembers when she was a child of nine or ten, seeing a great drove of negroes pass her home on the state road about where Cherry Camp station now is on the Northwestern Virginia line of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, on their way to the Ohio river, it is presumed for transport down the river by flatboat. There were women and children as well as men, and a few teams probably carrying provisions. The men were chained together. She recalls that the drove was a long time in passing, and thinks there were several hundred. This was about 1826 or 1827."

The curse of slavery, and the low commercial spirit which was satisfied to make money from the sale of human beings, as a farmer derives profit from selling cattle, had its effect on the white people of Virginia. It was subject for remark that the statesmen who were the glory of Virginia in its early days had no equals in the period when slavery was at its worst. The state ceased to be the mother of presidents. It produced no more. The timber of which presidents were made, no longer grew in Virginia. Says Hall:

"So did the crime of Virginia avenge itself on her, for that this traffic of hers in human flesh and blood should produce degeneracy among Virginians is no surprise. As against the Washingtons, the George Masons, the Henrys, Madisons, and Marshalls, of the olden time, 1861 had evolved the Wises, the Pryors, the Tylers, Letchers, the Jim Masons, and Floyds, and others akin. Nature and Justice will be avenged. The governing class had become debased and were no longer fit to rule. So 1861 in Virginia was legitimate heir to the forty or fifty years of growing degeneracy and brutalism, leading down to that bloody culmination. That year found the old mother of Presidents with moral sense blunted, humane sentiments replaced by truculent impulse of the slave driver and the human stock breeder. We see the savagery of Legree crop out in the violence around the Richmond

convention; in the rank conspiracy which summoned its ruffians to the capital to inaugurate a reign of terror; in the intimidation by Wise when he rises in the secret session of the convention, and drawing a large Virginia horsepistol from his bosom, lays it before him, and glares round at the Union members like some homicidal maniac."

Virginia early passed laws and made regulations requiring freed negroes to leave the state within a short time after their manumission; and they were forbidden to return. That was for the purpose of removing them from contact with slaves. It was believed that the example of a free negro was not calculated to enchance the contentment of slaves. Besides, it was feared that free negroes would create disturbance among slaves. It was within the power of county courts to grant permission to a freed negro to remain in the county where he had lived as a slave, if his case was specially meritorious. That permission was sometimes given, though not often. It occurred at least once in what is now West Virginia. In 1827 the county court of Pocahontas county entered the following order:

"Ben, a man of color, who is entitled to his freedom under the last will and testament of Jacob Warwick, deceased, bearing date on the seventh day of March, 1818, of record in the clerk's office of this county, this day motioned the court (the commonwealth's attorney being present) for permission to remain in this county: whereupon, it is the opinion of the court that the said Ben be permitted to remain and reside for his general good conduct, and also for acts of extraordinary merit, it appearing to their satisfaction that the said Ben hath given reasonable notice of this motion.

"The acts of extraordinary merit upon which the order of the court is founded are the following: It appearing from the evidnece of Mr. Robert Gay, at an early period when the county of Bath (now Pocahontas) was invaded by the Indians, he protected with fidelity the possessions of his master, and assisted in defending the inhabitants from the tomahawk and scalping knife. In addition to this public service, it appears from the evidence of Messrs. Waugh and P. Bruffey that he rendered most essential service to his master in saving his life on divers occasions. Upon these meritorious acts, the court grounded their order."

Slave owners did not generally forbid or discourage the attendance upon religious service by their negroes; but negro preachers were not welcome and in some regions were not tolerated. They were looked upon by masters as a disturbing element, and therefore, dangerous. Some denominations and many congregations provided space in their churches for slaves. Certain benches were set apart for them, usually in the rear of the room or in the gallery. They were supposed to contribute to the preacher's support, and generally did so, as far as they were able. A liberal share of the small amount of money they could earn went that way. They attended whatever church was most convenient; but they liked the Methodists and Baptists best. In 1841 it is said there were two million slave church goers in the south, and half a million of them were church members.

All that was true of slavery in the eastern part of Virginia was true in the western part to a limited extent. The state was all slave territory from the shore of the Atlantic ocean to the bank of the Ohio, but it was not all slave alike. The Black Belt south of the James river was the most intense; then came the Piedmont country, east of the Blue Ridge, where many slaves were found, but not in such great numbers. The Shenandoah valley lay still further west, and slaves decreased proportionately in numbers. Conditions existing on the Shenandoah continued to the base of the Alleghanies, and there was found the boundary of another zone. The rampart of mountains was a barrier to many things that would have moved east and west, and the institution of slavery was one of them. In 1860 the eighty Virginia coun-

ties west of the Blue Ridge had 596,293 white inhabitants, and 66,766 slaves, while east of the Blue Ridge were 451,000 white people and 424,099 slaves.

The reason why the west had so much smaller slave population than the east is several fold. The principal reason was, that slavery was less profitable there than in the east. The land was generally mountainous, and farms were not suited to tobacco growing or to any other crops in which slave labor could be profitably employed. Another reason, and a very powerful one was, that the people of the west were conscientiously opposed to slavery. They did not feel the need of it, and they did not want it. The Scotch, the Irish, and the Germans who settled in the west felt themselves able to earn their own bread, and they were willing to do it. The religions in the west, the Baptist, Methodist, the Presbyterian, the Lutherans, the United Brethren, were not accustomed to search the scriptures for authority to do unto others as they would not want others to do unto them. Consequently, they did not sanction slavery. The influence of the churches in Western Virginia was powerful in its opposition to slavery, and it did much to keep the institution out. Similar influence was largely lacking in the slave regions of Eastern Virginia where one church had pretty much the whole field, and practically every member was either a slaveholder or was in sympathy with slavery—or, at most, was seldom heard to lift his voice against an institution which was popular with his neighbors.

The laboring people west of the Alleghanies had no use for slavery, even if they had no moral or religious scruples against it. They knew that respectable free labor was almost unknown where slaves were abundant. They had heard in what repute labor was held by the lazy eastern aristocracy who were supported by slaves. None of that element was wanted west of the mountains. The mountaineers hated the slaveholder more than they hated slavery. Men from the west had come back from Richmond with accounts of speeches and pamphlets by eastern politicians: "What real share"—Judge Leigh an eastern aristocrat, had asked in a public speech,—"what real share, so far as mind is concerned, does any man suppose the peasantry of the west—that peasantry which it must have when the country is completely filled up with day laborers as ours with slaves—can or will take in affairs of state?" Sentiments similar to that were continually coming from the east; and the effect was to set the west in array against everything eastern, particularly against every eastern bad thing, of which slavery was one.

Slaves were insecure in parts of Western Virginia because of their proximity to Ohio and Pennsylvania, where slavery did not exist. It was often easy for a slave to run away, elude pursuers, and cross the state lines. There were fugitive slave laws which required that the runaway be given up, but it was not an easy thing to enforce the law in a state where most of the people were hostile to it. The runaway was pretty sure to find friends who would shove him along until he was landed in Canada where, by the very act of setting foot on the soil, he became free. Many slaveholders who would have moved with their slaves to the banks of the Kanawha or the Ohio, were deterred from doing so, through fear that their negroes would escape into Pennsylvania or Ohio. This had its effect in preventing the increase of negro population in the western part of Virginia.

It is stated in C. H. Ambler's "Sectionalism in Virginia" that there was an early movement to establish plantations on the Kanawha and Ohio rivers by New Englanders who purchased large tracts there, and stocked them with slaves bought in Maryland and Virginia. Much of that land was cleared prior to 1800, some of it by slave labor and other

by white wage-earners who worked for the equivalent of one fourth of a pound of gunpowder per day. That was worth about fifteen cents; and if laborers could be hired at such a figure, it was much cheaper to hire the work done than to own slaves.

If the movement of the New Englanders into Western Virginia was responsible for the unusual number of slaves in the Kanawha valley, it disproves the claim that has been generally advanced that the salt makers brought in the slaves to cut cordwood for the salt furnaces, and to do other labor about the works. The poet Longfellow, who was a New Englander, laid the scene of one of his "Poems on Slavery" in the Kanawha valley. The fact is of interest, though it is by no means probable that he had in mind the part his countrymen took, prior to the year 1800 in establishing slavery in that region. The poem to which he gave the title, "The Good Part which Shall not be Taken Away," follows:

"She dwells by the Great Kanawha's side,
In valleys green and cool;
And all her hope and all her pride
Are in the village school.

"Her soul, like the transparent air
That robes the hills above,
Though not of earth, encircles there
All things with arms of love.

"And thus she walks among her girls
With praise and mild rebukes;
Subduing e'en rude village churls
By her angelic looks.

"She reads to them at eventide
Of One who came to save;
To cast the captive's chain aside
And liberate the slave.

"And oft the blessed time foretells
When all men shall be free;
And musical as silver bells
Their falling chains shall be.

"And following her beloved Lord
In decent poverty,
She makes her life one sweet record
And deed of charity.

"For she was rich, and gave up all
To break the iron bands
Of those who waited in her hall
And labored in her lands.

"Long since beyond the southern sea
The outbound sails have sped,
While she in meek humility
Now earns her daily bread.

"It is their prayers, which never cease,
That clothe her with such grace.
Their blessing is the light of peace
That shines upon her face."

No large slave owners lived west of the Alleghanies in Western Virginia. The slaves came into the region with their masters one or two at a time, and were fairly evenly dispersed over the region, and slowly increasing in numbers from the first settlement up to 1850, and then declining until 1860. The decrease from 1850 to 1860 exceeded ten per cent. The reason for that sharp decline is not apparent, unless

due to selling in large numbers to dealers who carried them south to work in the cottonfields. A comparison of the increase in the white and slave populations in territory now embraced in West Virginia from 1790 to 1860 is shown in per cent. as follows:

From 1790 to 1800,	white increase	40,	slave	54.
From 1800 to 1810,	" "	35,	"	51.
From 1810 to 1820,	" "	39,	"	40.
From 1820 to 1830,	" "	32,	"	17.
From 1830 to 1840,	" "	25,	"	5.
From 1840 to 1850,	" "	35,	"	11.
From 1850 to 1860,	" "	19,	" decrease	10.

The percentage of increase from decade to decade averages higher in the white than in the slave population, ending for the latter in an actual decline in numbers between 1850 and 1860. If the showing has any positive meaning, it indicates that slavery in what is now West Virginia was dying out under the pressure of circumstances which were unfavorable to the perpetuation of the institution. Had West Virginia been free from a political connection with Virginia, and had no general emancipation occurred, there can be but little doubt that the state would soon have freed itself of slavery as Pennsylvania and other northern states had done long before. The sentiment against it was very strong west of the Alleghanies, except in a small portion of the Kanawha valley. Bishop Meade says otherwise, but his conclusion must have been based upon a misinterpretation of the data in his possession. Every vote that was taken before the Civil war, and which in any way reflected the sentiment of the people, showed that the western people did not want slavery. The vote told only part of the story, at least in the early years of the republic, for during those years a large part of the western men were disfranchised by Virginia's unequal laws, and never had an opportunity to record their sentiments at the ballot box. The men thus disfranchised were the ones who would most certainly have opposed slavery. They were poor men who could not meet the property qualification demanded by the eastern politicians who had the framing of the laws. The poor man had no reason to like slavery. It degraded him to the level of the slave—and lower, for the slave's master could vote for the slave, and the poor man had no one to vote for him. The first time the people west of the Alleghanies ever had a fair and square chance to show how they stood on slavery, was when they were called upon to shoulder muskets and help crush it forever. They gave no uncertain answer that time, and they spoke in a language which the advocates of slavery could understand.

During the debate in the Virginia legislature on the subject of emancipation, one of the speakers answered the argument of a western opponent thus:

> "The dark wave of negro slavery which haunts your imagination, has rolled against the mountains for generations and has cast only a slight spray beyond. The foot of the negro delights not in the dew of the mountain grass. He is the child of the sandy desert. The burning sun gives him life and vigor; and his step is most joyous in the arid plain."

It was not so much the slave's dislike of the "mountain dew" that kept him from the western parts of Virginia as it was the mountain men's dislike of slavery.

A few negroes went over the mountains with their masters very early; and, considering that their numbers were small, they did much to defend the region against Indians, and to clear it and make it habitable. Jacob Warwick's slave Ben has been already mentioned. Another named

Dick perhaps saved the occupants of Donnelly's fort in Greenbrier county from massacre in 1777, when he fired a musket loaded with swan shot into the faces of the Indians as they were trying to enter the fort's open gate. In another instance a slave performed almost exactly similar service with like results when he loaded his musket with nails and fired at close range into a mob of Indians. In Tygart's valley, when the attacking savages had succeeded in setting fire to the roof of a house in which the slave was the only man to defend many women and children, he succeeded in extinguishing the fire, and also in temporarily driving the Indians back, until he released the horses from a burning stable. When Minear's fort at St. George in Tucker county was surrounded by Indians, it was a slave who marched round and round the yard beating a drum so defiantly that the savages were afraid to attack. It was Ebenezer Zane's slave at Wheeling during the second siege of Fort Henry whose well-aimed shot sent an Indian incendiary howling into the darkness as he was about to apply a torch to the Zane blockhouse. A slave who was bookkeeper in Colonel Benjamin Wilson's woolen mill in Harrison county about 1820, subsequently became the property of General Samuel Houston in Texas. The Rio Grande was all that separated him from freedom, for Mexico had no slaves. He made a dash for liberty and disappeared south of the Rio Grande. When General Scott went up against the Mexican defenders of the city of Mexico, some of the sharpest fighting was done by a cavalry regiment under a negro colonel who proved to be the old Harrison county slave. He had a good chance to meet an old acquaintance, for General Stonewall Jackson, also from Harrison county, was in General Scott's army on that occasion.

The Mountain Barrier—The mountain barrier which crossed Virginia from north to south, and consisted of the parallel ranges of the Appalachian chain, has been spoken of in other chapters of this book. Its check upon the tide of emigration westward in early times was discussed in the chapter dealing with pioneer settlements; its influence upon road building was treated under the discussion of primitive highways, and again in the account of the building of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. There remains something that may be said in regard to the effect of the mountain ranges upon the spread of slavery toward the west, in the years when Virginia's "peculiar institution" was seeking new fields which it might occupy, and over which it could expand. In early time Virginia had more slaves than any other state; and in time the sandy tracts of the eastern part of the commonwealth became crowded beyond the point of profit; and yet the vacant lands beyond the mountains did not succeed in attracting very many slaves. Some of the reasons have already been given.

The fact that ranges of mountains stood in the way was not sufficient reason why slaves did not go west. They could climb the mountains as easily at white men did it, if the mere physical act of climbing was all that was necessary. But that was not all. Business did not readily cross the Alleghanies; and the slave owner looked out for business connections which would turn labor into money. He asked himself what a slave could do in the transalleghany country that would turn cash into the master's pocket. Franklin's rosy picture of commerce crossing the mountains between his proposed Vandalia colony and the eastern markets, was never realized. It turned out to be the one occasion in Franklin's life when he dreamed dreams and saw visions. The Virginia slave owner in the east looked eagerly and waited long to see the caravans of commerce filing to and fro across the mountains, but he never saw them. The few slaves whose masters had carried them to the Monongahela and the Kanawha were not doing much more than support the

families of their masters. They produced little that would pay transportation charges, except salt, for the boiling of which they cut some of the cordwood. With no lines of communication across the mountains, better than steep, rocky, rutted wagon roads, and few of them, there was no encouragement to grow anything with slave labor in the west to be sent east. There was an open avenue in the other direction. The Monongahela and the Kanawha flowed to the Ohio, and the Ohio emptied its waters in the Mississippi, and the great father of waters flowed to the gulf of Mexico; but what did that promise in the way of a market for the products of slave labor between the Alleghanies and the Ohio? The whole southern Mississippi valley was filled with slaves, and what they were producing was nearer the markets, and it was an evident fact that slave labor on the upper Ohio, one or two thousand miles farther from market, would have no chance in competition with Mississippi slaves.

The masters in eastern Virginia might cast covetous eyes upon western Virginia land which could be bought at ten cents or less per acre, but there stood the impassable mountains, across whose three thousand foot summits trade could not go; and there was no promise of profit in trade down the rivers the other way. It had to be acknowledged that the Alleghanies stood in the way of slavery. They were a wall which the free white man could cross easily enough—for it was his purpose to provide a home for his family and to support his children on the little farm—but the slave master could not get over, for he saw no dollars on the other side in the line of business in which he was engaged. Instead of sending his slaves across the ranges, he sold them south to the cottonfields, or continued to herd them on his own deteriorating tobacco plantations. West Virginia was saved in part from the curse of slavery, thanks to its everlasting mountain barrier. Had the geography been different, had the Potomac completed its "cut back" through the remaining ridge of the Alleghanies at the Fairfax Stone (which, geologically speaking, it has almost accomplished) and turned the upper Monongahela drainage through the pass down the Potomac, there would have been a passage through the mountains and slavery would have gone to the Ohio. Fortunately, the geological agencies were too slow, and the slave master met a mountain through which there was no passage.

There were other barriers in the way of the extension of Virginia's "peculiar institution" toward the west. These may be called the ethical lines which ran north and south. Some of the principal Appalachian valleys trend north and south, following the folds in the mountain ranges. Immigration came from the north—a little from the south also, through the Carolinas—and followed those valleys. The people who occupied those strategic positions were different from the slave-holding aristocracy of lower Virginia. They were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, German Lutherans and Moravians, and English and Welsh, and other nationalities and religions who were not in sympathy with slavery, nor in sympathy with the bulk of slaveholders on a good many other points. Therefore, the lines of their settlements stretching north and south in the trough-like valleys, are called ethical lines. They were by no means imaginary quantities to be discussed only in the abstract. They resisted the pressure of slavery that would have moved westward, and they formed a barrier against it.

In the chapter in this book dealing with religious history in Western Virginia, some of the influences which churches exerted in behalf of greater religious and political freedom were discussed. The influences of some of the denominations did not stop at political and religious

liberty, but went far enough to express themselves in behalf of freedom for slaves. The churches which stood up most vigorously for liberty for the black man as well as for the white, were strongest in the mountain regions, that is, in the back part of Virginia, from the Blue Ridge westward. As far as numbers went, the Methodist Episcopal Church was probably the most outspoken, most uncompromising in its opposition to slavery. It was very weak in numbers at the close of the Revolutionary war, and its influence was small, but it grew rapidly, and in a few decades it became a power which could make its influence felt. The stand which it took made it strong in regions where slavery was unpopular, and weak where sentiment in favor of slavery prevailed. It soon became a power among the western mountains, and its influence did much to keep slavery away. The Baptists, Presbyterians, and also practically all denominations in which the German element was large, were not much behind the Methodists in opposition to slavery, though some of them did not so frequently or so loudly lift their voices against it.

The Episcopal Church had little to say in opposition to slavery, and it was very slow to gain a foothold west of the mountains. Rev. Joseph Doddridge about 1824 lamented the feeble footsteps of that denomination toward the Ohio; and about thirty years later Bishop Meade made the same complaint and discussed at some length what he supposed were the reasons why the church was so slow in gaining a foothold west of the Alleghanies. The difficulty of keeping slaves in a region bordering on free states was introduced in the discussion. The stand which that church took could scarcely be expected to be otherwise. By common consent it was the most aristocratic church in Virginia, and the Virginia aristocracy was made up, almost without exception, of slaveholders or of those who were willing to tolerate slavery. The church was not able to cross the mountains in much force, or to gain firm foothold in Western Virginia until slavery became a thing of the past.

CHAPTER XIII

ANTAGONISTIC ELEMENTS

The division of Virginia in 1863, and the formation of West Virginia, has no parallel in the history of this country. It was unique and peculiar in many ways. Comparatively few lawyers were aware of the fact that the United States constitution provided for division of a state under such circumstances. In fact, few supposed that such circumstances would ever arise. Some have erroneously supposed that the Civil war provided the reason and the machinery for dividing the state; but such was not the case. The reason existed long before the Civil war, and the United States constitution supplied the machinery which accomplished the division.

This chapter does not propose to deal with the actual work of dividing the state after the war began. Other chapters treat of that matter. But the purpose of this is to show that events had been moving for more than fifty years toward that end, not vague, theoretical arguments and abstract polemics, but actual, concrete happenings and declarations. Antagonistic ideas existed. The part of Virginia east of the mountains did not pull harmoniously with the part west. Differences were so deep seated and had so long existed that hostility between the sections had developed long before the Civil war. That want of harmony was so fixed and was so deeply rooted that the western people despaired of ever being able to live in peace with the east, unless they should meekly submit to the terms which the east laid down in business and politics. Those terms could not be accepted with profit in business or honor in politics. The condition created in the western part of the state a desire for political separation from the east; and as to business separation, it was early accomplished, as will be shown on future pages. The lines along which antagonistic elements were most clearly brought out were, Commerce, Education, Habits of the People, and Politics. The basis and extent of each of these will be discussed in turn, to show why Western Virginia wished a separation from the eastern part, and why sentiments favorable to such separation had long existed west of the Alleghanies. It will also be shown how and why the people of the old part of the state refused to let the western people go; but, like Pharoah of Egypt, they hardened their hearts and stiffened their necks, and invited fate. It came, and when it came the people beyond the mountains found their deliverance.

Commerce—One of the earliest grounds for antagonism between eastern and western Virginia grew out of trade relations. In that long contest, the west was clearly right, and the east was no less clearly wrong. The wealthy eastern Virginians had inherited the British idea of trade, viz., that all outlying regions must subserve the interests of the home government. British statesmen tried to compel the colonies to sacrifice their interests to promote the interests of home merchants. Virginia—that is, the eastern part of the state which unfortunately assumed that it was the only part of Virginia that was worth any consideration—dropped into the habit of thinking that the western portion of the state existed, and had a right to exist, only for the benefit of the east. The early commercial importance of Baltimore excited the jealousy of Virginia statesmen. They wanted to see Richmond rival and surpass the

Maryland metropolis as a trade center. That was a commendable ambition, and no fault should be found with Virginians for indulging that hope. But their weak point was that they took no practical steps to realize their ambition. There were many fine politicians in Virginia, but few good business men. Great commercial centers are built up by business activity and sagacity, not by the machinations of politicians. If Virginia could have exchanged some of her superabundant statesmen of the political type for a few sensible men of business, Richmond might have rivaled Baltimore as a trade center. One of the first steps would have been to build roads connecting Richmond with the vast region beyond the mountains; and at the same time, provide merchandise in eastern Virginia for exchange with the people of the west. Trade would have gone to Richmond, and the western people would have done their buying there. Loaded caravans would have moved both ways. There can be no permanent trade or prosperity as long as wagons, or cars, or ships, go laden one way and empty the other. The Virginia politicians utterly ignored that law of trade. They did worse than ignore it —they despised it. They demanded the western trade, but they took no adequate steps to bring it about or to make it possible. Utterly blind to the necessities of business, as far as the western country was concerned, the eastern Virginians—after the great Washington died and his scheme of roads across the mountains died—settled down in their little world, and believed that everything had to come to them. They envied the growth of Baltimore, but failed to understand why Richmond remained a town.

It is true that Virginia spent and squandered vast sums of money in what its politicians called internal improvements, such as turnpikes, plank roads, canals, and railroads. In the language of one of her own politicians these improvements began everywhere and ended nowhere. They criss-crossed the region around and contiguous to the state capital. They reached the base of the western mountains. They afforded easy means of travel, and fine driveways on which Virginia gentlemen could exercise their blooded horses. But they opened little territory whose trade was not already tributary to Virginia towns on tide water. The improvements were constructed with borrowed money. Debts were piled up far beyond the power of honest revenues of the state to pay. Though practically none of the improvements were of value to people west of the mountains, yet long after the separation of the two sections, suits were carried to the court of last resort in an effort to compel West Virginia to pay for one-third of Virginia's foolish efforts to build up a commercial center to rival Baltimore.

Meanwhile, the commercial policy of Baltimore struck out to accomplish results. Its business men saw the enormous undeveloped wealth in transmontane Virginia, and the Baltimore and Ohio railroad was commenced,—one of the earliest in the world—and it aimed its course straight toward the mountains and the Ohio river beyond. Baltimore engineers were reporting the coal field beyond the Alleghanies in Western Virginia at a time when probably not a politician at Richmond knew or cared anything about the coal. Baltimore was after it. Virginia had nothing better than a few poor wagon roads, and several trails over the Alleghanies. It is not to be wondered at that the Virginians west of the mountains, even as early as the first surveys of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, 1828, were turning from the non-progressive eastern part of the state and looking with sympathy upon offers of trade relations with cities further north which were undertaking to develop the region. The idea of the separation of western Virginia from the east did not

begin there—it was considerably earlier—but it grew and became strong when the northern cities opened the way for trade.

The Virginia politicians were quick enough to see what the result would be if the Baltimore and Ohio railroad penetrated into western Virginia and made that region's development possible. Its trade would go to Baltimore; and the next step would be a political separation from the east. That was what was feared at Richmond. Virginia wished to hold the territory all the way to the Ohio river, but it must not be developed, for they knew it could not then be held in political vassalage. The steady progress of the railroad toward the mountains spelt trouble, in the opinion of the Richmond law makers. They were willing that it should be constructed to the eastern base of the mountains, but no farther. A long series of opposition began at Richmond. The fear was that western trade would be diverted to Baltimore. It was a dog in the manger policy at Richmond. The Virginians would not open up the over-mountain country to commerce, and showed a determination that no one else should do it. The chapter in this book which gives the history of the building of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, enters somewhat minutely into the difficulties that delayed the road twenty years, and a repetition is not necessary here. There were men in Virginia as late as 1850 and 1860 who would gladly have destroyed the railroad where it occupied Virginia soil west of the mountains.

The first trade over the mountains in Virginia was by pack-horses, and no expensive highways were needed. Pack trails might cross the mountains almost anywhere, but they generally pursued the easiest routes. Virginians had no cause to complain that they did not get a reasonable share of that western trade; but there was not much of it, and of even that small trade Maryland and Pennsylvania received part. When wagons took the place of pack-horses in carrying the over-mountain business, Virginia still held much of it, for Winchester in the Shenandoah valley was for a long time the gathering place of supplies for the region beyond the mountains, and wagons from the west hauled the stuff to its destination; but Winchester was not much of a manufacturing center, and most that was sold there was made somewhere else, and very little in Virginia. Most that went to Winchester came from Baltimore direct, or from Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York by way of Alexandria, which had water communication with those cities. Neither Richmond nor any other town or locality in Virginia was getting much profitable business from beyond the mountains. That was the period when the state was in the height of its internal improvement building. In earlier times the lower part of the state had regarded the Shenandoah valley as too far west to be safe as a political power if it should become rich and populous; and during a long period of years little effort was made to develop it or get in touch with it. But in course of time the Virginia statesmen concluded that it was better policy to conciliate that region, and secure its political allegiance rather than to neglect it, and make its people indifferent or hostile. Accordingly, the internal improvements extended a little west of the Blue Ridge, and the people were, in a measure, tied to the political destinies of Richmond. But the policy of conciliating and cultivating friendly relations extended no farther west. It never crossed the Alleghanies. The Richmond politicians were ready to tax the people beyond the mountains, but wanted no further dealings with them. Friendly business relations were not desired, and no steps were taken for business intercourse across the mountains. Once or twice, a little donation was handed out grudgingly in the way of a pike, but not until circumstances forced it. When the National Road was built from Cumberland, Maryland, to the Ohio

river, Virginia took measures to construct the Northwestern turnpike from Winchester to Parkersburg as an offset. It was hoped that this road would divert some of the western trade from the northern cities; but the road was so long in building that it reached the Ohio river only a little ahead of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, and, of course, after that time it cut very little figure in trade. In the Virginia constitutional convention of 1829 John Randolph, who was the personification of all that was political and non-progressive in eastern Virginia, adduced figures to show that the part of the state west of the mountains was developing so rapidly that it would soon become dangerous to eastern control. "Eastern Virginia," says Hall in "Rending of Virginia," "always possessed a full endowment of the selfishness and blindness to its own true interests inherent in aristocratic communities. The aristocrat takes in only the little circle of which he deems himself the center, regarding all outside of it as alien or hostile. Virginia was controlled by the belief that its narrow, peculiar society and civil system, based on slave labor and English tradition, was the flower of political and social wisdom. The commoner people of the west, growing in harmony with the genius of the great free republic, were regarded as inimical to eastern interests; and accordingly the east sought to keep this 'peasant' population under due control by repressive provisions, constitutional and statutory, denying them their due share in representation, and imposing on them more than their due share of taxes."

The shortsightedness of those who persisted in the policy of discouraging development in the western part of the state, is difficult to understand in the present time. It illustrates the difference between a statesman, and a mere politician. It ought to have been apparent that the western country was bound to grow, that it would produce something to sell, and that a market and a road to market would be found. Sound business judgment ought to have suggested to the politicians of the east that the regions west of the mountains were too near the Ohio river, with Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and New Orleans in reach, to care much what obstacles lay in the way of trade toward the east. With the building of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad to the Ohio, the region west of the mountains became independent of Richmond. Trade could not have been diverted from Baltimore to Richmond after that period, no matter how earnestly the whole of eastern Virginia had labored to bring it about. The day for that had passed. All that the politicians had accomplished by their policy of locking the resources of Western Virginia up, was to open a door elsewhere. For twenty-five years preceding the Civil war there was practically no intercourse between the eastern and the western parts of Virginia, except in matters relating to legislation and the revenue. Few western Virginians visited Richmond, and when they did go there they felt like strangers in a strange land. They had no business acquaintances there as many of them had in Baltimore, where they sold their cattle and bought merchandise. Few eastern Virginians crossed the mountains into Western Virginia. The line of business separation was drawn a quarter of a century before the act of political separation was accomplished. In 1862 Senator Waitman T. Willey of Monongalia county, speaking in the United States senate in favor of the admission of West Virginia as a state, said:

"These counties of Western Virginia, knocking for admission into the Union as a new state, contain in rich abundance all the elements of a great commonwealth. Why have they remained undeveloped in the oldest state of the American Union? Why are our mines unworked? Why are our waterfalls forever wasting away, unappreciated by the skill of man, chafing and foaming in their channels, as if in conscious rage at the neglect? The answer to these questions is an irrefutable

argument in favor of the division desired. Unless the state is divided, these natural resources of wealth and power will forever remain undeveloped. Is this just to the people there? Is it just to the country at large? Thus we present our claims for this new state. We pray you to grant your assent. Then will our invaluable virgin mines invite the espousal of your surplus capital, and our perennial streams will lend their exhaustless power to your manufacturing skill."

Education—The stand which eastern Virginia took in popular education created a spirit of antagonism between the east and the west. Free education was never popular with the tidewater aristocrats of the state. An early governor thanked God that there were no free schools in Virginia, and something of that spirit prevailed in the state until very recent times. A fund for educational purposes was provided, but it was looked upon more as a charity fund than as something to which the people had a right. There were few states, if any, that made as poor a showing as Virginia in matters of education, before the Civil war. The fund was inadequate and it was expended in a manner calculated to irritate rather than please those who received the benefit of it.

The wealthy plantation owners of lower Virginia were able to provide teachers for their children. Many were sent to England and France to be educated. Had all the people been able to do that, no objection could be urged; but the mass of the people were unable to provide such advantages for theirs. They saw the children of the rich receive the best that money could buy; but those in moderate circumstances and those who were poor, received little or no education in too many instances. The idea that primary education should be supported by general taxation was slow in gaining a foothold in Virginia where the population was divided in castes, and the rich believed that all good things should come to them, and that the poor ought to be satisfied to take what was left. In the western portion of the state there were many who had little property, but nevertheless they felt that they suffered injustice in being denied the right and opportunity to educate their children.

When the Shenandoah valley was the western frontier, and before settlements had been established west of the Alleghanies, a desire for learning was shown in the west. The people on both sides of the Blue Ridge appreciated culture. It was a little different in character from that which the wealthy eastern slaveholders provided for their children, but it was not inferior to it. Teachers of high class came from the north into western Virginia at an early day—not west of the Alleghany mountains, but in the back part of Virginia as it existed at that time. Men from Princeton and Yale came into the region, founded schools, and sent out scholars of the highest class. That is apparent from the fact that this region furnished one of the presidents of Yale, Rev. Samuel Davies. The people who then constituted the frontier population were cast in a different mold from those in tidewater Virginia. They came principally from the north. The claim that they were mentally superior to the slave-holding aristocrats of the lower part of the state is probably not justified, but certain it is that they were not inferior in intellect, and were superior in energy, enterprise, and in progressive ideas, to the men who ruled the politics of the state and shaped every governmental policy. Had the western men been in power, they would have done something substantial for general education. They believed in it. The east did not believe in it, and did practically nothing for it.

Most of the settlers on the west side of the Alleghanies were of the same class as those who settled in the Shenadoah valley, and they held similar ideas on the subject of education. They were made to feel the full effect of the eastern slaveholder's hostility to popular education. In

the opinion of many in tidewater Virginia, no good thing could exist west of the Alleghanies. The small fund expended in that region for schools, was doled out as though it was an alms house fund; and, of course, it provided little education for anybody. Those who were able to hire instructors for their children, did so; those who could not do it, accepted what little the state gave, or did without. The belief that a wrong was inflicted upon them, was firmly fixed. As the years went on, and the western Virginians observed the progress of popular education in the neighboring states of Ohio and Pennsylvania, and the lack of progress in Virginia, it was but natural that discontent and complaint should exist. Settlers had almost ceased to locate in Western Virginia. Thousands passed by and settled farther west. They did not care to identify themselves with a state which looked upon the education of the masses as undesirable, and which doled out the pittance set apart for educational purposes as though it was a paupers' fund. Antagonism toward Eastern Virginia—the political center of the state—grew in the west; particularly in what is now the northern part of the state of West Virginia. It is not surprising that one of the earliest movements to divide the state, proposed to cut off about 8,000 square miles of the north and add it to Pennsylvania or to Maryland. The region sympathized with the north, with progress, with political freedom, and with educational opportunities for all. Sympathy with the east did not exist generally among the peope of northwestern Virginia; and loyalty to the state government rested on a sense of duty, and not upon a foundation of common interests.

Some time before the Civil war, Henry A. Wise in a speech that was listened to by men from west of the mountains, advocated the use of the education fund for equipping a military force. Some of his hearers understood this to mean a standing army for Virginia, and it produced a settled conviction that some of the politicians of the east meant to found a military power with money taken from the fund provided for schools for poor people. Whether the speaker's language was misunderstood, or his meaning misconstrued, or not, the effect was the same. The speech was quoted west of the mountains as proof that the ruling class in Virginia would not hesitate to destroy popular education and build up a military machine; and it was believed that the purpose of the backers of the scheme was to fix their policies by force where they could not be quickly put in execution otherwise.

In one thing the government of Virginia was consistent. It provided no better popular education in the east than in the west. Whenever anything was done along that line, it was treated as though it was a work of charity. The poor white children in the Black Belt—the region where slavery was at its worst, south of James river—received no more schooling than the children on the Greenbrier and the Monongahela. The only inconsistency in that matter was that proportionately more taxes were collected from the western than from the eastern people. They carried more than their just share of the burden; but that was the custom. Taxes were unjustly laid. Much slave property was exempt, or was undervalued; and the difference was made up by catching in a dragnet everything in the west that could be made to pay taxes. This was so well understood that the western people knew that they were paying more than their share of the school fund, which was apportioned among the people of the east and the west. Slaves under twelve years old were not taxed, and slaves over that age were usually assessed at one-half or one-third of their selling value. Since the bulk of eastern property consisted of slaves, these exemptions and under valuations amounted to very large amounts. The bulk of property in the west was not slaves, but cattle, horses, land, grain, and other things produced by free labor. This prop-

erty paid the tax gatherer on its full value. Thus it was that the west bore an unjust share of the expense, not only of its own schools, but also of those in the east.

Habits—An incompatibility of temperament existed between the people of eastern and western Virginia. Habits for generations had developed antagonistic characteristics. Their ways of thinking and of acting were different. Their views of life and its duties were not similar. A life of amusement and idleness on the part of one did not fit well with the life of another whose days were filled with labor and whose thoughts dwelt, from force of circumstances, on serious affairs. The people of eastern Virginia believed their mission on earth was to rule others; the typical man beyond the western mountains was sure that he was born his own ruler. The tidewater landlord's idea was to force others to accept his opinion; but the mountaineer's different training made him a believer of the doctrine that every man is free to accept the opinions of others or not, as he chooses.

Among settlers of the mountain regions who regarded themselves free and equal, there were no strata in society. A man's industry and honesty counted; and a little more or a little less money or property cut little figure. Family pride did not go far enough to countenance and uphold degenerate relatives because of the name. Hard work was the prevailing habit with all. Only with persistent labor could the necessaries of life be extorted from rough and stubborn nature. The people were sociable, but in most places, at least in the early years, there was little society except such as a few neighbors could create. Friendships were strong and not exclusive. No man asked whether an acquaintance was rich or poor. It made no difference, as far as comradeship was concerned. Dress was plain, manners not polished, education usually very moderate, morality up to the average, but by no means saintly. Every man knew his neighbor and helped him if he needed help. There was a free and easy hospitality which was open to all respectable people without inquiry into their antecedents. Such sports as the people had were largely of the gladiatorial type. They were inclined to be rough and noisy. Running, wrestling, and fighting were common. Courage, and strength of muscle and bone, were admired. Too frequently, perhaps, these were allowed to outweigh strength of mind and power of intellect. Time and circumstances made that a natural result. The ox that dragged the logs from the clearing in the western wilderness was to the mountaineer what the eastern Virginian's race horse was to him, —a companion. Yet the western man was no more a brother to the ox than the eastern man was a brother to the horse. Each was using the best available brute to accomplish the purpose he had in view: the race horse for amusement, the ox for assistance in accomplishing life's most serious work.

The western people were generally poor, but did not know it. Many of the eastern men were rich, and never failed to know it. Each put his heart where his treasure was; the eastern man's in his money, his amusement, and his social standing; the western man's in his home, his work, and his country.

William P. Willey, professor of law in the West Virginia University thus speaks of the characteristics of the eastern Virginians in his "Formation of West Virginia":

"The people of eastern and western Virginia were never homogeneous. They were as far apart in tastes and temperament as by geographical conditions. Their peoples were of a different ancestry, different habits, different tastes, different manners and modes of life. The population of the western section had come largely from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New Jersey. They constituted the Yankee ele-

ment of the state. They had nothing in common with the population of the eastern section, and the enforced isolation only served to make this fact more evident and the unnatural alliance more odious.

"The eastern Virginian was, and is, and always has been a very peculiar type of American citizen. He was an aristocrat by nature. He banked on his blood. His title to nobility rose in proportion to the intimacy of his alliance with the first families of Virginia. He was as proud of his ancestry as the jockey of the pedigree of his horse. Caste was as well defined and pronounced in the population as under an absolute monarchy. The poor white trash had no standing that a member of the first families of Virginia was wont to respect. Many of the notions that obtained under the old feudal system, when the baron built a castle and walled himself in from the vulgar contact of the plebian and put on great pomp and ceremony, seemed to have been imported to Virginia. The lordly owner of a Virginia plantation surrounded himself with slaves, and established himself in a mansion that was as inaccessible to the common herd as a feudal castle. Nor were his personal dignity and self-esteem less exalted than a feudal lord's. He had a knightly chivalry that would brook no trifling with his dignity. The slightest insinuation against his dignity or honor subjected the offender to the alternative of responding to a challenge to a duel, or being branded as a coward.

"But with all this prevalent caste, the representative Virginian had many nobler traits. He was the very personification of hospitality to his own class. He flocked with his own kind. In his own home he dispensed a princely hospitality. He was fond of society. He was the ideal gentleman in dress and manners; ceremonious, but big hearted. He loved his friends and hated his enemies. He had leisure and liked to talk. He would talk entertainingly without limit. His taste ran to blooded horses and politics, and his leisure gave him opportunity to study both. He knew much of party politics and public questions, and his convictions on such matters were as fixed and unalterable as a rule of mathematics. He was loyal to his party friends and meant extermination to his political foes. His choleric temperament and profonud convictions made him a natural orator. When he went upon the hustings during a political campaign, he gave an entertaining performance, even to those who disagreed with him. Few better specimens of the highest style of the orator have ever been heard than some who have grown up spontaneously from the Virginia soil. It was a florid, fervid, inimitable speech that no scholarship or training could produce or bestow. It had in it a touch of nature that could not be counterfeited. It appealed to a hearer's inner self as only spontaneous speech can. It was, unhappily, a kind of oratory not often heard in these matter-of-fact political times."

The hundred years which measured the time between the earliest settlements west of the Alleghanies and the division of the state, did nothing to reconcile the antagonistic elements in the eastern and western populations. Habits grew and hardened. Lines of cleavage became more fixed. Every wedge tending to separation was driven deeper by the weight of years. The old generations in passing bequeathed their likes and dislikes to the new. The interest on the debt of antipathy went on compounding. The eastern flint continued to strike fire from the western steel, and it was only a question of time when the explosion would come. Conciliation would not have been impossible early in the century; but when the eastern habit of injustice had reached a veteran age with no sign of weakening, and the western habit of mistrust and hatred had become second nature, the parting of the ways was inevitable.

Policies—Antagonistic elements in politics always existed in the eastern and western parts of Virginia. In the chapter in the book on constitutional history the beginning and progress of the antagonistic elements are discussed. The west was so universally discriminated against in legislation that the course could not do otherwise than engender opposition west of the mountains; and the contempt which eastern politicians showed for the opposition angered the mountaineers. The eastern lawmakers and politicians believed that the region beyond the mountains was so weak that it could not defend itself or help itself, when the east saw fit to domineer over it. Effective measures were planned to keep it weak. An unjust property qualification was placed in the statutes which had scarcely any effect in the east, but bore heavily west of the mountains,

and resulted in the disfranchisement of many voters. One of the favorite measures of eastern politicians was to continue restrictions in such a way as to keep down the western vote to a point where it would have no effect as against the property vote of the east. Western men had little chance for political advancement. The east saw to it that it not only did most of the voting but also held most of the offices, and kept the power entirely in its own hands. In course of time some minor concessions were made to Western Virginia, but not until the growing power beyond the mountains forced the concessions. They were then made grudgingly.

Some of the western men were at times to blame for the shabby treatment accorded the mountaineers. Weak men sometimes slipped into the legislature from the western counties, and cast their votes the way their eastern masters desired. That gave a semblance of color to the pretension that the west was reasonably well satisfied with what it was getting. The bait held out to those weak and infirm western members was some small internal improvement or favor in their section. In return for that they voted for all the graft that went to the east. Fortunately, such cases were not very numerous.

The southern half of what is now West Virginia was much less firm in its opposition to the tyranny of the east than the northern half was. The southern part of the state had less of the Pennsylvania element in it, fewer Scotch-Irish and Germans, and it felt less call to oppose the will of the politicians east of the Blue Ridge. That was one of the reasons why it was proposed to leave the southern region as a part of Virginia when one of the early division schemes would have added the northern part of Pennsylvania or Maryland.

There were men in Western Virginia who were sometimes willing to go out of their way to assure the eastern politicians that the land beyond the mountains was not antagonistic, but was sympathetic with the east's course. A burst of that sentiment occurred in the secession convention at Richmond in 1861, and it came from men who were not accustomed to declare their approval of the worst element in Eastern Virginia politics. That was before the ordinance of secession was passed, and the avowal of western men that they sympathized with Virginia's fight up to that time may have been for the purpose of gaining support for themselves in the fight which they believed would come later—and which did come later. Chester Hubbard assured the convention that he was a "Virginian from the Chesapeake to the Ohio, and on both sides of the James river." Waitman T. Willey went much further than that in his affirmation of loyalty to Virginia and "all our institutions." The words quoted meant slavery. He made a long address on that occasion, and in the course of his remarks declared that the northwest was ready, or would be ready, to send ten thousand men down to Richmond to help the Virginians fight. Mr. Willey's exact words, as given in Hall's "Rending of Virginia," were as follows:

> "When the last resort must come—when the proper appeal to the law and the constitution has failed to redress the grievances of the east—when her oppressions are intolerable—I tell you the northwest will send you ten thousand men, with hearts as brave and arms as strong as ever bore the banner of freemen; and they will rally to her support and seize by violence, if you see proper to call it so, or rescue by revolution, what we could not get by means of law. We are with the gentleman from Princess Anne [Henry A. Wise] in that regard. We do not always understand what is meant by the right of secession; we do not understand what is meant by the right of revolution; but when the proper cause arises, there are men in West Virginia who will stand by the right to the last extremity."

It is difficult to understand how Senator Willey happened to make that speech, so out of harmony with his work afterwards. It seems that

for the moment he lost his bearings and drifted dangerously near the whirlpool of secession; but he speedily recovered; and when the Northwest sent down to Richmond the ten thousand men which he promised, they marched under the Stars and Stripes, and the secession movement got no aid or comfort from them.

In the whole course of Western Virginia's history, from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the formation of the state in 1863, the political ideas of most of the people were out of harmony with the theories and deeds of the eastern slave-holding politicians. There were exceptions, but lack of harmony was the rule. When the Civil war brought the supreme test, it was found that the Kanawha valley and the southern part of what is now West Virginia, were less in sympathy with the policy pursued by Eastern Virginia than was supposed. At the outbreak of the war Henry A. Wise was sent there to enlist forces for the confederacy. After he tried it a short time he wrote to General Lee:

> "I am falling back to Covington. The Kanawha valley is wholly disaffected and traitorous. It was gone from Charleston down to Point Pleasant before I got there. Boone and Cabell are nearly as bad, and the state of things in Braxton, Nicholas, and part of Greenbrier is awful. The militia are nothing for warlike purposes here. They are worthless who are true, and there is no telling who is true. You cannot persuade these people that Virginia can or will ever reconquer the northwest, and they are submitting, subdued, and debased. I have fallen back not a minute too soon."

The reception accorded one of Virginia's most pronounced politicians in the Kanawha valley shows how the sympathies of the people really stood. There were more slaves in Kanawha and Greenbrier counties than in any other in the state west of the mountains; but even there the Confederacy could muster few friends. If further evidence were needed of Western Virginia's feeling toward the spirit which ruled the eastern part of the state at the beginning of the Civil war, the vote on the ordinance of secession will in part show it; but not fully, for many a man who would have voted against that measure was not permitted to do so. About 44,000 votes were cast in what is now West Virginia on May 23, 1861, in the election held to ratify or reject the ordinance of secession. Of these, 400 were for ratification, and 40,000 against; ten to one. In some counties the vote against it was 22 to 1.

Schemes for Division—The plan for dividing Virginia which was successfully carried out in 1863 when West Virginia was created from the territory cut from the old state, was not the first effort made to bring about that result, but was the culmination of efforts which had been going on for almost one hundred years. In the present chapter it is not the purpose to discuss the actual division consummated during the Civil war, for that is treated elsewhere in this book; but to treat of some former schemes and to show that there long had been sentiment more or less active in favor of dividing Virginia and forming a province of its western part. To go back to the beginning of that movement is to go back almost to the beginning of the white man's knowledge of the region west of the mountains. The fact that nature placed ranges of mountains across the western part of Virginia, separating the rivers of the Atlantic from those which bore away southwest, suggested to thoughtful minds that the summits of those ranges formed a convenient and ready-made boundary between an eastern and a western state. The French explorers recognized it very early, and they thought of the Alleghany mountains as a line upon which both the English and the French might agree. When Celeron buried lead plates on the eastern bank of the Ohio river, he had that line in view. When the French planned military establishments on the Greenbrier river, it was for the purpose of putting into practice

their theory that the mountains ought to be the dividing line, and they wished to take a position at the very base of the main Alleghany range, where the Greenbrier river flows parallel with it. The founding of the Ohio Company about the time that the Frenchmen were burying their lead plates on the banks and at the mouths of western rivers, was an acknowledgment on the part of the English that the mountains formed a natural dividing line between the East and the West.

Up to that time the region under consideration west of the mountains contained no fixed population, and all ideas of making a state of the western country were based on expectation of future population, for people as well as territory are necessary to make a state. All was then in the future, but men were looking into the future and preparing for events which had not yet come to pass, but which the far-seeing statesman knew well were written in the book of fate. The Ohio Company tried, and tried in vain, to people its western lands, and thereby take the first important step in founding a transalleghany state. The French who had gone before had no purpose quite so definite. They looked upon the region as a field of trade where their adventurers could barter with the Indians for furs and such other products as a wilderness could supply; their missionaries doubtless hoped to found churches for the enlightenment of the benighted heathen; but the Frenchman's idea of a western state, between the summit of the Alleghanies and the Ohio river, did not include much more than missions and trading posts, forest paths, pack horses, and canoe traffic on the rivers. The principal purpose of the mountain-top line which he wanted was to let rivals —particularly English rivals—know where to stop in their westward movements.

The division of the country by the treaty of 1763 gave the whole region to the English; and the French ceased to be a factor in division schemes. The Ohio Company had accomplished nothing up to that time. It had failed to people its lands. The French and Indian War, and other troubles, had upset its plans, and it had dropped to a low place of importance in the west. Thereupon a new factor entered the equation. The Walpole Company appeared on the scene. In one respect it was like the Ohio Company. It owned land and meant to colonize it. It was a much larger affair than the Ohio Company, and more ambitious. It not only planned to settle large numbers of people on its holdings, which extended from the Alleghanies to the Kentucky river, but it meant to create and organize a political state under the name of Vandalia. That was the first project having a definite and clear-cut purpose of founding a state west of the mountains, by dividing Virginia. The details are given in this book in the chapter dealing with proposed states west of the Alleghanies before 1789. Virginia did not object as strenuously to being divided then as it did ninety odd years later. The objection to the scheme came from England rather than from Virginia. It does not appear that Virginia took much interest in its lands beyond the mountains at that time. In fact, its title to the region was not then clear. Some New York Indians sold the whole country beyond the Alleghanies to the King of England, and he was not inclined to admit that Virginia had any rights there. The upshot of the whole matter was that the scheme went up in smoke, as the Ohio Company's did, and no colonies were established, the formation of the western state of Vandalia was never carried out; and the result of the Revolutionary war put the King of England out of business in that quarter, and his title to the land which the New York Indians had sold him, was not recognized or respected by Virginia or anyone else.

In the discussion of the western extension of some of the states about

the time of the adoption of the United States Constitution, it was proposed to confine Virginia to the eastern side of the Alleghany mountains; but the Ohio river was finally accepted as the boundary. Prior to that time a scheme was put forward to cut Virginia in two along the summit of the mountains, and form the state of Transylvania by uniting the western parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and the eastern portion of Kentucky. That scheme could not muster enough backing to give it promise of success in face of opposition from Pennsylvania and Virginia, and probably from Maryland also. It never proceeded further than the agitation stage. That, however, was as far as any of the division schemes got until the final one which met success in 1863. It is proper to discusss some of the early stages of that agitation, for it had early stages and late stages. When it was once set on foot it never ceased to move forward until it became an accomplished fact during the Civil war. There were periods when the movement for division was active, and there were times when it moved slowly and attracted little attention.

It is not easy to name an exact time, after the adoption of the federal constitution, when the movement for a separate state west of the mountains began. Perhaps there was no exact time. Antagonistic elements existed from the first, but such ideas were not common to all the people, or to a majority of the people, west of the mountains. Many were satisfied with their relationship with Virginia, and had no complaint to make. There always were people in the west who held fast to the old part of the state and sought no opportunity to cut loose from it. Those less loyal to the old state were more dissatisfied at some times than at others. That depended much upon the political and business matters which at any particular time happened to be before the people.

Discrimination against the western region in matters of politics, taxation, and internal improvements, brought about most of the dissatisfaction. People are disposed to endure wrongs a long time before taking drastic measures to remedy them. That was the situation in Western Virginia. Doubtless there were individuals who saw at a very early period that there would be no peace of mind west of the mountains as long as the east and the west, with their different customs, and their antagonistic views, were yoked together; but not until about 1822 was a division of the state talked of in a general way. Even then the agitation was directed more toward the discovery of a remedy than the division of the state. It was believed that a new constitution could be drawn which the western people would receive and that they could then get along with the east. The evils complained of were such as legislation might remove. The transmontane country did not look upon its remote position, and its distance from the state capital, as cause sufficient to make political separation necessary. If more general suffrage, and more equitable taxation had been provided, the talk of a division of the state would probably have been silenced in 1830. The west had been demanding a new constitution for a number of years before the call was issued for a constitutional convention in 1829. It was not issued until the demand became so urgent and so emphatic that the authorities at Richmond concluded that it was good policy to listen, even though they intended to do nothing substantial if they could help it. Talk of a division of the state was common west of the mountains at that time.

The constitutional convention of 1829 was called. It met, and a long and fierce contest took place between the professional politicians of the east and the practical business men from the west of the mountains. The east held the power and used it like tyrants. They made a few concessions, but they did not go to the root of the evil. The west was not satisfied. Nothing substantial had been gained. As soon

as the people behind the mountains had time to analyze and understand the results, they saw that they stood about where they were before the constitutional convention was called. One thing was a little clearer than before, and that was, that men in the east who had the reins in their hands, intended to drive over and ride down the western men whenever they pleased.

The movement for a new state took fresh life. Newspapers discussed it, and those in the west published articles in favor of it, or at least explaining what was intended. One of the propositions was to cut western Virginia in two by a line east and west from the mouth of the Little Kanawha river to the southwestern corner of Maryland, and annex to Pennsylvania or Maryland all north of the line, about 8,000 square miles. That south of the line might form a new state or remain with Virginia. The Winchester Republican commented as follows on the scheme:

"We are not at all surprised and are prepared to see it persisted in until it is crowned with success. In politics there is an utter contrariety of sentiment between the people of these counties and their eastern brethren, while with their neighbors of Maryland they harmonize exactly. Were the cession to take place, the Baltimore and Ohio railroad would unquestionably go to Parkersburg or some point on the Ohio river near that place."

Less than two months later the same paper said in another article:

"The Virginia legislature will convene on Monday. To the proceedings of this body we look with intense interest. Matters of great moment will come before it, and the discussions will be as interesting as those of the late convention. The preservation of the state will, we believe, depend upon this legislature. Dispute the claims of the trans-allegheny counties to what they may deem a proper share of the fund for internal improvements, and a division of the state must follow—not immediately, perhaps, but the signal will be given for the rising of the clans, and they will rise. It is not worth while now to speculate on the mode and manner in which the government will be opposed. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. But a crisis is approaching. The northern counties demand to be separated from the state with a view of attaching themselves to Maryland or Pennsylvania; the southwest counties go for a division of the state into two commonwealths. Should the latter be effected what will be our condition in the valley? Infinitely worse than the present. The mere dependency of a government whose interests and whose trade would all go westward, we would be taxed without receiving any equivalent, and instead of being chastized with whips, we would be scourged with scorpions. Of the two projects spoken of, that which would be least injurious to the valley and the state at large, would be to part with the northwestern counties. Let them go. Let us get clear of this disaffected population. Then prosecute the improvements called for by the southwest, and that portion of our state, deprived of its northern allies, would give up its desire for a separation."

It should be noted that one of the predictions which the Winchester newspaper makes, in case the state should be divided as proposed, was that the Baltimore and Ohio railroad would go to Parkersburg or some other point on the Ohio river. Virginia was fighting that enterprise to prevent its going west of Cumberland, to which point it was then building. The non-progressive politicians of Eastern Virginia wanted no development west of the mountains which might in any way endanger their grip on the region. They were afraid of progress. From their viewpoint it looked like a dangerous thing. Thirty years later, when the Civil war came, and Western Virginia stood up for the Union, the Richmond politicians blamed the Baltimore and Ohio railroad for the loss of the West. "With clinched teeth they cursed themselves for having been so stupid as to allow the Baltimore and Ohio railroad to be built. 'Why,' they said, 'we have gone and given them a charter, and the thing has abolitionized the whole country.'"

The constitution of 1829-30 was scarcely printed and circulated before the people beyond the mountains began the agitation for another. What had been given them was not satisfactory; and again came the demand for a division of the state. The same questions as formerly were before the people. The east was taking and was refusing to give. It was imposing upon the people beyond the mountains. It was still the hope that a remedy might be found in a new constitution. In ten years the demand was so strong that the Virginia legislature which met in 1841 was petitioned to provide for a constitutional convention. The eastern politicians did not want it. They desired no change. They had all they wanted, and were unwilling to take any needless chance to lose any part of what they had. They were strong enough to defeat the movement for a convention, and did so. The legislature of 1841-2 adjourned without issuing the call, and without reapportioning the representation which was likewise demanded by the West.

Once more the movement for a new state got under way. Meetings were held in various places and a convention was called to meet August 1, 1842, at Lewisburg, Greenbrier county. Twenty counties were represented by eighty delegates. The convention, however, did not work so much in the cause of the separate state as to secure a new constitution. Resolutions were passed, asking the legislature to call a constitutional convention. When the legislature met it refused to issue the call. Unfortunately dissension arose among the people engaged in the movement west of the mountains, and the plans fell through.

The secession movement which reached its full power in 1861, had gained considerable headway in Virginia in 1850, and men of influence were even then advocating withdrawing from the Union. The portion of the state west of the mountains was nearly solid against the proposal. Some of the reasons which induced them to take that stand were set forth in resolutions passed by a mass meeting in Mason county in 1850, which was the forerunner of many similar meetings held in Western Virginia ten years later. Following is an extract from the resolutions passed in Mason county:

"As a portion of the people of the fourteenth congressional district, a part of West Augusta on whose mountains Washington contemplated, if driven to extremities, to make his last stand and plant his last banner in defense of the liberties of his country, we are prepared, in conformity with the parting advice of that same Washington, to stand by the Union; and living in the line between slave holding and non-slave holding states, which makes it certain that in the event of dissolution of the Union, we should be placed in the position of borderers, exposed to the feuds and interminable broils which such a position would inevitably entail upon us, a regard for the safety of our firesides, not less than the high impulses of patriotism, the glorious recollection of the past, and the high anticipation of the future, will induce us to adhere unswervingly to this resolution."

It was during the movement of 1850 and 1851 for secession that Daniel Webster uttered his oft-quoted prophecy, that if Virginia ever should join a movement to separate herself from the Union, she would lose her territory beyond the mountains, for it would never go with her. Webster made that prediction in 1851, in the following words:

"Ye men of Western Virginia, who occupy the slope from the Alleghanies to the Ohio and Kentucky, what benefit do you propose to yourselves by disunion? Do you look for the current of the Ohio to change and bring you and your commerce to the tidewaters of eastern rivers? What man in his senses would suppose that you would remain a part and parcel of Virginia a month after Virginia ceased to be a part and parcel of the United States?"

Virginia had other and ample warnings that she could not drag West-

ern Virginia with her if she should attempt to leave the Union. Nothing, however, except experience, could teach her politicians that lesson.

When the final division of Virginia was brought about, and West Virginia came into existence, the Civil war was at its height. Vicksburg had not yet fallen and the battle of Gettysburg had not broken the back of the Confederacy. While the men of the north had never doubted that in the end the rebellion would be put down, and the states would return to their allegiance, yet it was thought advisable to look out a little for contingencies which might arise. One of the things provided for was that the Baltimore and Ohio railroad should pass from the east to the west without touching a foot of Virginia's soil. That railroad had stood up so persistently for the Union that measures were taken to insure it against ever being in the power of its old enemy, Virginia. The long eastern panhandle, stretching for a hundred miles from the base of the Alleghanies to Harper's Ferry, was on Virginia's soil except about ten miles. In fixing the boundaries of West Virginia, that long strip of land was included, and the Baltimore and Ohio railroad was retained in the house of its friends. That was not the only reason that the eastern panhandle was made a part of West Virginia, but it was one of the reasons.

CHAPTER XIV

EARLY INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN WESTERN VIRGINIA

For many years after the first settlements were established in Virginia west of the mountains the people made no attempt to manufacture anything to sell. Their surroundings did not encourage them to do so. Markets were too distant and means of transportation too poor. Furs and ginseng were the two commodities which sold for cash, and they were easy to carry over the mountain roads to the east; but no large business could depend on wares so uncertain. The supply decreased from year to year as fur-bearing animals became scarcer, and ginseng was sought so persistently that nature failed to keep up the supply.

The farmers were not encouraged to raise more grain than they could use, for no market for a surplus could be reached. Sometimes flour was shipped down the Ohio and Mississippi; but the distance was long and that trade was never large. East of the mountains, in Hampshire, Hardy, and Grant counties, and also farther east in Jefferson and Berkeley, wheat growing was more profitable than west of the mountains because markets were accessible. The South Branch valley in particular was a noted wheat country, and boats carried the flour to low Virginia.

The Whiskey Insurrection—In 1794 what is known in history as the Whiskey Insurrection occurred in western Pennsylvania. It was primarily a rebellion of grain growers against the payment of revenue taxes on distilled spirits. Western Virginia came so nearly being involved that it did not wholly escape disturbances. The trouble was due to the inability of the people to sell their grain. As long as no tax was laid on whiskey, they distilled that article, and sent it east on packhorses to be sold, or they boated it down the Ohio to Kentucky and the Mississippi valley, where a good market was found. The distillation of whiskey was the principal business of the people. There were more still houses than grist mills.

In 1791 a tax of from nine to twenty-five cents a gallon was laid on whiskey. It struck the grain growers of the Monongahela hard. In Pennsylvania they declared that the tax was unjust and declared they would not pay it, and would resist force with force. The Pennsylvanians in the southwestern counties alone were involved. Though the inhabitants in the Virginia counties of Monongalia, Ohio, Harrison, and Randolph lost nearly as much as the Pennsylvanians by the closing of the still houses, they did not organize to resist the law. The Pennsylvanians tried to involve them in the disturbance. Those four counties would have added much strength and prestige to the insurrection. David Bradford was leader of the Pennsylvanians, and in August, 1794, he sent across the line into Virginia the following address with the expectation that it would induce the Virginians to side with him:

"I suppose you have heard of the spirited opposition given to the excise law of this state. Matters have been so brought to pass here that all are under the necessity of bringing their minds to a final conclusion. This has been the question amongst us for some days: Shall we disapprove of the conduct of those against Neville, the excise officer, or approve? Or, in other words, shall we suffer them to fall a sacrifice to federal prosecution, or shall we support them? On the result of this business we have fully deliberated and have determined with head, heart, hand and voice, that we will support the opposition to the excise law. The crisis

is now come, submission or opposition. We are determined in the opposition. We are determined in future to act agreeably to system, to form arrangements, guided by reason, prudence, fortitude, and spirited conduct. We have proposed a general meeting of the four counties of Pennsylvania, and have invited our brethren in the neighboring counties of Virginia to come forward and join us in council and deliberation on this important crisis, and conclude upon measures interesting to the western counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia. A notification of this kind may be seen in the Pittsburgh paper. Parkinson's Ferry is the place proposed as the most central, and August 14 the time. We solicit you by all the ties that a union of interests can suggest to come forward to join with us in our deliberations. The cause is common to us all. We invite you to come, even should you differ from us in opinion. We wish you to hear our reasons influencing our conduct."

The Virginians did not respond enthusiastically to the invitation, and shortly afterward about thirty Pennsylvanians, disguised with black paint, invaded Monongalia county, and compelled Edward Smith, the revenue collector at Morgantown, to flee for safety. News of the invasion quickly reached Richmond, and Governor Henry Lee issued the following proclamation:

"Whereas I have received information that a banditti from the western parts of Pennsylvania have, in defiance of law and order, passed into this commonwealth, and by threats and other evil doings compelled an officer of the United States, living at Morgantown, in the county of Monongalia, to abandon his home and seek personal safety by flight; and whereas I have reason to believe that the same banditti are a part of that deluded combination of men described in the President's proclamation of the 7th day of this present month, who, forgetful of all obligations human and divine, seem intent only on rapine and anarchy, and therefore endeavor by their emissaries and other illegal means to seduce the good people of this commonwealth inhabiting the country bordering on the state of Pennsylvania, to unite with them in schemes and measures tending to destroy the tranquility and order which so happily prevails, and thereby convert the blessings we so eminently enjoy under our free and equal government into the most afflicting miseries which can possibly befall the human race.

"To arrest these wicked designs; to uphold the majesty of the law; to preserve our fellow citizens from evil and our country from disgrace, I have thought proper, by and with the advice of the council of state, to issue this my proclamation, calling on all officers, civil and military, to exercise with zeal, diligence, and firmness, every legal power vested in them respectively for the purpose of detecting and bringing to trial every offender or offenders in the premises.

"And I do moreover specially require and enjoin that all persons coming into this commonwealth from that part of our sister state, at present so unhappily distracted, be particularly watched, and if they shall be found disseminating their wicked and pernicious doctrines, or in any way exciting a spirit of disobedience to the government, thereby violating the peace and dignity of this commonwealth, that they be immediately apprehended and dealt with according to law."

Commissioners were appointed both by the Federal government and by Pennsylvania to endeavor to adjust matters with the whiskey insurrectionists. Negotiations failed, and President Washington issued a call for 12,950 troops, placed them under the command of General Daniel Morgan, who marched toward Western Pennsylvania. The troops were raised in Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey, and Virginia. Perhaps a thousand came from what is now West Virginia. They rendezvoused at Moorefield, marched to Cumberland, Md., and joined the army marching west. It is believed that the portion of West Virginia, now included in Harrison, Lewis, Barbour, Upshur, Randolph, and Tucker counties, furnished about 300 men. They crossed the mountains to Moorefield to join the others.

The overwhelming force brought against them overawed the insurrectionists, and they surrendered before any fighting occurred. General Morgan with 2,500 men remained in Pittsburgh several months, and until all signs of trouble had disappeared. The lesson taught by the uprising was valuable. The promptness with which citizens volunteered as soldiers to put it down, convinced evil-minded persons, and assured thoughtful

men, that the government was strong enough to put down opposition illegally raised, and that the republic was not founded on sand, ready to be washed away in the currents of misdirected human passions.

Salt Making—Salt making was one of the earliest industries in Western Virginia. Indians made salt on the Kanawha river long before white men became acquainted with the region. In 1671 the presence of the salt making Indians was reported to the explorers who first learned of the western country. Again, in 1753, the Indians were known to have gone there to make salt. They made it by collecting the saline water of a spring in wooden troughs and boiling it by dropping in hot stones. The brine from the springs was weak, and the evaporation of about 800 gallons was required to produce one bushel of salt. It was a tedious process under the method employed by Indians, and they did not make large quantities. Explorers in the western part of the Carolinas found salt passing as an article of trade, perhaps as a medium of exchange, or money, among the Indians. It was made in small square cakes, solid like rock, and so black with inherent impurities and external dirt that the appearance of the pieces bore no semblance to salt.

Salt owes its origin to sea water; that is, where it exists in large quantity in the rocks it was deposited by the evaporation of sea water in some past age when, by some force of nature, an arm of the sea was cut off from the main body of water, and in drying up, the salt was deposited at the bottom. Some times such beds are found nearly pure, and are called rock salt; but generally it is mixed with rocks of different kinds. Salt springs are due to the washing which the saline rocks receive from underground water percolating and filtering through them. The briny water rises to the surface, just as other springs do. If the solution is strong enough the substance is perceptible to the taste; but many springs, and even streams of flowing water, contain enough salt to be detected by chemical analysis, though its presence is not apparent to the taste. Old hunters knew of "licks" about the country where deer and buffaloes repaired for the salt which they were able to lick from the surface of the ground in the vicinity of a salt spring. Buffaloes in West Virginia and Kentucky were in the habit of traveling from "lick" to "lick" for the salt that accumulated on the surface where the water evaporated. Almost every locality among the West Virginia mountains had—and many still have—a "Lick run," "Salt lick," "Lick drain," "Licking creek," or some other place whose name perpetrates the early history of a locality when the hunter waylaid the natural salting places where the wild animals congregated. Some of the quadrupeds repaired to the places for the salt, while others, such as panthers, wild cats, and bears, went also, to prey on the salt lickers.

Daniel Boone built his cabin a short distance from the salt springs on the Kanawha. The old hunter knew that if he located his house with judgment the deer would come to him and he would not need to go in search of them.

Salt making commenced on a commercial scale in West Virginia in 1797, when Elisha Brooks put up a small bank of kettles at the Kanawha springs and made 150 pounds of salt a day. He sold it for eight and ten cents a pound. The brine was dipped from a spring, for no well had yet been bored. The solution was weak, requiring 400 gallons or more to make a bushel of salt. It is said that the settlers had been accustomed for some years to make a little salt there for domestic purpose. On one occasion it is recorded that in time of danger from Indians, when every particle of salt at a fort lower down the Kanawha was gone, some of the men stole up the Kanawha at night with canoes, and hauling them close under the river bank, carried salt water and

filled the canoes. This was transported safely to the fort and was boiled down to make salt.

For several years salt was made at the springs with the water dipped from near the surface, but in 1806 David and Joseph Ruffner conceived the idea of digging a well in search of stronger brine. They soon reached the solid rock, and there was so much water that they could dig no farther. It occurred to them that they might drill a hole in the rock. A well auger, in the modern sense of the term, had never been used. They invented one. A steel bit two and one-half inches wide was mounted on a rod and attached to a spring pole. They went to work with it, and after some months of effort, drilled a hole forty feet deep. They struck brine much stronger than had ever come to the surface; and hewing out a pipe 40 feet long from wood, they inserted it in the hole, and the brine rose sufficiently near the surface to be baled out with buckets.

The abundance of strong brine induced the owners to improve the furnace, and by 1808 they were making 23 bushels of salt a day which they sold for two dollars a bushel. The boring and the completion of the well required eighteen months of labor and an almost infinite amount of patience and perseverance. Others then took up the work, when they saw that success was possible; and by 1817 a dozen or more wells were in operation, some of them a hundred feet deep. Their aggregate yearly output was more than 600,000 bushels of salt.

In that year the discovery was made that coal could be used in boiling salt, and rapid development followed. Fuel had begun to grow scarce near the operatives, where cordwood was depended upon, and coal cheapened the output of the furnaces. Some months were required in learning the art of burning coal for that purpose.

In 1808 the first shipments of salt were made by the river. It was packed in tubs and boxes, and was loaded on rafts or in canoes. Barrels for shipment had not yet come into use. They were afterwards made out of oak. Flatboats were later provided for carrying the salt to market. Boats with valuable salt cargoes sometimes sank in the Kanawha or Ohio, and though the boat might be recovered, the cargo was always a total loss. Impurities in the salt gave some of it a red color before the art of purifying was learned. A large number of people supposed that the red salt was better than the white, and some of them insisted on having it, supposing it much stronger.

In 1815 a natural gas well was struck at the works while boring for salt. It was not a strong well, and it did not occur to any one to utilize it for boiling brine. About twenty-eight years later a very large gas well was struck at the same place. It was the first great gas well in the history of the world, but others as large, and probably larger, have been developed since in other parts of West Virginia. The large well at the salt works blew the tools hundreds of feet into the air, and threw up a column of water higher than the top of the derrick. The roaring of the well was heard miles away. It was the first phenomenon of the kind ever witnessed, and was the result of tapping the underground reservoir of natural gas which for past ages had been sending out a tiny leak of the fluid which fed what the old hunters had called the burning spring. Washington had looked with wonder on the small blaze playing on the water, and had little conception of the forces back of it. If he could have seen the spectacular outburst of the great gas well in 1843 he would have looked on with greater astonishment. Dr. J. P. Hale, in an article published nearly forty years ago, gives the following event in the history of that great salt and gas well:

"While this well was blowing, it was the custom of the stage drivers as they passed down by it, to stop and let their passengers take a look at the novel and wonderful display. On one occasion a professor from Harvard College was one of the stage passengers, and being a man of investigating and experimenting turn of mind, he went as near the well as he could get for the gas and spray of the falling water, and lighted a match to see if the gas would burn. Instantly the whole atmosphere was ablaze, the professor's hair and eyebrows singed, and his clothes afire. The well frame and engine house also took fire and were much damaged. The professor, who had jumped into the river to save himself from the fire, crawled out and back to the stage as best he could, and went on to Charleston, where he took to bed and sent for a doctor to dress his burns.

"Colonel Dickinson, one of the owners of the well, hearing of the burning of his engine house and well frame, sent for his man of affairs, Colonel Woodyard, and ordered him to follow the unknown stage passenger to town, get a warrant, have him arrested and punished for wilfully and wantonly burning his property—'unless you find that the fellow is a natural darned fool and didn't know any better.'

"Arriving at Charleston, Woodyard went to the room of the burnt professor at the hotel, finding him in bed, his face and hands blistered, and in a sorry plight generally. He proceeded to state in very plain terms the object of his visit, at which the professor seemed greatly worried and alarmed, not knowing the extent of this additional impending trouble which his folly had brought upon him. Before he had expressed himself in words, however, Woodyard proceeded to deliver verbatim, and with great emphasis, the codicil to Dickinson's instructions. The professor, notwithstanding his physical pain and mental alarm, seemed to take in the ludicrousness of the whole case, and with an effort to smile through his blisters, replied that it seemed a pretty hard alternative, but under the circumstances he felt it his duty to confess under the last clause and escape. 'Well,' said Woodyard, 'if this is your decision, my duty is ended, and I bid you good morning."

Petroleum flowed from many of the salt wells. The total output was fifty or more barrels a day. No attempt was made to save any of it, but it was allowed to flow into the Kanawha river. It covered the surface of the water many miles, and caused the nickname "Old Greasy" to be applied to the Kanawha by boatmen.

The first use of natural gas for manufacturing purposes anywhere in this country was in boiling salt in the Kanawha valley in 1841.

Salt wells on the Kanawha have been bored to an extreme depth of 2,000 feet; but this depth adds nothing to the well's capacity, for the salt bearing strata are only 1,000 feet deep. The salt area extends twelve or fourteen miles along the Kanawha, beginning about 70 miles above its mouth, and lying on both sides of the stream. From 1833 to 1875 the average yearly capacity of the Kanawha salt wells was about 2,200,000 bushels.

The salt wells of the Kanawha valley are almost things of the past. In all, there were considerably more than one hundred wells bored, ranging in depth from fifty to two thousand feet. There was no serious decline in the available supply of brine, but the discovery of richer brine in other regions, and the low price of salt, forced the operators, one by one, to quit, and the old stacks and abandoned furnaces became mute reminders of passing changes.

Salt wells were bored in Mason county, on the Ohio river, beginning about 1849. The wells reached a depth of 700 feet or more. Some are 1,200 feet in depth. The greatest capacity of the group of works in Mason county when at their best was about 3,000,000 bushels of salt a year.

Salt was made on the Little Kanawha river, at Bulltown, Braxton county, very early, but the works never reached size to compare with those in Kanawha and Mason counties. Bulltown was named from an Iroquois chief, Bull, who moved there in 1768 from western New York with a few families of his people. They were murdered four years later by settlers from what is now Lewis county. It has been said that those Indians made salt from saline springs on the bank of the Little Kanawha, but the quantity was very small. Soon after the murder of the Indians,

settlers took up land in the region, and the salt springs became well known. About 1800 Colonel John Haymond moved to that place from Clarksburg and began the manufacture of salt soon after. He went down the little Kanawha and up the Ohio in canoes to Pittsburgh, where he procured kettles and carried them in his canoes to their destination and built his furnace. It was in operation nearly forty years.

Coal—The use of coal on a large scale in West Virginia began so recently that not much is to be said of it in early times. Wood was so abundant and convenient that coal was in no demand for fuel until long after the pioneer days had come to an end. Coal was discovered as soon as settlers began to locate their farms, but no value was placed on the substance, for none then thought that it could by any possible course of events displace wood for fuel; and uses other than as fuel were not considered. The amounts demanded by blacksmiths were too small to be important, and by no means all the blacksmiths used coal. Many preferred charcoal, which was often cheaper, and some looked on it as better.

Pittsburgh became an early user of coal on a rather large scale, but little or none of it was mined south of the Pennsylvania line. Coal from the part of the present state of West Virginia east of the Alleghanies was finding a market in Harper's Ferry at the United States armory as early as 1828—when surveys were made for the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. The product from the West Virginia field was used at that time for domestic purposes in Hagerstown, Md., and in other towns above and below Harper's Ferry. Large foundries in Georgetown, D. C., employed that coal, and considerable quantities went to Baltimore. The engineers who located the Baltimore and Ohio railroad referred to the trade in the Alleghany mountain coal, already somewhat developed, as one of the resources on which the road might depend for freight. At that time it was transported in flat boats down the Potomac river, and was necessarily expensive, for the river was rough and large boats could not be operated.

Iron Furnaces—The earliest of the pioneers west of the Alleghany mountains got along without much iron, and what little they had to have was carried from the east on pack-horses. Pittsburgh was early provided with foundries and furnaces, but they did little good for the interior of western Virginia. It would surprise most people to learn how scarce iron was in most places a hundred or more years ago in western Virginia. Nails were nearly unknown. Part or all of most farm tools were wood. The people had axes, but few saws. Iron pipe, which is so common now, was then unknown in most neighborhoods. Stoves did not exist. Iron was so scarce that the people knew no other way than to get along without it.

That was the state of affairs in western Virginia about the opening of the nineteenth century. The discovery had been made that iron ore was abundant in many localities, and in course of time individuals or companies undertook to build furnaces to produce pig iron from ore. The furnaces were not all alike, but were fairly similar. The furnace consisted of a stack or chimney thirty feet or more high. The ore and the fuel were placed within and the fire was started. It was difficult to develope heat sufficient to melt iron unless a blast of air fanned the fire. In most instances those old furnaces were built near a stream of water, and hydraulic power drove the fans which forced the air to the flame. In that way the necessary heat was produced.

There could be no heat without fuel, and that was the one prime consideration with every iron furnace. It was believed that iron made with coal was inferior to that produced with charcoal as fuel. Besides, few people knew how to burn coal in a furnace, and nobody tried to

do it. The hills and mountains were covered with forests, and wood was then one of the most abundant resources in Western Virginia. The iron makers and the cordwood cutters worked together. A furnace of even moderate size required large quantities of wood. Indeed, wood cutting and charcoal burning constituted the big end of the iron business. The wood was not fed raw into the furnaces but was first converted into charcoal by being stacked in large ricks, usually conical, and covered with earth to shut out the air and keep the wood from burning too rapidly. Fire was then applied, and in due time the rick was converted into charcoal and was ready for the furnace.

Hills and mountains in the neighborhood of iron furnaces were cut clean. All kinds of wood went in, though some species were better than others. The broad leaf trees, such as the oaks, maples, hickories, chestnut, beech, and the like, sprout again from the stumps, and many of the old cuttings grew up in coppice, and if let alone, the sprouts are now large trees. Some mountain land in Monongalia county that was cut clean by charcoal burners more than 100 years ago, now has forest with trees of sawlog size. It did not usually happen in Western Virginia that pine, cedar, or hemlock forests were cut for charcoal; but when they were cut, they never sprouted, and a hardwood forest came in their place.

Deep digging and underground galleries were not usual in early iron mining in this state. There was generally enough ore to be had on or near the surface. Sometimes the round lumps of iron ore which strewed the ground for miles were hauled together and sufficed to feed the furnace for years. Shallow trenches along the outcroppings supplied when loose masses on the surface did not.

There were no railroads in the early years of the charcoal furnace, and steamboats were few. The iron market did not extend farther from the point of production than the iron could be hauled by wagons, except when a river might help out with boat carriage. No such thing as general competition in the iron business existed. Every region or locality, if it had ore, built its own iron furnace. They were much farther apart than the grist mills of those days, but they were planned to work on much the same principle. That is, each furnace supplied with iron the people within reach of it. Comparatively long hauls were sometimes made, and only the high price of iron justified it. The price was often as high as eighty dollars a ton, and was usually sixty or more.

The furnace on Brushyfork, Barbour county, which was built in 1848, made 9,000 pounds of iron a day, with charcoal as fuel, although the furnace stood on a vein of coal. The iron was hauled by mule teams fifty miles to the Monongahela river near Fairmont, to be shipped by boat to the down river market. Iron from Hampshire county, thirty or forty years earlier than that, was sent by boats down the Capon river, and then down the Potomac to Georgetown. It is said that some of the cannons with which Commodore Perry won the victory on Lake Erie in 1813 were made from iron mined in Hampshire county and cast in Georgetown, D. C.

Monongalia and Preston counties were dotted over with iron furnaces at an early day. The earliest of them were in operation considerably over a hundred years ago, and one on Decker's creek above Morgantown was working in 1798. Another, the old Cheat river furnace, seven miles from Morgantown, near Ice's Ferry, was standing the same year. More than a dozen furnaces were in operation in Monongalia and Preston county in the half century ending about the time of the Civil war. Some of them were worked ten or fifteen years after the war.

The old charcoal furnaces were no less active east of the Alleghanies.

Some of those in Hampshire county have been referred to. There were others near Wardensville and Moorefield, in Hardy county, and they ceased work in comparatively recent years. Near Greenland Gap in Grant county was another, abandoned more than sixty years ago, and noted in its day for the fine quality of cook stoves manufactured. It was known as Fanny Furnace.

Those early developers of the iron industry in Western Virginia were among the first users of steam engines in the region. The first manufacturers of iron depended upon water power, and some never tried anything else, but about sixty years ago steam engines began to take the place of the waterwheel. The latter was cheaper provided it was dependable, but the creeks of West Virginia were subject then as now to periodic droughts, and the operations at an iron mine might be closed down for weeks at a time in the summer and fail through scarcity of water, or in the winter because of ice freezing on the wheel and in the forebay. As far as information concerning the engines is obtainable, they were of 25 or 30 horse power. It is not improbable that a number of those old engines are in existence yet, in a bad state of preservation, of course, lying in the ruins of old iron works, and concealed by brush and briers.

A somewhat detailed account of the property and appliances belonging to an old time iron operative in West Virginia is given in Volume 4 of the West Virginia Geological Survey, page 145. It refers to the old Capon furnace, six miles south of Wardensville, Hardy county. The plant was built in 1822, and was worth about $15,000 ten years later, exclusive of real estate. The cost of hauling the iron across the mountains to the railroad was ten dollars a ton, which added to the expense of production, made the cost of the iron at the railroad $25 a ton. During the prosperous years of the furnace, prices for the product ranged from $40 to $60 a ton. In 1855 the plant produced 220 tons of iron. A list of the property and appliances follows:

One horizontal stationary steam engine, 30-horse power.
Two blowing cylinders, bore 37-inch, stroke 38-inch.
Hand and standing ladles, part of cupola outfit.
One steam hammer, 9-inch bore, 34-inch stroke, for bloom.
Two cylindrical iron boilers, 31 inches in diameter, 38 feet long.
Two sets forge fire castings and one run-out.
One rock crusher, 10x7 inches.
One 6-ton track scale for weighing ore.
Castings for double ore wash, peddle pattern.
One platform scale for bridge house barrows.
Casting for saw mill carriage and feed gear.
Tools for forge and blacksmith.
One 8-horse turbine water wheel.
Land, 4,100 acres.
One six-room cottage and 12 miners' cabins.

That was one of the last furnaces of the kind to be worked in West Virginia. It finally closed in 1880. The days of the furnaces of that pattern were numbered when the St. Mary canal was opened in 1855, and the vast quantities of cheap iron ore on Lake Superior began to move toward market. Ten years later Bessemer's process of making steel drove much of the old wrought iron from the field. The decline of the West Virginia iron works was steady from that time on. Competition is too severe for the costly methods necessary when low-grade ores are mined and reduced by expensive devices. One by one the old stacks were abandoned and the furnaces speedily went to ruin. A number of dilapidated chimneys remain, mute witnesses of former industry, and of small fortunes made or lost.

Nails were made at Morgantown by machinery more than a hundred years ago, and their manufacture commenced at Wheeling in 1834. That city afterwards became the largest nail manufacturing place in the world. At one time it was said that one-sixth of the world's supply of cut nails was made there.

Before the days of machine-made nails, they were pounded out by blacksmiths with hammer and anvil. The raw material in the smith's hands was a bar of iron, the proper size for nails. These were cut in lengths and each nail was beaten in shape. The process was slow, and though labor was cheap, nails were expensive. Their cost varied greatly in different localities, and there was no market price. An average was probably about twenty times what nails now cost. The cheapness of labor alone prevented the price from going much higher.

Petroleum—Drilling tools for boring oil wells were invented by the salt makers on the Kanawha river, beginning about 1806. The great development of the oil fields in this and adjoining states followed, and the early West Virginia inventions are now in use in all parts of the world where oil wells have been bored. The invention first spread from the Kanawha valley to Ohio, and later to distant regions.

West Virginia was the pioneer in petroleum development. It is not known when the first oil was sold. It was used on the Kanawha river as early as 1810, but most that flowed from the salt wells wasted in the river. About 1836 a business was developed in collecting and selling oil on Hughes river. Leakage from one of the rock folds in that region, in course of ages, had saturated the soil in certain places, and the people collected the oil in shallow holes made for that purpose. From fifty to one hundred barrels a year were recovered from the soil, and it found a ready market in Parkersburg, Marietta, Cincinnati, and in other cities. The price ranged from 33 to 40 cents a gallon for the crude petroleum, for it was not yet refined. It was occasionally employed for illumination purposes, but only in its crude state. Torches and flambeaux were made, with the oil as an essential element.

Some of the first petroleum wells were struck while boring for salt, as had been the case on the Kanawha river. The price paid for petroleum when it reached market made it more profitable than salt. From about 1847 the Hughes river oil was on the market, called mud oil, sand oil, rock oil, and Seneca oil. Shortly before the beginning of the Civil war oil was struck on the Little Kanawha, in Wirt county. Development of considerable magnitude had taken place in 1863, when General William Jones with Confederate cavalry raided the region. He set fire to the wells, the tanks, storage reservoirs, and barges in the river loaded with oil, and in one night 300,000 barrels of petroleum were consumed. The burning oil reached the surface of the water, and the spectacle of a blazing river for miles was wild and lurid. The conflagration made a clean sweep, and the region never recovered. The northern capitalists fled from the region, to wait until the perils of war were over. However, some of the first wells in that region continued to yield oil in commercial quantities for more than forty years. It was some years after the war before the real development of the oil business in West Virginia began.

Beginning of the Lumber Industry—The West Virginians have been hewers of wood since the first homes were built in the region a century and a half ago; and the amount used and destroyed has been large. The report of the West Virginia Conservation Commission in 1908 speaks as follows concerning the state's forest resources:

"The State of West Virginia contains 15,859,200 acres. When white men first came into the state it was all forest except a few cliffs and rocky peaks, and two

or three old fields where Indians had probably cultivated corn. The story of the clearing of the early farms by 'deadening' and 'logrolling' is so well known that no further mention of it is necessary. The timber in the valleys and on the most fertile lands was first to go, because settlers chose the best places first. The richest land produces the best timber just as it grows the biggest corn. With the clearing of the valleys, therefore, the choicest timber was destroyed. The oaks, walnuts, poplars, maples, ashes, hickories, and other timbers that grew on the deep soil of the river bottoms surpassed the mountain forests, not in acres, but in size of the trees, and in most cases in quality also. The pioneer's ax leveled and burnt them. It was the most sensible thing he could do at the time. He needed the land and no one wanted the timber. When his children were ready for the work of life in about the only avenue of usefulness open to them, cultivation of the soil, they cut more timber and cleared additional acres. Thus the open spaces gradually widened and increased in number, and the forests decreased in a corresponding degree.

"Experience from the days of the pioneers till the present has taught that only one acre in three, taken the state over, is suited to agriculture. Not one acre in four has been cleared for farming purposes to the present time. Fully two-thirds of the state, therefore, and more than ten million acres, have never known the plow, and probably eight million acres, or approximately half the state, will never be used for farming purposes. It is so rough or steep that field crops cannot be successfully grown. This land constitutes the natural timber region of West Virginia. Trees of some kind are growing, or may be made to grow, and did grow in the past, on practically every acre of it. It is fortunate for the state that its climate and soils are such that every part of it will produce something valuable. The level lands and the moderately steep, if not too stony, are adapted to agriculture. The rest is suited to timber growing or grazing.

"How well the whole state is adapted to forest is apparent from the fact that though in area it is less than one-two hundredth part of North America, above the Gulf of Mexico, yet it produces more than one-fifth of the tree species. It has more, in proportion to its size, than any other state or province of America. Peculiar and favorable geographic position render this possible. It is at the meeting of the climates, so to speak. The highest mountains are the home of the Canadian flora which has crept southward along the cold summits. Its eastern slope is suited to the trees of the Atlantic seaboard. The western valleys contain trees which reach their full development in the West and Southwest. Several Southern woods attain their Northern limit in West Virginia."

The following tree species are found in West Virginia, and the long list shows how rich the state is in that resource:

Common Name.	*Botanical Name.*
White pine	Pinus strobus.
Pitch pine	Pinus rigida.
Short leaf or yellow pine	Pinus echinata.
Scrub or Jersey pine	Pinus virginiana.
Table Mountain pine	Pinus pungens.
Tamarack or larch	Larix americana.
Red spruce	Picea rubens.
Hemlock	Tsuga canadensis.
Fraser or balsam fir	Abies fraseri.
Northern white cedar or arborvitae	Thuya occidentalis.
Red cedar	Juniperus virginiana.
Butternut or white walnut	Juglans cinerea.
Black walnut	Juglans nigra.
Bitternut or swamp hickory	Hicoria minima.
Shellbark hickory	Hicoria ovata.
Big shellbark	Hicoria laciniosa.
Mockernut or big bud hickory	Hicoria alba.
Pignut	Hicoria glabra.
Aspen or quaking asp	Populus tremuloides.
Large tooth aspen or poplar	Populus grandidenta.
Cotton wood	Populus deltoides.
Black willow	Salix nigra.
Blue or water beech	Carpinus caroliniana.
Ironwood or hornbeam	Ostrya virginiana.
Sweet or black birch	Betula lenta.
Yellow or gray birch	Betula lutea.
River or red birch	Betula nigra.
Beech	Fagus atropunicea.

Common Name.	*Botanical Name.*
Chestnut	Castanea dentata.
Chinquapin	Castanea pumila.
Red oak	Quercus rubra.
Pin oak, or swamp Spanish oak	Quercus palustrus.
Scarlet oak	Quercus coccinea.
Yellow or black oak	Quercus velutina.
Black jack	Quercus marilandica.
Shingle oak	Quercus imbrecaria.
White oak	Quercus alba.
Post or iron oak	Quercus minor.
Bur or mossy cup oak	Quercus macrocarpa.
Swamp white oak	Quercus platanoides.
Chestnut oak	Quercus prinus.
Chinquapin oak	Quercus acuminata.
White elm	Ulmus americana.
Slippery elm	Ulmus pubescens.
Hackberry	Celtis occidentalis.
Red mulberry	Morus rubra.
Cucumber tree	Magnolia acuminata.
Umbrella tree	Magnolia tripetala.
Longleaved cucumber tree	Magnolia fraseri.
Yellow poplar	Liriodendron tulipi fera.
Pawpaw	Asimina triloba.
Sassafras	Sassafras sassafras.
Red or sweet gum	Liquidambar styraciflua.
Witch hazel	Hamanelis virginiana.
Sycamore	Platanus occidentalis.
Sweet crab	Pyrus coronaria.
Mountain ash	Pyrus americana.
Service	Amelanchier canadensis.
Cockspur thorn	Crataegus crus-galli.
Large-fruited thorn	Crataegus punctata.
Washington thorn	Crataegus cordata.
Wild plum	Prunus americana.
Fire or bird cherry	Prunus pennsylvanica.
Wild cherry	Prunus serotina.
Redbud	Cercis canadensis.
Honey locust	Gleditsia tricanthos.
Locust or yellow locust	Robinia pseudacacia.
Stag horn sumach	Rhus hirta.
Holly	Ilex opaca.
Mountain maple	Acer spicatum.
Striped maple	Acer pennsylvanicum.
Sugar tree or hard maple	Acer saccharum.
Black maple	Acer nigrum.
Soft or silver maple	Acer saccharinum.
Red or scarlet maple	Acer rubrum.
Box elder or ash-leaved maple	Acer negundo.
Ohio or fetid buckeye	Aesculus glabra.
Yellow or sweet buckeye	Aesculus octandra.
Basswood or linn	Tilia americana.
Downy leaf basswood or bee tree	Tilia heterophylla.
Hercules club	Arabia spinosa.
Black gum	Nyssa sylvatica.
Dogwood	Cornus florida.
Alternate leaf dogwood	Cornus alternifolia.
Sour gum or sour wood	Oxydendrum arboreum.
Persimmon	Diospyros virginiana.
Silverbell tree	Mohordendron carolinum.
Black ash	Fraxinus nigra.
White ash	Fraxinus americana.
Green ash	Fraxinus lanceolata.
Fringe tree	Chionanthus virginica.
Sheep berry	Viburnum lentago.
Nanny berry	Viburnum prunifolium.
Big laurel	Rhododendron maximum.
Mountain laurel	Kalmia latifolia.

"In its wild and primeval state," says the conservation report above quoted,

"When the whole area of West Virginia was in woods, the total quantity of timber was probably 150 billion feet, board measure. The forests had reached a state of equilibrium. The growth was neither increasing nor diminishing but was at a standstill. The young growth coming on and the old trees dying and falling, balanced each other. Such is the condition in old, mature forests where nothing disturbs the balance of forces. Only in the most general way can estimates from available data be made, but it is within reason that the quantity of timber grown in the state since it ceased to be an unbroken wilderness has been 150 billion feet. This added to the 150 billion feet in existence when the pioneers first came, would make a total of 300 billion feet in the West Virginia forests since civilized man first saw them. What has become of this timber?"

The table which follows shows this only approximately. From the nature of the case accurate calculation is impossible. Only one of the items, the cut since 1879, is from the records:

Items.	*Feet Board Measure.*
Timber used for fencerails in 120 years	4,275,000,000
Farm timber other than fencing, prior to 1880	1,000,000,000
Construction of wooden houses in towns prior to 1880	500,000,000
Fuel in 120 years	10,000,000,000
Quantity now in forests	30,000,000,000
Lumber cut since 1879	15,419,500,000
Quantity wasted	238,805,500,000
Total	300,000,000,000

Not much timber was cut in the state before 1880 except what the people used at home. The cut in each of the following years is shown:

Year.	*Feet Board Measure.*
1880	180,120,000
1890	301,958,000
1900	778,051,000
1907	1,395,975,000

The Whipsaw Era—The first people who came into Western Virginia shaped most of their wood with axes and wedges. They used round, hewed, or split logs. When the roughness of the frontier life began to tone down, the people needed wood more carefully worked out, and the whipsaw supplied the need. It was a tool to be manipulated by two men in sawing boards and planks. The log was first hewed square, and was then raised upon a scaffold six feet or more above the ground, or a pit was dug in which one man stood beneath the log. One above and one below worked the saw up and down, and board after board was cut from the side of the log. The process was slow, and two men could not average more than one hundred square feet of lumber a day.

That was not a new invention. It was rather the last application of a very old invention. Lumber had been manufactured in that way since the time when the Phoenecians prepared it for Solomon's temple. The whipsaw was the best thing to be had before the water-power sawmill came. It remained a good while after the sawmill had put in its appearance. So firmly was the whipsaw habit fixed that it was hard to break. Such saws were used in England exclusively long after water-power mills were common in this country. The early West Virginians used whipsaws only because sawmills could not be had. Lumber for houses and barns was made that way. The apparatus went out of use slowly, even after sawmills were common. A house was built of whipsawed cherry lumber in Tucker county after the Civil war, and the West Virginia Geological Survey reports that whipsaws were in use in some remote regions of the state later than the year 1900. But as a general

thing, the whipsaw and the sawmill were not contemporaneous in the same region.

The Primitive Sawmill—It is likely that water-power sawmills were used in Hampshire, Berkeley, and Jefferson counties a good while before the first one made it appearance west of the mountains in this state, but records showing that such was the case are not known to exist. There were fifty water mills in Berkeley county a century ago, but it is known there were sawmills earlier than that west of the Alleghanies. In 1776 John Minear carried across the mountains on horses the irons for a sawmill which he set up on Mill Run, at St. George, Tucker county, soon after. The crank which drove the saw was in service most of the time for more than one hundred years, and may still be. Jacob Warwick built a sawmill very early in Pocahontas county, but the year is not known. In 1795 Jacob Westfall had a sawmill on Files creek, Randolph county, and it does not appear how long it had been there. A very early sawmill stood on Decker's creek in Monongalia county, and another on the Little Kanawha at Bulltown in Braxton county. Fragments of such history are recovered only by accident. It is reasonable to believe that a good many such mills were scattered over Western Virginia before the year 1800, and that all recollection of them has disappeared.

A mill of that kind did not require large capital. The saw and the other irons had to be bought for cash, but the frontiers millwright could make nearly all else, and though it took time, it could be done without much money. A water wheel delivered the power from some running stream. A mill for sawing lumber and another for grinding grain nearly always went together. The builder figured that the dam, the race, the building, and perhaps the wheel, would serve two mills as well as one. Sash saws were used. The saw did not slide, but was held rigid in a frame, bolted fast, and frame and saw went up and came down together with a slow and tearing stroke. Because the strokes were slow, the cut at each had to be large in order to make any headway, and that resulted in rough lumber, much of which would not now pass inspection.

Mills of that kind would cut from 500 to 1,000 feet of inch lumber a day. When business was very good, they sometimes worked at night, and doubled their output. A few mills made their appearance in later years, which were called "muleys." The heavy sash or frame which held the saw was dispensed with; the saw struck more rapidly, and made smoother lumber. Small mills soon became numerous. Every neighborhood needed one, and if water-power was available, the need was generally supplied. Frame houses began to take the places of log cabins; and the next sign of progress was seen when the board and post fence replaced the worm fence made of split rails. The sawmills saved much timber in rural communities; for not more than one-third as much was needed to make a board fence as one of split rails. But the saving of timber was not deemed a meritorious thing in early times; for ten fold as much was burned in clearing land as the sawmills cut. The few sawlogs which the mills reduced to lumber were scarcely missed from the abounding forests which covered West Virginia.

The circular saw and the steam engine to drive it came in together. A good many were in the country as early as 1835. There were fifteen in Berkeley county that year. The steam mill, even the small ones of early times, cut much larger amounts of lumber than the water mills. A strictly local market would no longer take care of the product, and it became necessary to ship lumber some distance from the place of production. To that end, the mill was generally located on some stream that was large enough for rafts. The Kanawha, Little Kanawha, and

the Monongahela were important lumber rivers in early times. They drained heavily-forested regions and flowed toward good markets.

Early Timber Cutting—Lumbering of a somewhat extensive kind was carried on in West Virginia without the assistance of sawmills. Long before the days of iron ships, contractors were accustomed to visit the interior of this state to buy choice ship timber. The principal kinds purchased were white oak and white pine. The pine was for masts. The tall, tapering, and perfect trunks were found on the outlying ridges of the Alleghany range. It was necessary to take them by water to their destination, before railroads were built. After the region had railroad facilities, it was often necessary to float the pines many miles to reach a railroad station. Some of the best white pine masts went down Cheat river to the Baltimore and Ohio railroad.

In 1820, and probably earlier, white oak ship timber was exported from Western Virginia, and ultimately found its way to eastern shipyards, after having been carried down the Ohio and Mississippi to the sea. This timber was cut on all West Virginia rivers which were suitable for floating it to market; but some of the best came from the Kanawha and the Monongahela. The oak was hewed square, and was shipped in large logs, to be converted into dimension stock later. This timber was for ocean-going vessels, and was not part of the traffic in timber which supplied boat builders at Pittsburgh, Marietta, and Wheeling in the latter part of the eighteenth and first years of the nineteenth century.

The splendid yellow poplar on the mountains and in the valleys of West Virginia early attracted attention. Some of it was worked up with whipsaws before sawmills came in. The salt makers on the Kanawha wanted boats in which to send their product down the river, and yellow poplar was the best wood for that purpose. It has been estimated that no fewer than 4,000 yellow poplar boats were built on Little and Big Coal rivers in the years following 1830. The only wood other than yellow poplar used in their construction was white oak for the pins on which the oars were hung. Some of these boats were made of planks hewed with broadaxes; some of them were manufactured with whipsaws; and in the later years sawmills did the work. The boats of largest sizes were of timbers too long for any sawmill in the country at that time, and the planks were cut out with whipsaws even long after sawmills were within reach. Trunks sixty feet long and three feet or more in diameter were made into planks four inches thick and as wide as the log would make. These formed the sides of boats.

In the earliest years the boat builders looked for no return except the price of the boats when sold to the salt makers. The rate then charged was two or three dollars a running foot, so that a boat 40 feet long would be worth from $80 to $120 delivered at the salt works. They were floated down Coal river to its mouth and were towed up the Kanawha by steamboats.

In course of time the boat builders discovered a side line which proved as profitable as boat building. The salt makers needed barrels in large numbers and of strong material. Stave timber of excellent kind was abundant on Coal river, and when the boats were sent down they carried cargoes of oak staves which the mountaineers had rived near the river banks. When there were not staves enough for the down loads, fencing boards were carried.

An industry almost identical with that on Coal river was carried on in Braxton county, on Elk river. Yellow poplar boats, some of them 120 feet long and 20 wide, were made for the Kanawha salt works, and were sent down with loads of oak staves for salt barrels.

The West Virginia yellow poplar was among the first timbers to go to market. A finer forest product never grew anywhere. The yellow poplar is as nearly a perfect tree as the earth produces. Geologically, it is believed to be one of the oldest of the hardwoods, and the untold ages which have marked the span of its existence have developed a shapely, a beautiful, and a valuable tree. Trunks of great size and without blemish, and wood susceptible to polish the equal of mahogany, created an early demand for the yellow poplar which reaches its perfection in West Virginia. Estimates indicate that the original forests of West Virginia contained five billion feet of yellow poplar. It has been meeting demands for more than a century. Rafts of poplar logs went down the Monongahela very early. The first raft of that timber that passed down the Little Kanawha to Parkersburg sold for fifty dollars. Five of the best logs would now sell for that much.

White oak, cut near the Ohio river and on streams which flow directly into it, filled a place of supreme importance in early boat building in that region. It was the best oak to be had, and it is said that half the white oak used in boat yards between Huntington and Louisville for a third of a century grew in southwestern West Virginia.

CHAPTER XV

THE WAR OF 1812 AND THE MEXICAN WAR

The territory now included in West Virginia was in no danger of invasion by an enemy either in the war of 1812 with England or the Mexican war which came thirty years later. The region was too remote from the scenes of hostilities to be in any peril. The interest which the people of Western Virginia took in those two wars was due solely to their patriotism, and to their sense of duty in standing by the government when it needed assistance. The French and Indian war, the Revolution, and the Indian wars, were different, for then the people of Western Virginia were in danger and they were fighting for their own safety as well as for the good of their country.

The war of 1812 was brought on because England insisted on searching American ships for seamen. If any were found who apparently were deserters from the British navy, they were arrested and taken by force to England or to some English ship where they were compelled to serve. In some instances the men who were sought were doubtless English deserters; but in many instances they were not. The English who insisted on searching American ships did not investigate very closely. They simply took the men they wanted in spite of the protests of the captains of the American ships.

Americans denied the right of search. Whether there might be deserters on board or not, they refused their consent to having their ships boarded by British officers. The British continued to search vessels by force, and the United States declared war on England. It was not a popular war in all parts of this country. New England, which had more sailors on the sea than any other part of the United States, was so opposed to the war that there was some talk of seceding from the Union; and a part of the territory of Massachusetts, Nantucket island, actually put itself under British protection. The conduct of those states in whose behalf chiefly the war was undertaken, greatly discouraged the administration at Washington. New England has been much criticized on account of its course, and no very able defense has ever been put up for it. The reason for its stand was apparent. The Napoleonic wars were then raging in Europe, creating a fine market for almost everything that America had to sell. New England was a manufacturing region, and was reaping a rich harvest from trade. A war with England would stop that trade, and for that reason New England was opposed to the war, even if some of her vessels were searched and some of her sailors carried off by force.

Quite different was the course of Western Virginia, both east and west of the Alleghany mountains. The people had little trade interest, neither had they anything in the way of property at stake. What they did was done from pure patriotism, and they did everything that was asked of them, and more. While in other regions the draft was resorted to before the quotas could be raised, the Western Virginians sent down more than their share. A thousand in one body were turned back when they had almost reached Richmond, because the quota was more than full. On their march home they met troops and companies of others, still hurrying down from the mountains to help drive back the threatened invasion. The governor of Virginia, and the administration at Washington, could well look toward the west where lay the hills whence came

strength in the hour of need. The same spirit was there then which fifty years later, when the call came again for help, joined in the reply: "We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand strong."

Western Virginia had no shipping at stake and no sailors in danger. A few sea-going vessels had been built on the Ohio and had gone to the ocean, but they were not owned by those who built them, and it is not probable that a Virginian was among their crews.

The first apprehension of danger was on the eastern coast, and the first call for soldiers from Western Virginia was for the defense of that region, and the mountain men marched east. The war in that quarter could not be other than defensive, on the part of the Americans; for there was no possibility of attacking by land until the enemy had actually invaded our country. It was different, however, in the north and west, for there lay Canada, a province of the British, open to invasion. Offensive war could be carried on there with a prospect of victory on the enemy's soil. General Hull with 2,000 men was sent to Detroit to be ready to cross at once into Canada. In fact, he was on the ground before war was declared, for both England and the United States kept forces in that quarter. When war came, General Hull, instead of striking the rapid blows which were expected of him, or at least holding his ground until reinforcements could reach him, surrendered his army prisoners of war without having struck a blow, even in defense. Great was the indignation when the news spread through the country. He was called a traitor, although that term was too severe. It was a calamity, or threatened to become one, unless the damage could be speedily repaired. The British had called in their old allies, the Indians. The immediate danger was that the Indians would attack the frontiers which were left exposed by the surrender of General Hull. At the close of the last Indian war, eighteen years before, the frontier was east of the Ohio river, but since then it had moved west, and was in Ohio. The attack of the Indians, therefore, did not threaten the Virginians but the people in Ohio. It was believed that the savages would at once move against the settlements.

The first offer of assistance to the Ohio people came from Brooke county, in the northern panhandle. Seeing the danger, the people east of the Ohio did not wait for orders from Richmond, as is shown by a letter written September 1, 1812, by James Marshall to Governor Barbour at Richmond, from which the following extract is taken:

"On receiving authentic information that General Hull had surrendered the fort at Detroit with all the troops under his command to the British army under General Brock, it was believed by a number of respectable inhabitants of this county to be our duty to raise a volunteer corps for the protection of the frontiers until the government should provide more adequate means to repel the enemy. Colonel John Connell, an officer of some experience, tendered his services, and is this day ready to march to the frontiers in the direction of Detroit, with about 200 volunteers; but on receiving information that the frontier inhabitants immediately opposite to us are sufficiently covered at present, we have thought it most advisable to suspend the march of this detachment for a few days; in the meantime they will be held in readiness to act as circumstances may require."

The volunteers who thus organized and equipped themselves to repel a threatened attack by Indians in Ohio, were soon mustered into the regular service of the United States, and went to the front.

West Virginians in the Eastern Army—The enemy appeared on both sides of Western Virginia, about the great lakes in Northern Ohio and southern Michigan, and also on the Atlantic coast. It was necessary to send the Western Virginia troops in both directions. Thirty-six companies, or about 2,160 men, went east, and about 1,500 went west. The following counties sent troops of cavalry east:

Ohio county, one company under Captain Samuel McClure.
Monroe county, one company under Captain Charles W. Lewis.
Wood county, one company under Captain Nimrod Saunders.
Monongalia county, two companies under Captain William N. Jarrett and Captain Rawley Martin.
Greenbrier county, one company under Captain John Welch.
Harrison county, three companies under Captain David Robertson, Captain Archibald B. Wilson, and Captain Forbes Britain.
Pendleton county, one company under Captain Thomas Kincaid.
Jefferson county, one company under Captain Carver Willis.
Mason county, one company under Captain Peter H. Steenbergen.
Randolph county, one company under Captain Solomon Collett.
Cabell county, one company under Captain Wm. Brumfield.
Hardy county, one company under Captain John Cunningham.
Brooke county, one company under Captain William McClung.
Kanawha county, one company under Captain Silas Reynold.

Artillery companies were sent to the front as follows:

Berkeley county, one company under Captain Robert Wilson.
Ohio county, one company under Captain Samuel Beck.
Hampshire county, one company under Captain James Dailey.
Monongalia county, one company under Captain Samuel Kennedy.
Kanawha county, one company under Captain Silas Reynold.

The following infantry and rifle companies went west:

Harrison county, one company under Captain Joseph Johnson.
Berkeley county, one company under Captain Buckmaster.
Pendleton county, two companies under Captain John Johnson and Captain Jesse Hinkle.
Monroe county, two companies under Captain William McDaniel and Captain James Hill.
Ohio county, two companies under Captain John Bonnett and Captain William Irwin.
Brooke county, one company under Captain Moses Congleton.
Monongalia county, three companies under Captain James Hervey, Captain Matthias McCowan, and Captain Christian Conn.
Jefferson county, two companies under Captain Joseph Grantham and Captain Van Rutherford.

The particulars of the work of these soldiers in the field are not well known. There is an amazing lack of information concerning their movements. The particulars of the war of 1812 on land have not been well written. A considerable part of the war is not very creditable to the Americans. There was no lack of courage on the part of the soldiers, but a woeful lack of management by the high officers. The capital of the United States was allowed to fall into the enemy's hands without an earnest effort being made to defend it. Although the war had been going on nearly two years, and the British were at complete liberty to approach by water within forty miles of Washington, no steps were taken to fortify the city against a land attack. The incompetence of the military establishment was so great, and so unaccountable, that the British were more surprised than the Americans when they found how easy it was to take the city. It was so easy that they thought it must have been accidental, and they made undue haste to get away. They feared there must be an army somewhere near which would soon put in an appearance and cut off retreat. But they had no cause for alarm. They burned the capitol and the white house, and retreated with such haste that they overlooked a cannon foundry at Georgetown only three miles distant. It is said that the cannon with which Commodore Perry won the battle of lake Erie were cast at that foundry; but the truth of that assertion has not been satisfactorily established.

It is not known where the Western Virginia troops were when

Washington was captured, but it is probable that they were scattered in distant places, perhaps some of them on the frontier of Canada. Had the whole Western Virginia forces been present when the attack on Washington was made, they would have been too few to have offered successful resistance.

If the soldiers from Western Virginia failed to save the capital of the United States from falling into the hands of the enemy it was not due to any backwardness on their part in responding to the call for help. In the Virginia constitutional convention at Richmond in 1850, a western delegate, Waitman T. Willey, who was afterwards United States senator from West Virginia, referred to the readiness with which the western men responded to the call. "How was it some forty years ago," said he in reply to aspersions cast on the west by the eastern delegates, "when the invader was enticing away your negroes, burning your villages, pillaging your property, and driving your families into the interior? How was it then, with the enemy in your midst who, when you sought to repel the invader from before you, might recall you by the midnight glare of your own dwellings in flames? You called for help, and the echo of your call had hardly returned from our mountains, till the roll of the western drum was heard in your capitol square. Where were your ideas of selfishness then? Where was your distrust when you were arming us for defense? We came at your call. The district which I have the honor in part to represent, sent down her men, her Haymonds, her Morgans, her Tennants, her Hurrys, her Staffords, and others equally worthy. But they did not all come back. Many a desolated western fireside, many a bereaved family, attested the fidelity of the western heart that day. The bones of some of those brave men now lie bleaching on your pine hills, and along your sea coast, to reproach you for your ungenerous distrust."

West Virginians in the Western Army—When General Hull surrendered Detroit and laid bare the western country to attack by British and their Indian allies, a hurry call was sent out for volunteers to form a new army. The territory now embraced in West Virginia was asked to furnish 1,500 men. Others were raised in Kentucky and Ohio, and the field of operation was in the vicinity of Lake Erie. The place of rendezvous for the Western Virginians was at Point Pleasant, the mouth of the Kanawha. The call was issued in September, 1812.

The British planned an offensive campaign about the lakes. At first they probably thought only of protecting Canada against invasion; but when they won the easy victory over General Hull, they concluded that further inroads on western territory might be made. By the capture of Detroit, all Michigan fell into British hands, and it was promptly taken possession of by proclamation. That made Lake Huron a wholly British lake; for all of the enclosing land was under British control; and Lake Superior was practically surrounded by the enemy's possessions. If the British could hold Michigan it would give them control of a large region, and of extensive waterways. For that reason, General Brock's victory over General Hull was of the utmost importance from the British point of view, and it greatly encouraged them to put forth every possible effort to hold what they had, and to gain more. They assembled a fleet on Lake Erie for the purpose of holding the lakes and dominating their shores. The British had never wholly abandoned the idea of getting possession of some of the northwestern territory, although they had relinquished their claim to it at the treaty of Paris in 1783. They seized upon the surrender of Hull as an opening wedge with which to detach some of the region from the United States, and their design was

nothing less than to gain possession of Lake Erie and the connected waterways westward, and shut the United States away from them.

That ambitious design, and the success of the first step to accomplish it, made the war in the vicinity of the lakes of the utmost importance. General William Henry Harrison, who lived on the Ohio river below Cincinnati, was appointed to command after General Hull's surrender. He had a long frontier to defend, and no army with which to do it. That was the situation when in September, 1812, the call came to Kentucky, Ohio, and Western Virginia for volunteers for a western army. The Virginians furnished in all 1,500 men, but not all at one time. It is not the purpose in this chapter to give a history of the war as a whole, nor even an account of all that occurred about the lakes; but only a brief narrative of the march of the Western Virginians to the front.

The troops which were ordered to assemble at the mouth of the Kanawha were commanded by General Joel Leftwich, and on September 26, 1812, he reached Point Pleasant, where only nineteen men had arrived, but others came in rapidly during the next few days. On October 12, General Leftwich wrote to Governor Barbour of Virginia, as follows:

"I have the honor to inform you that the troops which I command have collected at the general rendezvous, except some small detachments which are yet expected. A partial organization has been effected for the better regulation and disciplining of the troops, subject to alteration when the whole are collected, the last company of which came in last evening. From the regimental morning reports of this day there are in camp and on furlough 1,311 men, including officers, and 319 blankets are wanting. It seems impracticable to procure them; and without them the troops must suffer greatly, as they have to act in a very cold climate and at a severe season of the year. It is confidently hoped that if possible the interposition of the government will remedy this inconvenience. We are also in want of ammunition, axes, spades, and shovels, and such articles as are absolutely necessary, all of which might be readily procured if we had funds. The paymaster stationed here refused to reimburse the captains for the money they expended for provisions, in conveying their companies to this place. They have been at considerable expense, and murmured on being refused the money they expended for the public good. The paymaster did not think himself authorized by his instructions to satisfy such claims, and it was with much difficulty I could silence their murmurings by stating that some unintentional failure had produced this inconvenience.

"I received a letter from the secretary of war directing me to march as soon as possible to the frontier of Ohio and report myself to the commanding officer of the northwestern army. The same day I received one from General Harrison, dated at Piqua, September 27, in which I was informed that my destination is Wooster, 45 miles west of Canton. The Virginia detachment and that from Pennsylvania unite at Wooster and form the right wing of the army, and march to the rapids of the Maumee. I am preparing with all possible speed to hasten to Wooster, and expect to start in a very short time. The military stores arrived October 4 without much injury. Tents are distributed and a regular encampment formed. The infantry are furnished with arms and accoutrements, and such of the riflemen as are without rifles will have muskets placed in their hands tomorrow. The troops appear brave and willing to encounter any inconvenience that can be surmounted, but that of blankets is insurmountable."

On October 20 the troops crossed the Ohio river, and their line of march passed through Gallipolice, Chillicothe, Circleville, Delaware, Marion, Upper Sandusky, Finley, to Fort Meigs.

The winter set in early, and there was much suffering on the march. The passage through the formidable Black Swamp tried the endurance of the soldiers. One of the men described it in a letter as follows:

"We marched thirty miles [in one day] under an incessant rain. I am afraid you will doubt my veracity when I tell you that in eight miles of the best of the road it took us over our knees, and often to the middles. The Black Swamp—four miles from Portage river and four miles in extent—would have been considered

impossible by all but men determined to surmount every difficulty to accomplish the object of this march. In this swamp you lose sight of terra firma altogether. The water was about six inches deep on the ice, which was very rotten, often breaking through to a depth of four or five feet. The same night we encamped on the very wet ground, but the dryest that could be found, the rain still continuing. It was with difficulty we could raise fires. We had no tents. Our clothes were wet, no axes, nothing to cook in, and very little to eat. A brigade of pack horses being near us, we procured from them some flour; killed some hogs (there being plenty of them along the road). Our bread we baked in the ashes, and the pork we broiled on the coals. A sweeter morsel I never partook of. When we went to sleep it was on logs laid close to each other to keep our bodies from the damp ground."

There was much marching like that described in the above paragraph; and late in the winter the enemy began to be encountered. Sometimes the American troops were successful and at other times the reverse was the case. It was a difficult country in which to carry on a winter campaign. At times the weather was intensely cold, at other times there were rains and floods. Supplies were procured with difficulty. Sometimes the horses were obliged to subsist on slippery elm bark and such ginians eargerly returned home at the expiration of their term of enbrowse as they could crop in the woods. Some of the Western Virlistment; and some of the officers, not finding military life what they expected, resigned and went home. "I hope their names will be blotted from the records of Virginia," wrote Colonel John Connell of Brooke county, to Governor Barbour of Virginia, on November 11, 1812; yet in that same letter Colonel Connell, in a pet because he could not have his way in the selection of officers, threatened to resign and "retire to private life and there await the fate of my country." Fortunately, the fate of the country did not depend as much upon his actions as he seemed to suppose it did.

A letter dated Delaware, Ohio, January 24, 1813, was written to Governor Barbour by John Mallory, quartermaster-general, in which he gave an account of buying and moving stores to the front. Said he:

"I have loaded at this place in the last four days 700 pack horses, 60 wagons, and 100 sleds, with flour and quartermaster stores. I am giving two dollars per bushel for corn delivered at Upper Sandusky, and you must know from the quantity necessary to supply the army that it takes the cash by wholesale. You may rest assured that we shall do something in consequence soon, as we have a sufficiency of provisions forwarded, and all our artillery was started the 18th from Sandusky for the rapids, and we have forwarded a sufficient supply of ammunition."

The British prepared to follow up their victory at Detroit by taking steps to hold the lakes. A fleet was assembled on Lake Erie, not only to hold the water, but to transport troops and supplies from point to point. The Americans had no vessels with which to oppose the enemy in that region. The importance of holding the lakes was clearly understood. Without doing so it would be impossible to carry on an aggressive campaign in Canada, and it would be difficult to recover lost ground on the American side, and to protect the country from raids by land and water.

An officer 27 years old, and whose name up to that time had seldom been heard outside of navy circles, was at Newport, Rhode Island, at the beginning of February, 1813—Richard Hazard Perry. He was ordered to Lake Erie to oppose the British by water, and he took with him a force of seasoned men. He had no war vessels, but was directed to construct a fleet. The timbers of which they were to be built were then green trees standing in the woods, in the vicinity of Erie, Pennsylvania. He repaired to that place, cut timber, and set to work building a fleet. The British had six vessels with 63 guns and 502 men on Lake

Erie; and quickly discovering what was going on, Captain Barclay, the British commander, proceeded to blockade the harbor at Erie to prevent the escape of the American ships. The work of building was pushed so energetically that a fleet of nine vessels, armed with 54 guns, and manned by 490 men, was ready to sail in August. Taking advantage of a day when the enemy was off guard, Perry sailed out, and on September 10 met the British fleet near the east end of Lake Erie, and a memorable battle was fought. The fleets were about equal in strength. The British had more guns, but those of the Americans were larger. The battle lasted four hours, and both fleets were badly cut up; but the fight ended in the capture of every vessel in the enemy's fleet, and not one man escaped.

The victory gave the Americans undisputed control of the lakes. The British who had held Detroit since Hull surrendered it, did not wait there for the attack which General Harrison was preparing to deliver, but hurriedly crossed the river into Canada, and gave up Michigan without a fight. One of the last men, it is said, to leave Detroit when the retreat to Canada began, was the notorious Simon Girty, then old and nearly blind. For eighteen years, following General Wayne's victory over the Indians at Fallen Timbers, Ohio, in 1794, Girty had remained about the camps of the British in that region; and when Detroit fell into their hands in 1812 he returned there to be near the scene of his former activities. It was in that region years before that he was kept busy organizing or leading parties of Indians to war upon the frontiers. It is said that when he left Detroit with the British camp followers, he made his horse swim the river, and as he rode up the opposite bank, he looked back and saw Detroit for the last time, then disappeared in the woods, cursing, like Timon of Athens, as he went.

The victory on the lake, and the hot haste with which the British cleared out of Michigan, had an almost instantaneous effect upon the Indians. They lost no time in making peace with the Americans in that quarter, and what had threatened to become a distructive Indian war on the frontier of Ohio and Indiana was averted.

Having cleared American soil of the enemy, General Harrison crossed into Canada, where he brought the British to battle at the Thames river, and utterly routed them. The noted Indian, Tecumseh, who fought General Harrison two years before at Tippecanoe, Indiana, was killed in the battle at the Thames.

That practically ended the war of 1812 as far as the Western Virginians were directly concerned. It is not known that any of them were with Jackson at New Orleans. They were widely scattered, however, and doubtless some of them were in every important campaign.

It appears that the mortality among the Western Virginia troops who were stationed at Norfolk in the war was peculiarly heavy in the years 1814-1815. Accustomed to the pure mountain air and water, they may have been more susceptible of attack by disease than the troops from the low country. Those that died were buried in the sand near Norfolk. In 1836 the town council took measures to mark their graves. The following item appeared in the *Norfolk Herald* in 1836, under the heading,

"*The Burial Place of the Mountaineers.*—It is with the liveliest satisfaction that we inform our readers that the common council of Norfolk at their meeting yesterday afternoon, contracted for building a brick wall around the burial place of the brave and patriotic yeomanry of the upper country who marched to the defense of our town during the late war, and who fell victims to the terrible plague which ravaged the country in the memorable winter of 1814-1815. Too long has this duty been delayed, while every citizen of Norfolk has felt it a reproach that no public tribute of respect and gratitude had been paid to the memory of their gallant defenders; but for twenty years their graves had been left uninclosed, and without

any mark to distinguish them from the sod of the field. It is contemplated to have their remains disinterred and deposited in one common grave, and to mark the spot by a monument to their memory, inscribed with their names, as far as they can be ascertained."

The Western Virginians contributed not only men and supplies to the war of 1812, but they helped pay a direct tax levied for that purpose by the government. The tax was laid by an act of Congress passed August 2, 1813. The amount collected from the whole state of Virginia was $369,018.44, and from counties now in West Virginia it was as follows:

Berkeley	$6,147 22
Brooke	1,195 50
Cabell	1,546 50
Greenbrier	1,650 44
Hampshire	3,795 50
Hardy	2,126 50
Harrison	2,672 50
Jefferson	6,876 28
Kanawha	2,167 50
Mason	1,130 50
Monongalia	2,992 50
Monroe	1,030 50
Ohio	1,907 50
Pendleton	1,428 50
Randolph	5,465 50
Wood	1,338 50
Total	$43,469 94

THE MEXICAN WAR

As far as Western Virginia was concerned, the Mexican war was much more remote than the War of 1812. It was probably more popular, but Virginia as a state was called upon for only one regiment, and few of these, perhaps less than two hundred, came from counties now in West Virginia. It would apparently have been easy to raise ten thousand men west of the Alleghanies, in Virginia, but the knowledge that they were not needed put a stop to volunteering. This did not occur, however, until many companies had offered their services, only to be informed that the state's quota was full. In some of the counties, two or three companies were ready to take the field.

Virginia's regiment was in command of Colonel John F. Hamtramck of Jefferson county. He was a graduate of West Point, and after serving a few years as Indian agent, he retired to civil life, as a farmer in Jefferson county. When the war with Mexico came, he offered his services and was given command of the Virginia regiment. These troops were ordered to rendezvous on the Ohio river at the mouth of the Guyandot. It was the purpose to descend the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans, and from there proceed by water to the mouth of the Rio Grande. The governor of Virginia wrote to the secretary of war, requesting that the regiment assemble at Richmond and be mustered into service there. It was then winter, 1846, and the large portion of the regiment consisted of companies from east of the Blue Ridge, and it was represented that the march across the Alleghanies in the winter would be attended with many difficulties. The order was therefore given for the troops to assemble at Richmond.

The regiment sailed in January and February, 1847, from Old Point Comfort for the mouth of the Rio Grande; and Colonel Hamtramck proceeded overland to New Orleans. By April the troops were on Mexican soil. Their arrival at Monterey was thus spoken of in a letter written from that place by the surgeon of an Ohio regiment:

"The Virginia regiment under Colonel Hamtramck, escorting a train of 180 wagons from Comargo, arrived here yesterday. They have been sixteen days on the way, having been detained by heavy rains. They were obliged to build several bridges over streams that three weeks ago had not a drop of water in them. The regiment is one of the largest and finest-appearing ones I have seen in the field, The officers are generally military men of experience, and appear to be gentlemen of high honor and bearing. The Old Dominion may well feel proud of the force she has sent into the field."

There was no company from west of the Alleghanies in that regiment. It was so quickly filled that no western men had time to reach Richmond. Jefferson county had one company under Captain John W. Rowan; and Berkeley one under Captain Ephraim G. Alburtis.

Some of the men west of the mountains were not to be deprived of the privilege of going to the war, and they volunteered in the regular army. Captain Elisha W. McComas raised a company of seventy-five men in counties bordering on the Ohio river and rendezvoused at Guyandot in Cabell county, and proceeded to Newport, where they were mustered into service as Company C, Eleventh regiment of the U. S. infantry. They went to New Orleans and from there joined the army in Mexico.

A second company, or part of a company, consisting of 32 men, was raised in Monongalia county in 1847, and were known as the Mountain Boys of Monongalia. They were under Lieutenant George W. Clutter, and went to Old Point Comfort where they were attached to Company B, Thirteenth United States infantry, and sailed June 9, 1847, for the seat of war.

A West Virginian who afterwards became famous was in the regular army in Mexico, Thomas J. Jackson, who was born in Lewis county, and during the Civil war served in the Confederate army, and became known as Stonewall Jackson.

CHAPTER XVI

THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD

The dream of George Washington of an adequate highway connecting the east with the west, and uniting the two parts of the country in permanent bonds, was not realized until the Baltimore and Ohio railroad was built across the Alleghany mountains. The great first president did not understand in exactly what way the highway would be built. The locomotive had not yet been invented, and though tramroads were in existence in England, particularly in the coal mines, it is probable that Washington had not heard of them. It does not seem, at any rate, that he depended upon any kind of a road with rails to contribute to the highway which he believed would join the east with the west. He did consider the steamboat as a probability for the river travel, but he knew of nothing better than the slow travel by horses across country where boats could not be made to go. But it was not long after Washington had ended his labors that the railroad appeared on the scene, and the pace of progress and the march of civilization were quickened as they never had been before. It is of peculiar interest to West Virginians that the world's first really important railroad was surveyed and built across the mountains of the state, and nearly upon the identical route which Washington had mapped for the great highway between the east and the west.

The Baltimore and Ohio railroad was not actually the first railroad in the world. It is not easy to say what was the first, or when. The beginning of parallel tracks on which wheels or rollers of some sort trundled is unknown. It is claimed that the Egyptians used such for transporting blocks of heavy stone. Wooden rails were in use in English coal mines in 1676, and wagons with specially made wheels ran along them, carrying coal. Horses were the motive power. A full history of the invention of railroads would show that it was a slow process, a series of patches, improvements, and adding a little here and other there, for more than a century before the first success was attained in making a locomotive. If anyone, prior to 1782, thought of building a locomotive, the thought failed to bear fruit. Doubtless many a dreamer had pictured something of the kind in his imagination, but when Oliver Evans at Philadelphia planned a steam wagon in 1782 he struck the key to the locomotive. Several years more were necessary before a machine was made that would transport itself by its own power. Inventors were at work, following out the idea, and in 1804 a locomotive was at work upon a tramway in France. The machine was light, and had only four wheels, and when it came to a severe pull, the wheels slipped. Cogs were made to connect the wheels with the rails, but the friction was too great, and the device was not a success. Then someone invented a locomotive with legs—two hind legs in addition to its wheels. The legs were operated by machinery, and it was expected they would walk the engine along. Success was only moderate. That was an English invention, and it was tried in 1814.

The first passengers to be carried by rail were in England in 1825, but horses drew the cars. The next year a locomotive in France drew passenger coaches. It may be considered that the locomotive had now made its appearance, and improvements only were to follow. The im-

provements came rapidly, but some years passed before a real locomotive was produced. The first ones were so light and weak that for hard work they could not compete with horses. An English railroad company offered a prize of $2,500 for the best locomotive. It must not be above a certain weight, must draw a certain load, at a certain speed. Four inventors submitted models. One was John Stephenson, whose engine was accepted, and he is considered the inventor of the locomotive. That was in 1829.

The Baltimore and Ohio railroad company was organized and much preliminary work was done before the invention of a working locomotive. The company intended to operate trains with horses. It was planned as a horse line, not one to be run by steam. It was a vast undertaking, for it was not designed as a road a few miles in length, as other tram roads were which had been built or were building at that time, but one terminus was at Baltimore and the other was to be at the Ohio river. Though John Stephenson's locomotive appeared in 1829, the preliminary surveys of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad were completed and published in 1828, and there was money in sight with which to construct the road to the Ohio, a distance of 300 or 400 miles, depending upon the route to be followed. No survey was as low as 300 miles.

Steel rails were unknown during the early years of tramroad building, and even iron rails were not used at first. Heavy wooden beams were employed. The first improvement consisted of thin laths nailed on the heavy beams to form a surface which could be removed and renewed when worn. Later heavy strap or bar iron was nailed upon the wooden rails. Some of that kind of material was in use on the early sections of the Baltimore and Ohio road, even after steam was substituted for horsepower. It proved to be dangerous when the locomotive increased the speed of cars. The strap iron was liable to pull loose, become entangled with the wheels, and break through the car floors, endangering the lives of passengers. The ends of the bars, running up through the floor, were popularly called "snake heads." The Baltimore and Ohio railroad abandoned that kind of rails as soon as something better could be had. The experiment was tried again upon a small railroad in West Virginia after the Civil war, but no greater success attended than in the first experiments near Baltimore. The dangerous "snake heads" continued to thrust their menacing forms through car floors.

The first iron rails were cast, and were used in England, but the Baltimore and Ohio railroad purchased some of them and laid them in track between Baltimore and Endicott City. The rails could not be cast straight if more than three or four feet long, and they were heavy, clumsy affairs. They broke frequently under the impact of wheels. The first rolled iron rails were made in 1820 in England.

The Baltimore and Ohio railroad company kept close watch upon railroad improvements in England, and when Stephenson's locomotive was tried and found useful, an agent was sent to England to study the whole railroad situation. Three of Stephenson's engines were bought and in due time arrived in Baltimore. The first shovel of dirt was thrown in the construction of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad on July 4, 1828, and in a little more than one year the first locomotives were demonstrating that steam could do the work better than horses. The next year, 1830, Peter Cooper built the first American locomotive. It was made at Baltimore for the new railroad. That year trains began to run from Baltimore to Endicott City, thirteen miles. Some of the trains were drawn by horses, some by locomotives. The enterprise

was well patronized, and during the eight months from January 1, 1831, to September 1, 1831, the road carried 81,905 passengers and 5,931 tons of freight.

A Great Engineering Feat—The survey for the Baltimore and Ohio railroad in 1828, between Baltimore and the Ohio river, was a remarkable piece of engineering. It was only preliminary, and the work was not completed for many years; but the foundation was laid that year by surveying numerous routes across the mountains in Virginia and Maryland. It was a search for the best way. Rather it was an effort to find a practicable way for a railroad to pass over the Alleghany mountains, for it was an unknown field. Engineers had never done that kind of work before. Routes had been laid out for highways and for canals, but railroading was an untried thing. Plans and projects had to be proved by experiments. The passes through the mountains, the ascents and descents, the gorges and the grades, the tunnels and bridges, all were to be determined by explorations and reconnaissances in a region where few levels had ever been run. The rivers and mountains were known, and it was well understood that the valleys were deep and the hills were high; but the problems to be solved by field work consisted in negotiating the difficult natural features of the country by grades over which a vast region's commerce and travel could be carried with safety and economy. It should not be forgotten that when those preliminary surveys were made in 1828 the plan was to operate the trains by horse-power.

The reports of the engineers who undertook the work show a pretty firmly fixed belief, or fear, that the great, deep gorge through which Cheat river flows could be crossed only with much difficulty. No railroad had ever crossed such a gorge, no canal had ever done it, and few first-class wagon roads had done so. One of the most interesting parts of the reports by the engineers deals with efforts to reach the Ohio river without crossing Cheat river. Nature had interposed obstacles enough, but the Virginia legislature added others. The railroad company was restricted to the region north of the Kanawha valley, or at least north of the Guyandot river; and the Pennsylvania legislature was so hostile to the enterprise that the railroad instructed its engineers to keep out of Pennsylvania. That resulted in restricting efforts to the region between the Greenbrier river and the Pennsylvania line. The engineers were sent from Baltimore to find a route for a railroad to the Ohio river, crossing the Alleghany mountains by way of some one of the numerous branches of the Potomac river. Choice was given to try the route up the Shenandoah valley, and thence over the mountains to the head of the Greenbrier.

With all the search for possible places to cross the formidable valley of Cheat river, during which almost every pass and creek from the head of the stream to its mouth was examined, it is remarkable that the surveyors failed to find the route by way of Rowlesburg, where finally the railroad crossed some twenty years later. It appears to have been about the only place that was not reported upon before the end of the year 1828.

Seeking a Route—The first one hundred and fifty miles of the route west from Baltimore presented no great engineering difficulties, and it may be passed with little mention. That brought the survey to Cumberland, Maryland, at the eastern base of the Alleghany mountains. The surveyors in their report did not give much space to a discussion of the probable traffic which the road would have. Their main business was to find a practicable route for a road, and they seemed to look upon traffic as a matter of course. They took occasion, however, to mention the

region's wealth in coal. One of the first deposits of coal spoken of was that near the present town of Thomas, in Tucker county, West Virginia, which was destined to lie untouched for fifty-six years after that time until it was finally tapped by the West Virginia Central and Pittsburg railroad in 1884.

It was shown that coal mines on the upper Potomac had been worked before that time. The location of the mines was not stated, but they were probably in the vicinity of Piedmont, West Virginia. The coal was described as so abundant that the people burned it in preference to wood. Before that time coal had been taken down the Potomac in boats to Williamsburg, Harper's Ferry (where it supplied the U. S. arsenal), Hagerstown, Georgetown, Washington, and Baltimore. The foundries at Georgetown as well as in Baltimore were supplied in part with coal which was transported from the Upper Potomac, probably from above Cumberland.

Though the surveyors were instructed not to enter Pennsylvania territory, they so far violated their instructions as to examine some of the mountains and streams north of the Cumberland. They were on the old Nemacolin Indian trail, which subsequently became the Braddock road, and their inclinations were strong to follow it. Somehow, an Indian trail has always had great attractions for railroad surveyors. During the Baltimore and Ohio's reconnaissance in 1828 it happened over and over that whenever the surveyors found themselves on a route which promised to conduct them through the difficulties, it turned out to be an old Indian trail.

The mountains were tackled in earnest at the mouth of Savage river, at the very point where the railroad today takes to the mountain by way of the "seventeen mile grade," at Bloomington, Mineral county, West Virginia, though at that point the survey left Virginia's soil and entered Maryland. The mountain was high, and the engineers did not expect to reach its summit without a steep grade. They were more concerned about getting down the western side into the abyss that confronted them in the gorge of Cheat river. When they reached the summit they were on the headwaters of the Youghioghany river. They here intersected the route which Washington selected forty-four years before for the great highway which he planned between the east and the west. From that point westward for sixty miles the railroad surveyors followed the route selected by Washington. They varied a little from it in places but for most of the way followed it pretty closely. The Washington route was never, however, located by an exact survey. For part of the way they ran the same course because both followed an Indian trail—called the McCullough path from near Oakland, Maryland, to Dunkard bottom on Cheat river.

It is of interest to note that the railroad surveyors on that occasion made the first competent examination ever attempted of that part of Cheat river below Dunkard Bottom called the "lower narrows." It was through that gorge that Washington so earnestly hoped that boats might pass. In another chapter of this book an account will be found of the efforts made by him in 1784 to ascertain what was the nature of the river channel, and whether it could be made navigable for boats from Dunkard bottom down. It was perhaps well for Washington's peace of mind that he could not know what report the engineers would make nearly half a century later. They were trying to locate a highway the same as he was, for the same purpose and over the same route. The following paragraph from their report shows their opinion of the Cheat river gorge about which Washington could find out so little:

"Cheat river for about four miles below Dunkard bottom to the mouth of Green's run has moderate bottoms on either bank, some of them cultivated and very fertile. Below this point the valley gradually assumes that wild and rough appearance which is the characteristic of this river. The bed of the stream is frequently interrupted by huge masses of rock, many of them as large as a moderate house, which are sometimes so abundant that we were often enabled to pass over by leaping from rock to rock. The mountains which form its banks rise almost immediately from the water's edge, presenting their steep sides at an angle of forty or fifty degrees, and ascending to the height of 700 or 800 feet. Such being the rough character of this valley from the mouth of Green's run to a little above Ice's Ferry, a distance of sixteen miles, it is, of course, entirely uninhabited. Indeed in this distance there is scarcely level ground enough on which to place the foundations of a small cabin. Its wilderness may be imagined from the fact that we were for three days industriously occupied in making this sixteen miles. This was only accomplished (of course on foot, as no horse ever penetrated here) by clambering with excessive fatigue over rocks with the constant risk of falling from them, and by frequently fording the river to take advantage of the best ground on either side."

The railroad survey continued down Cheat river to its mouth, and again in spite of instructions the engineers found themselves in Pennsylvania, which they had not touched since leaving Cumberland. The mouth of Cheat river lies three miles over the Pennsylvania line, and the Monongahela was reached. The purpose was to find a way to the Ohio, then about sixty miles distant. The surveyors ascended Dunkard creek, partly in Pennsylvania and partly in Virginia, and without serious obstacles in the way, the survey was completed to the Ohio river. A number of places on the Ohio between Wheeling and Parkersburg were examined to determine their suitability as termini of railroads, but no one place was named as first choice. The statement is made in the report that the Ohio would probably not be bridged for many years.

Continuing the Search—The completion of one preliminary survey from Baltimore to the Ohio river did not end the work. That was only one part of it, the beginning. The whole region south of that survey, all the way to White Sulphur Springs, remained to be explored. Different surveys were in progress at the same time. The work had been well planned and systematically apportioned. A brief account is in order of some of those surveys, but little more than an outline of routes can be given.

When Cheat river was reached at Dunkard bottom, the formidable canyon of the river, the lower narrows, lay before. It was an unpromising route for a railroad, though the engineers did not pronounce it impossible. A corps was sent nearly due west from Dunkard bottom to the Monongahela at Morgantown to examine the country. A route was surveyed up Green's river, over the divide, and down Decker's creek to Morgantown. That was almost the identical route over which the Morgantown and Kingwood railroad was built seventy-five years later. From Morgantown the survey passed up the Monongahela river to the mouth of Buffalo creek, and along that route the Baltimore and Ohio Company built a road nearly sixty-five years after. The old survey followed Buffalo creek—and the road was ultimately built over part of that route—to the Ohio.

From the top of Chestnut ridge, west of Kingwood, the survey forked. That to Morgantown has been mentioned. The other line reached Three Fork creek and followed it to the site of Grafton—and over a portion of that route near Grafton the Baltimore and Ohio railroad was built some twenty years later. These were the branch surveys from Dunkard bottom, that is, starting from the bottom of Cheat river valley and seeking a route to the Ohio. There were surveys further south. One branched from the main route near Oakland, Maryland, and passed down Wolf creek in Preston county, crossed Cheat river five

miles above Rowlesburg, and ascended Flag run, passed Evansville, and crossed the Tygart's Valley river above Grafton, and thence passed on to Clarksburg. The Northwestern turnpike passed over part of that route within a few years. Another survey passed near Aurora, Preston county, and followed Mill run to Cheat river at St. George, in the present county of Tucker. Crossing the river at that place the route led up Clover run, crossed Laurel hill to Sugar creek in Barbour county, and was continued toward Clarksburg, and thence to Parkersburg along nearly the same line, from Clarksburg to the Ohio, as was followed when the road was constructed twenty-five years later. That was an Indian trail.

From the top of the Alleghany mountains, at the head of the Youghiogheny river near Altamont, Maryland, another survey led westward, down Horeshoe run—following an old Indian trail—and reached Cheat river three miles above St. George. Descending the river the two surveys united at St. George, but another passed up Cheat river from the mouth of Horseshoe run, up Shaver's fork of Cheat river to the mouth of Pheasant run in Randolph county. Crossing Laurel hill at the head of Pheasant run, the survey passed down Leading creek to Tygart's Valley river—following part of the present line of the Western Maryland railroad to Elkins, West Virginia.

Those were not all the surveys made. Cheat river was crossed at four points—Dunkard bottom 32 miles above its mouth; at the mouth of Buffalo creek 54 miles above its mouth; at St. George 66 miles above; and at the mouth of Horeshoe run, 69 miles above. An examination but not a survey was made of a route by way of Black fork of Cheat river, which called for a crossing of the river 76 miles above its mouth, where the town of Parsons now stands. The difficulties of these routes were discussed in the report. The route by way of Clarksburg to the Ohio river was pronounced so difficult that the engineers dismissed it from consideration; yet that was finally adopted as the route for the Parkersburg branch of the road. Between Grafton and Parkersburg there are twenty-seven tunnels. In 1828, when the survey was made, the art of boring tunnels was not well understood, and the surveyors decided that the necessity for so many of them made the building of the road over that route an impossibility.

Avoiding Cheat River—The difficulties presented by the deep gorge of Cheat river, which paralleled the base of the Alleghanies, and was flanked by precipitous mountains, induced the engineers to seek every possible chance to find another way. The most promising route seemed to lead round the heads of the many streams forming the source of the river. The dividing ridge separating the waters of the Greenbrier and the Elk from those of Cheat river is crooked in the extreme, winding and turning this way and that among the interlocking and overlapping sources. The average altitude of the watershed for a long distance is more than three thousand feet above sea level. On the old maps of the region the whole district was marked "laurel thickets." It was one of the most formidable wildernesses of the great laurel or rhododendron in the world. It is not known that its equal existed anywhere else. Above the almost impenetrable jungles of laurel, towered forests of spruce, hemlock, white pine, and occasional bodies of Frazer fir, with here and there stands of beech and yellow birch.

The survey passed up the South Branch of the Potomac from its mouth in Hampshire county to the mouth of the North fork in the present county of Grant. The engineers carefully scrutinized the face of the Alleghany mountain for an opportunity to pass to its summit and follow the watershed round the heads of Cheat river. No practicable route

for a railroad was found. At the mouth of Seneca creek, some eighty miles from the mouth of the South Branch of the Potomac, the old Seneca Indian trail was intersected. The route by which that path crossed the mountains was examined but it led to no results. The passage of the mountain there was impracticable, and the surveyors continued their work up the stream to its very source, 113 miles from the Potomac river. That brought the survey to the summit of the main ridge of the Alleghanies near where the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike crossed about twenty years later. It chanced, too, that the engineers had once more struck the summit of a mountain where an historic Indian trail had crossed.

That point was about two miles from the field where the battle of the Alleghany mountain was fought in 1861, the highest battle of the Civil war. The engineers made a thorough search of the mountain wilderness for a route passing round the heads of Cheat river. The way was too rough and the difficulties too many, and the survey along the elevated ridges was abandoned. The surveyors crossed the head waters of Greenbrier river, and extended the reconnaissance to the source of Elk river, and down that stream through Pocahontas into Randolph county. The purpose was to cross from Elk river to the source of the Little Kanawha, and follow that stream to the Ohio at Parkersburg. The way down Elk was pronounced too rough, and it was abandoned.

A line was surveyed down the Greenbrier river to White Sulphur Springs, and thence a route was examined over the Alleghany mountain near where the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad now crosses. Not much importance seems to have been attached to that survey as it was considered too far south, and attention was concentrated on the surveys further north.

These surveys and reconnaissances were all completed before the close of the year 1828, and before the invention of a workable locomotive. The surveys were only preliminary, of course; but permanent surveys were being made, and the building of the railroad was begun. The laying of only a few miles was completed before the locomotive replaced horses as the motive power. The first locomotive reached Endicott's Mills, Maryland, August 30, 1830; Frederick was reached December 1, 1831; Harper's Ferry December 1, 1834; Cumberland November 5, 1842; Piedmont July 21, 1851; Fairmont June 22, 1852; Wheeling December 24, 1852. Work on the branch from Grafton to Parkersburg was commenced in 1852 and the road was finished in 1857. Twenty-eight years had been required to build a little less than five hundred miles of railroad. The labor and the difficulties were far greater then than they would be now. Not only was the road built, but many of the tools and appliances for doing it had to be invented. The tunnel through Laurel hill west of Rowlesburg was the longest in the world when it was made. The steam and electric drills and dynamite were unknown then. A mile of hard rock was picked out, flake at a time, with hand tools, or was blasted with black powder.

The Fight Against the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad—Before the railroad reached the Ohio river it was forced to fight one of the most remarkable battles in history. It might be supposed that nature had made the task hard enough by interposing mountains and gorges, but envy, ignorance, and jealousy added immensely to the difficulties. The building of the road was hindered and blocked by acts of legislatures. Politicians played the demagogue by orating against "the foreign corporation capitalized at seven and a half million dollars." Pennsylvania led the fight, but Virginia was none too sympathetic. The road was nine years in building from Cumberland to Piedmont, a distance of about

thirty miles. That nine years was largely spent by the railroad company in fighting for the privilege of building. There was no lack of capital, no want of willingness to proceed to the Ohio, but legislatures and politicians blocked the way.

When the railroad reached Cumberland it was headed for Pittsburgh, That was the natural terminus for it. The distance to the Ohio at that point was shorter than by any other route; the natural difficulties in the way of construction were fewer; and traffic promised to be much more. Pennsylvania granted a charter to the company about the same time that Virginia took that action. But when the road arrived at Cumberland, ready to cross the Mason and Dixon line, Pennsylvania took a firm and stubborn stand that the railroad should not enter its territory. On April 13, 1846, a speech against permitting the road to cross Pennsylvania was delivered in the legislature of that state by Colonel James Burnside of Center county, which sums up the argument of the opposition, and shows the narrow and provincial views of the time. The controversy had been going on for some time, and a few men in western Pennsylvania wanted the railroad to push over the mountains to the Ohio; but such men were in a hopeless minority, and they were branded as enemies of their state and foes to its prosperity.

An idea may be had of the small grasp of affairs which some men possessed at that time, from the fact that it was openly declared that Pennsylvania could and ought to compel the railroad to stop at Cumberland and make that the permanent terminus. It was firmly believed, and was so declared, that the only possible route for the railroad to the Ohio lay through Pennsylvania, and if that route were closed against the road by legislation, the terminus must remain at Cumberland, and the state would forever be rid of it. Virginia unfortunately strengthened the hands of Pennsylvania in that particular opposition, though she profited by it ultimately and much against the will of some of her statesmen by securing the railroad over her own territory. The Virginia legislature refused at that time to permit the railroad to build to the Ohio much south of Wheeling. The territory toward the south was reserved for future railroads which had not yet passed the paper stage.

Colonel Burnside's speech in the Pennsylvania legislature took the ground that the state's business belonged to the state; that the traffic originating in or passing through western Pennsylvania should pass across the state to Philadelphia. The state had constructed wagon roads and was digging canals, and these, it was argued, should be made the highways of travel and commerce, and Pennsylvania business ought to be held strictly for Pennsylvanians. It was shown by figures and statistics that the Baltimore and Ohio railroad with its rails no farther west than Cumberland had already made a deep cut in the western business which ought to have gone to Philadelphia. It was being diverted to Baltimore. Passenger traffic over Pennsylvania highways from the west was 100,000 in 1838, and in 1844 had fallen to 50,000. The decline did not result from less travel, but from the fact that the travelers from the west were making their way to the terminus of the railroad at Cumberland and were going east by that route instead of passing overland by pike and canal to Philadelphia. It was openly declared that enough harm was being done to Pennsylvania's inland commerce with the railroad at Cumberland; and should it be built to the Ohio, it would divert all western trade and travel from Philadelphia to Baltimore.

It was with something akin to exultation that the declaration was made that the railroad could not be constructed to the Ohio south of Pennsylvania, and that the people of Pennsylvania would not permit it to cross or invade their territory; therefore, said the Pennsylvania law-

makers, it must remain for all time with its western terminus at Cumberland, and the traffic from and to the Ohio valley will pass through Philadelphia. During the year 1845 the shipments east from Pittsburgh by canals and otherwise totaled 76,000,000 pounds, and 54,000,000 of it originated in the Ohio Valley at Wheeling and below. That was worth saving to Pennsylvania, and her people supposed that the way to save it was to compel the Baltimore and Ohio railroad to stop at Cumberland. There was clearly a purpose or plan somewhere back of the opposition, to build a competing railroad from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, and it was important that rivals be kept out of the territory. The threat or the prophecy was made in 1846 that if the Baltimore and Ohio railroad should build to the Ohio river at Parkersburg, it would make Pittsburgh a deserted village by turning from it all Ohio valley traffic.

The opposition to the extension of the railroad toward the west did not all come from the Pennsylvania legislature. The farmers and business men of the western counties were strongly opposed to it, in fact, almost in arms against it. Some of the northern counties in Virginia were no less hostile, particularly Monongalia. The belief seemed to be pretty general that the building of the road through the country would produce calamities that could not possibly be offset by any advantages which would follow. Many of the arguments advanced were ridiculous, yet they were meant seriously and were used by men who were usually considered sensible.

"Let us compel the railroad to stop at Cumberland," was the wording of a declaration by the farmers of Fayette county, Pennsylvania, "and then all the goods will be wagoned through our country, all the hogs will be fed with our corn, all the horses with our oats. Go away with your railroad! We don't want our wives and children frightened to death by the screaming locomotive. We don't want our cows and hogs run over and killed by the cars." Over the state line, in Monongalia county, the prediction was made that the construction of the railroad would bring oats down to ten cents a bushel, and horses would have no sale because the railroads would displace them. Still more direful consequences were foretold. It was declared that the very atmosphere would be so disturbed by the rush of trains that disastrous storms would create havoc.

That opposition would have been ridiculous had it not been powerful for harm. As already stated, it tied up the road nearly nine years at Cumberland, and Pennsylvania was able to block the passage of the road across its borders, and it finally turned to the Virginia routes which were surveyed in 1828. In 1847 the Virginia legislature passed the necessary act, but still was unwilling to let the engineers work out the most available route. The act stipulated that the road should reach or cross Tygart's valley river within three miles of Three Fork creek; that is, that the road should pass over the site of Grafton. No village was there at that time. It is said this provision was inserted at the request of a single member of the legislature who lived in that vicinity. The railroad company accepted the unfair condition, and in order to reach that point they crossed Cheat river at Rowlesburg, a place which they had not even considered when running the preliminary surveys. It is said that the engineers would have crossed Cheat river at Dunkard bottom and built the road down Decker's creek through Morgantown, had they not been compelled by the legislature to pass through a certain cornfield where the town of Grafton has since been built.

The New Order—The Baltimore and Ohio railroad marked the beginning of a new order. Old things with their slowness and smallness rapidly gave way, and the industrial revolution began. That was the

pioneer road, but before it was completed many others were under way in different parts of the country. Long distances which formerly had seemed so formidable, disappeared. The Ohio and Mississippi valleys were as near the Atlantic seaboard as the Potomac and Shenandoah valleys were before. The east was tied to the west by bonds of trade and common interest, as Washington had planned they should be; but the relationship was much more intimate than he had foreseen. The Alleghany mountains which once had seemed so vast and difficult, almost dropped out of consideration in figuring on the transportation of commerce.

The Great Test—A great and crucial test of the railroad's worth in binding the east with the west was soon to come. Nine years after the road was completed to the Ohio at Wheeling and within four years of its completion to Parkersburg, the Civil war began. There were many other railroads in the country by that time, but none other was of as much importance to the government as the Baltimore and Ohio. More than once it helped save the day when the issue was almost life and death. That result was accomplished by rapid communication between the east and the west; by uniting in strong bonds those two parts of the country which Washington had declared must be united to make the country strong. The armies gathering and training at Washington were fed with corn and meat from the west, hauled by the Baltimore and Ohio railroad across the mountains. Troops and stores were transported in a few days which could not have been moved in months without the road.

A history of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad in the Civil war would furnish one of the most interesting and instructive chapters of that war. The road's position was strategic. It practically followed Mason and Dixon's line for nearly four hundred miles, and many an army marched and countermarched across its route; many a raid struck it with hostile purpose and with disastrous consequences. The Confederates at first undertook to hold the railroad for Virginia's benefit; they then would have been content to see the railroad observe strict neutrality and afford no advantage to the Government; but when they found that they could not hold it or compel it to remain neutral, they undertook to destroy it. Several times they inflicted great damage upon its track, bridges, and rolling stock, and on numerous occasions they destroyed property and interrupted traffic for short periods; but the management of the railroad was ever ready to repair quickly and to resume business promptly. The president of the road, John W. Garrett, was one of President Lincoln's strongest friends, and he enjoyed the full confidence of the secretary of war, and of the generals in the field. He frequently attended cabinet meetings, and probably no civilian in private life was more fully informed of military plans. If the government had owned the Baltimore and Ohio railroad it could not have had more complete use of it, and it is doubtful if it could have secured as effective use. Every want of the government in the way of transportation that could be anticipated by the railroad, was provided for, and when the demand came, the railroad was ready. In Major Theodore F. Lang's "Loyal West Virginia," the military assistance which the Baltimore and Ohio railroad gave the government in times of pressing danger furnish many interesting pages. Supplies were transported from the west to feed McClellan's army of 100,000 men and 60,000 horses during several months of preparation in 1861-2 for the invasion of the south. The Confederates, seeing their opportunity to blockade the national capital, used all means in their power to destroy the road west of Washington, and a number of times came dangerously near succeeding. While the Baltimore and Ohio rail-

road west of Washington fed the army by transporting the grain and meat from the west, the road connecting the national capital with the north and east brought in the clothes, arms, and ammunition. In 1862-3 the damage inflicted on the road was heaviest. It lost 42 locomotives, 386 cars, 127 spans of bridges, aggregating 4,713 feet, 36 miles of track, and the water stations and telegraph lines for a distance of 100 miles were destroyed. Two fine bridges at Harper's Ferry were destroyed during the war. That was then the largest bridge on the road, for the Ohio had not yet been bridged.

A supreme test of the road's strategic importance occurred in September, 1863, when it became necessary to send two army corps from the army of the Potomac to reinforce General Rosecrans at Chattanooga, who had been defeated at Chickamauga by General Bragg, and was in peril. It was of supreme importance that large reinforcements be sent to Chattanooga within a few days. The Baltimore and Ohio railroad was appealed to for help on the momentous occasion. "At a consultation President Lincoln seemed almost in despair," says Professor Draper in his "History of the Civil War." "'I advise,' said Stanton, Secretary of War, 'that a powerful detachment be sent from the army of the Potomac to open the road.' Lincoln smiled incredulously; General Halleck considered such an attempt impracticable. 'I do not,' said the Secretary of War, 'offer you this opinion without first having thoroughly informed myself of all the details. I will undertake to move 20,000 men from the army on the Rapidan, and place them on the Tennessee near Chattanooga within nine days.' Not without reluctance Lincoln gave his consent that the eleventh and twelfth corps should be moved."

A telegram was sent at eleven o'clock at night asking President Garrett to come to Washington and the next morning he was in attendance at the cabinet meeting where the transportation of the two army corps was discussed. He had brought with him his master of transportation, and was prepared for the business.

The account of how the army was transferred has been given by President Garrett, as quoted by Thomas Scharf:

"On that occasion I was summoned by telegraph to Washington City and responded in person, having made the run in 52 minutes on a special train. Repairing to the executive mansion I was invited to attend a cabinet meeting, at which were present, as I now recall the scene, Generals Halleck and Hooker and several others besides the president and his full cabinet. The subject under discussion, I was informed, was the possibility of transferring two army corps, numbering between 25,000 and 30,000 men, from the east to the west, in time to be made available for the assistance and relief of Rosecrans at Chattanooga, and as the cabinet officers of the army present could not settle the question of transportation in time, they had summoned me.

"I arrived at the very moment when they were at issue as to the possibility of making so large a transfer in so short a time. In response to their questions, I replied that I could put 30,000 men in Louisville, Ky., in ten days, provided I was clothed with absolute power over the whole route, as well as all military authority, not even excepting that of General Halleck, then general-in-chief; that the lines of railroad and telegraph should be under my sole control and command, and should be protected at night at threatened points with lanterns to warn the approach of any danger; that no military officer should give any orders not subject to my control, and that I be empowered to seize and run cars, stop the mail and passenger trains, government freight and all other trains; that full authority be given me to seize wagons, lumber, and impress men on the Ohio river for the purpose of building a bridge.

"The secretary of war, who was much pleased with the prospect of accomplishing this great feat of transportation contrary to the expressed opinion of General Halleck, replied that he would grant me everything and hold me responsible for success. General Hooker, who was to command the expedition, replied that while he had great respect for me personally, he would not as long as he held the rank of major general, become the subordinate of any civilian, and that he would there and then tender the resignation of his commission if any such authority was to be

given me. I replied that it was only with such authority that I would be responsible for the success of the movement, and without that authority I would not attempt the transfer of so many troops in such a short time.

"It was because I knew that absolute authority over every appliance for the movement, as well as every man to be moved, was necessary, that I insisted on dictatorial powers. That I was not mistaken was made apparent at the very outset of the movement, when it became necessary to threaten several colonels with arrest, and report to war department for slowness in movement and disposition to retard and embarrass the transfer; and again at Grafton a train was stopped by telegraph from a general officer until he could catch up with his command. Such interference, you can see, would have been fatal to the operations of a movement of 30,000 men over more than 1,000 miles along a single track railroad, as well as dangerous to the lives of large numbers. Mr. Stanton settled the matter with General Hooker in a private interview, upon returning from which he asked me to recommend four men of prominence for appointment as captains on the staff of General Hooker.

"Clothed with full power over men, material, and railroads, I repaired to Camden Station, Baltimore, and there took up my abode and did not leave the station, except to go to Washington, for five days, sleeping in my chair when I could, and eating at the depot as opportunity offered. I dispatched Mr. Wilson, master of transportation, to the Ohio river with power to seize flat boats and lumber, to construct a bridge over the river to be in readiness for the first train of cars that arrived with troops; and when, on the third day of my labor, I repaired to Washington to attend a cabinet meeting, I was met by Mr. Stanton and General Halleck with the remark: 'Well, you have failed. It is impossible to have the bridge completed over the Ohio before the troops arrive there on the cars.' I was surprised and almost confused. Something, I thought, had gone wrong or been omitted, and yet I could not think where or by whom the error or omission had been made. However, while the discussion was going on, we were interrupted by the hurried entrance of a messenger with a dispatch for me, announcing the completion of the bridge and the passage of the troops without the least delay. The entire two corps were landed safely in Louisville within the time stipulated by me, without accident or injury."

To transfer the two army corps from Washington to Stevenson, Alabama, a distance of 1,192 miles in seven days, it was necessary to connect diverging railroads with improvised tracks, build temporary bridges across large rivers, pass through half a dozen states, and cross the Ohio twice. The troops were accompanied by their artillery, baggage, and animals.

CHAPTER XVII

SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL LIFE IN EARLY SETTLEMENTS

The period covered by this chapter extends from the time of the first settlements by white men in Western Virginia down to about the close of the Mexican war. The old period and its customs passed away with the invention of the grain reaper. That epoch-making machine appeared in the grain fields about 1840, although its actual invention was a little earlier than that. The employment of gunpowder in warfare did not so quickly change the tactics of battle, as the reaper changed the methods of agriculture. The customs of the people changed also, and the end of the most characteristic of the pioneer ways and methods properly is placed about the time of the war with Mexico, though that event had nothing in particular to do with it.

Failure to study the tools used by the pioneers of this region would leave an interesting and important phase of their history a blank. We cannot properly understand them unless we know how they lived and the means by which they lived. Much has been written of their courage in war, of the deeds done in defense of their country, of their endurance on the march, of the arms with which they won their victories, and too little has been said of their industrial life. The latter is as important as the former, though not as romantic and spectacular. If properly studied and understood, it constitutes material full of human interest. The most fascinating pages of the "short and simple annals of the poor" do not necessarily deal with battlefields.

It is well known that most of the early inhabitants of Western Virginia were tillers of the soil, though they farmed on a small scale and tilled in a way that would be strangely out of place now. In the earliest period practically every man was a farmer; later, nine out of ten followed that occupation; and still later, that is, toward the close of the period under consideration, about four out of five supported themselves by cultivating the soil. Though farmers most of the year, many of them were jacks of all trades part of the time. They could turn their hands to pretty much anything that might come up in the course of their daily affairs. Trades were not so many or the requisites for their mastery so numerous as in this day; but many things needed doing even in the simple lives of our ancestors who lived among the hills and valleys of Western Virginia. The average man was competent to do several kinds of work and he thought nothing strange of it. He tilled his few acres. He tanned leather for the winter shoes and made the shoes, after having manufactured the thread and the wax for sewing. He prepared the flax and the wool for the loom, and frequently wove the cloth. He did simple blacksmithing and rude carpentering; carved dishes and bowls from blocks of cucumber wood and yellow poplar; laid out roads, such as they were, and built them; served as juryman, constable, or justice of the peace. In short, he shirked no duty that presented itself, and he generally acquitted himself in a worthy manner. He was versatile as far as demands were made upon him. His culture was limited, but in all-round citizenship he would not suffer in comparison with the average man of today. It would be a perversion of historic truth to say that he was more moral, more temperate, more honorable, or more religious than men are now. The truth is, most of the frontier men fell a little short of modern stand-

ards in some of these matters, but they seldom failed to acquit themselves like men in daily affairs and in extraordinary emergencies.

At the close of the eighteenth century the farmers of Western Virginia were using tools differing little from those with which the Egyptians tilled the soil four thousand years ago. It is amazing that the world should have stood still so long in the matter of agriculture. From century to century men continued to use the same clumsy implements. Scarcely an invention that had any effect upon the mode of cultivating and harvesting crops was made during ages. Men did not even learn to put horses and cattle to work, except in a few ways. Practically all that was done on the farm was accomplished by hand labor, and much of that does not seem to have been done in an intelligent manner. If any one thought of cutting hay or grain by horsepower, nothing came of the thought. During the early decades of the nineteenth century four-fifths of the people of the United States lived on farms, and at an earlier period the proportion was still higher. They had to live on farms in order to live at all. The work of four-fifths was necessary to raise enough grain to feed the other fifth who followed other occupations. At the present time in this country about one-third of the people live on farms, and they not only raise enough to support themselves and feed the other two-thirds, but they produce enormous quantities for export. The land was as fertile a hundred years ago as it is now, but with the old-fashioned hand tools it was simply impossible to produce a surplus of food. Under such conditions there could be no factories such as the country now has, because the laborers could not be fed, the farmers could not produce a surplus for that purpose, and other industries stood still because agriculture could not take a forward step. It was not, as some suppose, a question of transportation. Railroads were built before the reaper was invented, but the railroads did not much increase the food supply, for the limit of hand production had been reached. In 1839 the production of wheat in the United States was only five bushels per capita. It has been shown that in 1830 three hours of a man's labor was required to produce one bushel of wheat. Ten minutes of labor does it now. The difference is due to improvement in machines, not to improvements in men. In early times the output of wheat could be increased only by increasing the number of laborers. Now a better machine is sought when a greater output of grain is wanted. The man's brain now does with lightninglike quickness what his hands slowly worked out a century ago. A man with a sickle could harvest only from three to five acres of grain in a season. Most grains had to be cut quickly or they would waste in the field. A comparison of present methods of growing rice in this country and in India will illustrate the difference between wheat production in this country now and a century ago. One man with up-to-date machinery grows as much rice in Louisiana as four hundred can produce in India and China with their crude methods.

A review of some of the tools used on and about the Western Virginia farms from the first settlements down to the Mexican war will well repay the pains. Nothing can make clearer the difference between old times and new, and the industrial supremacy of the present over the past.

THE CORN CROP

Corn was the first crop raised in this region. It was surer than wheat, and was produced with less labor. The rank weeds of newly cleared ground could better be kept in subjection in a growing crop of

corn than in almost anything else. More was grown to the acre, it was easier to prepare for food, and it went farther.

The Plow—This tool made wholly of wood was seldom if ever used in any part of this country, but prior to the first cast iron plow which made its appearance about 1825, the majority of plows had wooden mold boards, and some were equipped with wooden shares. All had iron points and most had other metal trimmings on parts where the wear was greatest. It seems to have been an entirely satisfactory implement in its day. A few specimens still are to be seen in museums, and they force the conclusion that the pioneer plowman in Western Virginia must have been easy to satisfy. The plow did poor work, stirring rather than turning the ground, and leaving it in a condition that would not be tolerated at the present time. A man and a boy could plow about an acre a day. The boy's part of the operation consisted in walking beside the plow, and once every few rods using a wooden paddle to scrape the dirt from the wooden mold board and share.

Harrows—The pioneers used three or more types of harrows to smooth their ground after they plowed it. The "A harrow" was the most advanced in point of workmanship. It was so named because it was the shape of the letter "A," was made of three pieces of wood formed in a triangle, and was dragged point forward by horses or oxen. The teeth were locustwood pins a foot or more in length. Where the ground was mellow and fairly free from rocks the teeth wore well, and sufficed to harrow fifteen or twenty acres, which was more than the annual crop land of most farmers a hundred years ago in Western Virginia, particularly in the mountain parts of it. In stony ground the harrow's wooden teeth wore down in a day or two, but it was only the work of an hour or so to make and insert a new set. Another kind of harrow consisted of a log, called a drag, which was drawn broadside across the plowed ground to crush the clods. A similar implement is sometimes used at this day in rural communities to smooth the roads after the spring rains. A third harrow, more rustic than the others, was a bush, preferably a crabapple, dragged by horses over the plowed land. A second operation was sometimes performed to cover small grain after the sowing. On very rocky and stumpy land the crabapple harrow had some advantages over the others. It would work closer up to the bases of obstacles. A small harrow of that kind was occasionally used in cornfields which were overrun with weeds. If the stalks of corn were up to a man's shoulders or higher, they were strong enough to stand while the bush with pliant branches was dragged between the rows, flattening the weeds as it went. That process was generally regarded as the last resort of a lazy man. The bush harrow may yet sometimes be seen at work in small, steep fields and truck patches among the mountains.

The Hoe—Some farmers used shovel plows to tear out the worst of the weeds and stir the soil between the corn rows, and some did not, but all had hoes, and a general notion prevailed that corn would fail unless large amounts of soil were heaped around the hills. It is well known now that this is not necessary, but as the pioneer farmers seldom found out anything new, they went on hilling their corn as the Indians taught them long before. The introduction of cultivators generations later showed that the pioneers had done much more hilling than there was any need of. The hoe was of comparatively more importance then than it is now, and it was on a par with the other field tools of the time. It was heavy, usually of iron so soft that it battered badly when whacked on rocks, and the handle was almost large enough for a handspike. Why anybody thought such handles were necessary is past finding out.

They were largest where they fitted in the hoe eye, and tapered to a moderate size at the other end. A western Virginia blacksmith of a century ago has been credited with the invention of a hoe made of a thin sheet of steel with a sheet of iron on each side, the three sheets firmly welded together. The soft iron wore faster than the steel, and kept the hoe always sharp.

The Corn Cutter—No great improvement has been made in the manner of cutting corn in West Virginia. The knife that severs the fodder is about the same now that it was before the war of 1812. Some improvement may be noted in the tool itself, for it was then generally made of a wornout scythe blade, and now it is a specially manufactured article; but the cutting is done by the main strength swipe as formerly. Power corn cutters, drawn by horses, are not yet much in evidence in West Virginia. The fields are too small or too steep to make power cutters profitable.

The Husking Peg—The smallest and simplest of the farmer's tools, when he was accustomed to do nearly all of his work by hand, was the husking peg with which he shucked his corn. It is still in use, with a few improvements and modifications. The farmer whittled the tool from a piece of hickory or dogwood, or from buckhorn or bone, or hammered it in shape from a scrap of iron. A leather strap fastened it tc the fingers of the right hand. An expert sometimes husked a hundred bushels of ears in a day.

The Cornsheller—The simplest tool for shelling corn was a cob, singed in a flame to remove its outer softness, and it was held in the hand as a protection while rubbing the grains from ears of corn. More speed was made with the gum sheller, which was a piece of a hollow tree trunk, the size of a barrel, which was partly filled with ears of corn. An ax was used as a pestle to pound the grains from the cob. A man could shell and clean about twenty bushels a day. The crushed and broken cobs were separated from the shelled corn by means of a sieve.

Hand Corn Mills—When the backwoodsman had raised, husked, and shelled his corn, the process of making it into bread, mush, or hominy was not yet complete. The slow and laborious part was the grinding, if performed by hand, as much of it was in primitive neighborhoods. The smallest apparatus for making meal was called a grater. The corn was reduced to small fragments by rubbing the ear to and fro across a piece of tin made rough by punching it full of holes the size of a small nail. The corn grated best about the time it was passing from the roasting ear stage into maturity. It was soft then, and the rough tin scratched it into a mass of fine ribbons which, when baked in the pone oven, were considered of so exquisite a flavor that old people have insisted to their last days that they never tasted anything better, and perhaps they have been right.

When the corn matured and grew flinty, the tin grater was replaced by the wooden hominy block, which was another hand-operated invention which the Indians handed down to those who relieved them of their cornfields. The hominy block was a log of wood two or three feet long, stood on end. A mortar-shaped cavity was hollowed by fire in the top. Into this the shelled corn was poured, and the operator, armed with a wooden pestle, commenced the two-hours task of manufacturing about as much meal as he could eat in fifteen minutes. If he made hominy, the work was shorter, but fully as hard while it lasted. For labor-saving reasons, hominy was usually the family diet. Joseph Doddridge, a Western Virginia pioneer to whose book we are indebted for many interesting pictures of frontier life, prided himself on being the inventor of an improved hominy block. The block itself was the same as the

old, but a long spring-pole, mounted on a forked post like a well sweep, with the large end fastened under the wall of the cabin, was made to lift a long heavy pestle that was worked up and down as it powdered the corn.

Well-to-do families in those days possessed a hand mill in which meal was ground with circular stones of about the circumference of a bicycle wheel, and four inches thick. A hand grip was attached to the upper stone, and the operator turned it slowly round, while the under stone was stationary. The work was hard, and the mill was not much improvement over the hominy block. Such mills were used in Palestine in the time of Isaiah, and are still doing much of the poor people's grinding in India.

The Hay Crop—The first meadows in Western Virginia were small and rough, and coarse wild grasses prevailed in many of them. Timothy made its appearance about 1750, and was a native of America. It became the leading forage plant next to corn fodder; but it does not appear to have ever taken possesion of fields without man's help. It was not so with white clover, which grew wild wherever conditions permitted; but it had few opportunities before farms began to be cleared, and it is seldom mentioned in the earliest years of the settlements. The Indians who once occupied the region and had cleared a few fields here and there, had been gone from seventy-five to a hundred years when white men came, and most of their old fields were woods again. A few remained, and in 1752, when Christopher Gist traveled through the Kanawha valley, and northward as far as Ohio county, he saw "a great many cleared fields, covered with white clover," and again wrote of "some meadows." No people lived in the region at that time, neither Indians nor white men, and the clover spoken of was holding its own unaided in the small openings still remaining in the otherwise unbroken forests. The white clover which Gist spoke of was flourishing as early as March 4, which is evident that it began to grow very early in the spring, and was of much value in supplying pasture soon after the winter snow departed. It could not have been of great value for hay, because it does not grow tall. Doubtless it was cut for provender in the absence of something better. The fertility of the newly cleared land assured a crop of something, whether grasses or other plants, and a crop of hay could be depended upon. In later years, that is, during the period, roughly speaking, between the Revolution and the Mexican war, timothy and other meadow grasses, including red clover, were abundant in all parts of the state.

The Scythe—In one form or another the scythe is a very old tool. It was originally a large sickle with a long handle, and the name as we have it now is a modification of the word sickle. The scythe was for cutting grass, the sickle for grain, though grain could very well be mowed with the scythe, and it was often done. Few improvements were made in this farm tool until a couple of generations ago. The old implement was crude of blade and clumsy of handle. The snath for a scythe is now made straight, and is bent to proper form, but the former makers did not learn that art. They used a straight stick, or they cut in the woods snaths that grew in fantistic shapes, and accommodated themselves to handles as nature produced them. For thousands of years in the old countries farmers cut hay with straight-snathed scythes, regular back-breakers, and apparently made no effort to devise anything better. They brought the tool with them to America and went on using it here until recent times. In some of the old French districts of Louisiana the scythes now in use are little different from those of Gaul in the time of Vercengetorix. In ancient times the sickle was the symbol of harvest,

the scythe that of destruction. A man with a scythe can mow an acre of ordinary meadow a day. Up to fifty years ago nearly all meadow was cut with scythes, and in parts of West Virginia some scythes are still at work, but chiefly on steep and rough ground. Scythes that mow meadow are taken to the grindstone every day or two; but a hundred years ago that was not the custom. A whetstone renewed the edge until it became too dull to be longer sharpened in that way, and the blade was then taken to a blacksmith shop, and the edge was beaten thin so that a whetstone would again take hold of it.

The Pitchfork—A few two-tined iron pitchforks were made in blacksmith shops long ago. The tines were short and strong, and the tool was equipped with a long, thick handle and was popularly known as a "stackfork," because its chief use was in topping haystacks in the meadows. The stacks were fifteen feet high or more, and only a long handled fork would reach the apex. Most pitchforks were of wood. A forked stick, whittled into something of shape, was the rudest form. A pole of suitable size was the material of one a little better. The piece was split down from the end about fifteen or twenty inches, a nail was driven through and clinched at the base of the split, the two pieces which were to become the tines were forced apart with a wedge. The tines were worked into shape, the handle was pared down, and the fork was done. It was good for two or three years of service. A better and heavier wooden pitchfork was made with considerable care. It was much the size and shape of the fork now used in handling coke at the ovens. It had four tines a foot in length, two crosspieces to hold the tines rigid and to strengthen them, and a handle not more than three feet long. Such a fork, if manufactured now, would sell for about fifty cents.

The Wooden Horserake—The handrake among the West Virginia hills in early days was like those in use elsewhere since time immemorial. The tool was made in as many ways as the fancy or prejudice of the maker might suggest, but it was wholly of wood. Prior to the War of 1812 it does not appear that horses were ever employed to rake hay in Western Virginia. Handrakes and pitchforks met the demand. They were considered sufficient, for everything then moved slowly. A man with a scythe could mow an acre a day and another man with rake and fork could gather it into heaps called shocks or doodles. The work moved along in the same old way that it had always moved, and no one seemed to think that a horse might drag a large rake and do the work ten times as fast. But soon after the opening of the eighteenth century somebody thought of it, and made a wooden horserake which did not differ greatly from the handrake except in size, and instead of a handle it had two ropes or chains, one at each end, by which the horse pulled it. It was one of the most important horsepower farming implements that had been invented up to that time. It may not have been invented all at once, and it is certain that different styles were soon in use; nor does there seem to be agreement on the date of the earliest horserakes in Western Virginia. Some say it was about 1818. The teeth of the horserakes were two or three feet long, made of stout hickory or locust pickets. Some rakes had two sets of teeth, and when one set were full of hay they were ingeniously dumped by turning the rake half over, thereby putting the other set of teeth in front. The idea of mounting the rake on wheels did not occur to anyone until a good many years later. The implement did good work on smooth ground, but if the surface was bumpy, the teeth were prone to dig into the ground and dump the hay at the wrong time. The spring tooth rake on wheels sent the wooden implement to its eternal rest. An occasional specimen may still be found

in old barns and granary lofts in remote districts; but it would be difficult now to find one in actual use in West Virginia.

The Grape Vine—A tool of no small importance for handling hay was a wild grapevine cut in the woods. It was an inch or more in diameter and twenty or thirty feet long. With it the hay shocks were hauled together at the designated place for building the stacks. A horse was hitched to both ends of the vine after it had been drawn round the base of the shock, and the load was drawn safely along the ground to the place for stacking. The shock weighed 200 or 300 pounds and was a small horseload. The hay for a stack was thus brought together by the work of a horse and a boy in half the time required to haul it by wagon. The grapevine hay rope is properly classed with the important labor-saving devices used by pioneer West Virginia farmers. It has not yet been entirely superseded by improved machinery. In place of the vine, a hemp rope was occasionally employed, and sometimes a rope was made of hay, twisted tightly in a strand.

THE SMALL GRAINS

Wheat, oats, barley, rye and buckwheat were called small grain to distinguish them from corn, which was the main crop. Barley never was extensively cultivated in West Virginia. Oats and wheat were most abundant. Rye was harvested a little earlier in the season than wheat, and that led to its use oftener than would have been the case otherwise. When bread was scarce in midsummer, a grist of rye two or three weeks earlier than wheat could be threshed, was worth consideration. Buckwheat was never a general crop in West Virginia. It thrives in some localities, but meets poor success in others.

The Grain Cradle—The cradle was the first noted improvement in grain harvesting machinery in four thousand years. With it a man could cut from three to six acres a day, and it was so superior to the sickle that with its coming the sickle was hung up forever, except in divers countries and sundry places where ignorance or necessity kept it going. Sickles are still sold in this country in considerable numbers, but they are generally used otherwise than in harvesting grain in a serious way.

The cradle appeared in Western Virginia about 1800. That date is not exact. There might have been a few before; and a good while after that date, some localities had few or none. It was made wholly of wood, except the scythe blade which did the cutting. Fifty times as much wood was needed to make a cradle as a sickle. The handle might be anyone of many woods, but the fingers were usually of hickory. They were five long, slender, springy, curved pieces whose function was to collect the stalks of grain as they were cut and lay them in a swath to be raked and bound. Some of the earliest attempts at making a reaping machine proceeded on the theory that it must be modeled after the cradle, and be swung like it. No reaper was invented until that notion was abandoned. The cradle is much heavier than a scythe, and more physical exertion is necessary in operating it.

Considering how great an improvement the cradle was upon what went before, its period of usefulness was remarkably short. Scarcely had it taken possession of the grain fields when the reaper drove it out. The cradle held its place about fifty years. Of course, it did not come in everywhere at once, nor did it go out at one time everywhere. In fact, it has by no means gone out of use yet; but it lost its supreme place when the reaper was invented. It held longer in West Virginia than in less mountainous regions, because the reaper came in slowly. On steep

and rough ground, and there is a great deal of that kind in West Virginia, cradles cut the grain now as formerly.

The Flail—A club was probably the first weapon used by representatives of the human race far back in the unrecorded cycles of savagery, and a club was a very early implement of husbandry when husbandry meant little more than pounding nuts and wild fruits from trees, or threshing seeds from wild grasses. The flail had its beginning in operations of that kind. When some extraordinarily bright intellect among the savage users conceived the idea of tying two clubs together and making one serve as a handle by which to manipulate the other, the flail was complete in its present form. There are people in the world today who have not yet learned to tie the two clubs together, but go on pounding with a single stick. Little improvement was made in the flail during the thousands of years of its history. It was, indeed, a machine which, like the bow and arrow, was perfected very early, and no further improvement was possible. The flails which did service a century and a half ago on the threshing floors along the South Branch and the Greenbrier rivers, were in all essential points similar to those used in Mesopotamia by the ancestors of Abraham. Up to the period of the Mexican war, or about that time, the flail was on every farm in Western Virginia where grain was grown. It did not thresh all the grain, for some was tramped out by cattle and horses, as was done three thousand years ago in other countries. As late as fifty years ago in all parts of this country the grain which horses and cattle did not tramp out, was beaten from the straw with flails. The first power thresher, called the "ground hog," had made its appearance, but it was not doing much. Wheat, oats, barley, and rye were threshed during stormy weather when the farmer and his hired man could not work out of doors; but where buckwheat was grown it had to be threshed immediately after cutting or the grain would rattle out of the husks and be wasted. It was customary to make a temporary threshing floor in the field for buckwheat, as the grain would not stand long hauls to a barn. The flail is now in more general use in regions where buckwheat is grown than anywhere else.

Every well-arranged barn, under the old system of farming, had its threshing floor with overhead room for swinging flails. Sometimes a man followed threshing as a business in winter, hiring himself about the neighborhood as his services were needed; but it was not customary for one man to work alone. They worked in "pairs," "doubles," and "double-doubles." These terms seem to have gone entirely out of use, with the passing of the flail. A "pair" meant two flail men working together; a "double" meant two "pairs," or four men; and a "double-double" was two "doubles," or eight men working at once and in unison. An old rural doggerel ran:

> "'Double-double', toil and trouble,
> Pound the heads as clean as stubble."

Unless the flail men understood their business there was apt to be trouble as well as toil when a "double-double worked." The heads to be pounded were as likely to be the heads of men as of the wheat. No matter how many men worked at the floor, if the men understood their art the strokes were so timed that no two came down together. The blows fell in regular, even, monotonous sequence. It was little less than art to do it that way, and certainly skill was necessary. When eight men, or even when four, worked, the swipes of their flails filling the air over their heads like a tangle of fireflies, and yet so exquisitely manipu-

lated that not a false motion occurred, or so much as the tapping of one flail by another, it was a sight by no means wanting in interest.

HOME INDUSTRIES

The Western Virginians of a century ago, and prior to that period, made little attempt to manufacture commodities for sale. In the first place, they were farmers by necessity, and had no time for side lines; and there was no market where they could sell factory products. But though they cannot be called manufacturers, they made many articles, and did it well. They produced what they needed for themselves, but all was homemade. The cabin and shop were all the factories they had, and at odd times they worked at other callings than farming. There were a few persons who lived by selling what they manufactured. They were, in the larger villages, the tanners, shoemakers, blacksmiths, weavers, tailors; but they were few and their trade was generally limited to their immediate neighbors. In a country where most of the people are jacks of all trades there is not much call for workers at single trades. So it was in pioneer Western Virginia.

Brooms—After the cabins were built, the problem of keeping them clean presented itself. Brooms were needed. No claim is made that early Western Virginians worked out any discoveries in broom making. They followed those who went before. Material for brooms was abundant, such as it was. Like the sickle and the scythe, the broom in one form or another has accompanied mankind in the long ascent from ages of semi-barbarity to the enlightened era of the present. Changes in customs, migrations from country to country, inventions and improvements in domestic apparatus, have never degraded the broom to a low level, but have rather raised it higher. The "broom kings," (Plantagenets) ruled England three hundred years and were never ashamed of their name. Few of the primitive styles of brooms—those used in ancient times—have gone completely out of use. Most of them were once common in Western Virginia. When the early German colonists of the upper South Branch valley collected the soft and slender branches of arborvitae or white cedar from the cliffs overhanging the river, and tied the branches in bundles for brooms, they were the earliest users of that article in the region, as far as records go. The twig broom was called a besom. Thousands of years before, a broom of similar kind was in use to sweep the hovels of Syria. It was that domestic, harmless bundle of twigs which the Hebrew Seer rendered a figure of devastation and annihilation by his use of the word twenty-seven centuries ago when he launched his anathema against Babylon: "I will sweep it with the besom of destruction." The twig broom was peculiarly adapted for use in cabins with puncheon floors, or none at all, as most were in this state one hundred and seventy-five years ago. A modern broom would be torn to pieces by a few sweepings of such a cabin. The thrifty German housewives who employed the arborvitae twigs on their cabin floors in Grant and Pendleton counties were pleased with the delicate and characteristic odor from the bruised branches as they swept their cabins; and to this day summer camps and rustic houses are sometimes brushed with arborvitae brooms for the sake of the pleasing odor.

The corn husk broom came and went, and early records scarcely mention it in Western Virginia. It could not have been much used. It was made by tying a bundle of corn husks tightly to a handle. It was a sensible apparatus for scrubbing puncheons, and for most purposes it was a little improvement over the besom made of boughs.

Then came the split broom. It was probably as early in Western Virginia as any of the others, for no one knows when the first ones were made. It is certain that it is not an American invention, but it reached its greatest development here, and the mountaineers of West Virginia made the best from hickory saplings. Its period of usefulness is not yet over, but it does not hold the place it once held in the homes of the common people. A hickory sapling three inches or less in diameter is selected for the split broom. It must be free from knots and blemishes for a distance of five feet. The split broom maker's technical education was acquired in the school of experience, and he knew good hickory when he saw it. He cut his sapling and peeled it in the woods with his ax, carried the billet home to complete the work by his fireside that evening, or when the first stormy day kept him indoors. Except for a string tied round the billet when the operation was commenced, the entire broom, including the handle, was of one piece of wood. Persons unacquainted with the process of making the article would suppose, even after a careful examination, that a split broom is composed of hundreds of fine splints bound to the handle, but such is not the case. The splints are all held together by natural wood. The skilled maker knows how to make the broom without detaching a single splint from its fastening.

About one half of the billet cut in the woods was wasted in the process of making the broom. The name indicates the process of manufacture. The butt of the stick is separated into a thousand or more splints, about ten inches long. They remain fast to the stick. The same process is repeated, beginning ten inches up on the part which is to be the handle. These splints are stripped downward, leaving enough of the heart of the piece for a handle. The bunch of splints thus attached to the end of the handle constitutes the brush of the broom. A man who is handy with a knife can make such a broom in three or four hours, and if it does not give a year's service in scrubbing and sweeping, it falls short of expectations. Brooms of this kind are still used in considerable numbers among the mountains of West Virginia. It is believed that they are entirely homemade, and that no factory turns them out. Village stores occasionally keep them for sale as scrub brooms, and the usual price is twenty-five cents. The early split broom makers never found a substitute for hickory. White oak could be worked as easily as hickory, but the splints, in the process of drying, rolled up in tight wads and never straightened again. Broom corn as a material for brooms was in use in 1832, and probably earlier. The chief place so long held by the split broom gradually went to the new comer, but long after that period the wooden article was in common use for scrubbing. For a time the corn broom was called a "carpet" broom to distinguish it from the more plebian split broom.

The corn broom was homemade for a long time in West Virginia. The custom was for each family that wished to indulge in the luxury, to plant a few rows of broom corn in the truck patch, "break" it when nearly ripe, and harvest it before frost. Breaking consisted in bending the stalk near the top to make the brush hang down. That made the head grow straight; but if left erect, its weight would cause the straws to buckle and twist, and a nice broom could not be made from them. At the time of the Civil war, homemade corn brooms were common in West Virginia. Each user made what he needed, or bought from some neighbor who made them. Little machinery was required in this primitive mode of manufacture. The principal appliances were, a kettle of boiling water to soften the cornstraws, already tied in bundles; a rope attached to an overhead beam, with a loop at the lower end for the

operator's foot; a knife, twine, and short nails. The rope was passed round the bundle of wet corn, and the operator's weight sufficed to give the necessary squeeze, while six or eight strands of stout twine were wrapped round, close up to the squeezing rope coil, and was tied. The handle was driven through the center of the bundle, a couple of short nails were driven to hold it in place, and the uneven ends of the corn were trimmed. The brush was next pressed and flattened in the desired form, and was sewed through and through to keep it in shape.

That was, of course, a very primitive method of making the corn broom. Early in its history better ways were substituted. When each family or each neighborhood made its own brooms, the handles were worked out with drawing knives. A man could finish forty a day. He cut his yellow poplar or basswood tree, sawed in in bolts of the proper length, split them as nearly the right size as he could, and completed them with the drawing knife. If he made more than he needed for himself, he sold the surplus to his neighbors at four or five cents each. An octagonal broom handle was considered by some as the acme of the manufacturer's skill, and many persons insisted on having that kind, and looked with contempt on round, lathe-turned broom handles when they began to appear. The angular handle was not so smooth for the hand, but that was urged as its chief advantage, because it gave the hand a better grip.

Spinning Wheels—Two kinds of spinning wheels prepared the yarn and thread for cloth on the frontiers, the large and the small. Flax and wool were the chief materials, and cotton came later. A few efforts were made to produce silk, but if any silk was woven in the territory now embraced in West Virginia during any period of its early history, record of it has not been found. Flax was abundant and was the basis of most products of the loom; that is, some part of nearly all cloth was linen. In very early years, sheep could not be kept because of wolves; but when these animals had been killed or driven away, sheep raising was more profitable and woolen cloth came into use. Linen clothes were coarse, yellowish white, and not warm in winter. Flax went through several operations before it reached the wheel that spun it. After being "pulled," as the gathering of the stalks in the field was called, it was placed in heaps where the coarse, woody fiber of the stalk rotted. That softened it and prepared it for removal from the tough bark which later was the part spun into thread. A machine known as a break was manipulated by hand, and with this machine, under repeated strokes, the stalks of flax were broken into short pieces which were held together by the strong bark. Then the swingle came into play. That was a dull, wooden knife, shaped like a broad sword, with blade eighteen inches long. The operator held a bundle of broken stalks in one hand, and with the other basted them with the swingle until most of the broken stems were beaten free from the bark and fell to the ground in pieces from a quarter of an inch to two inches long. The remaining mass was tow, but other processes awaited it before it was ready to spin. The hackle was a tool consisting of many sharp metal spikes like long, slender nails, set in a board. The rows of such spikes resembled the teeth of combs. Two or three grades of hackles were used, the terms coarse and fine referring to the distance apart of the teeth. The tow was combed with this tool. Remaining fragments of stalk were removed, and the fiber was drawn out in smooth bundles. The tow was then ready to spin. It was of light yellow color, and soft to the touch. "Towhead," when the word refers to a person's hair, means that the color and appearance resemble unspun flax. The word "flaxen-hair" is a little more poetical, but means the same thing. The small spinning

wheel found in most pioneer homes reduced tow to linen thread. The operator sat, gave motion to the wheel by means of a treadle, and drew the tow from a distaff attached to the wheel frame. The distaff was usually of dogwood or of sourwood, because these grew with a central stem, and several branches coming out of the stem at one place in a whorl. The branches were the size of a lead pencil, the central stem twice as large. The branches and stem were cut to a length of eighteen inches, and were brought together and tied at the top, and on this the tow was placed for spinning.

Wool was sometimes spun on the small wheel, but the large wheel was preferred. The operator paced to and fro across the room, turning the wheel by means of a wooden peg, called a finger, which was carried in one hand, while the yarn in process of spinning was worked with the other. Wool was carded by hand before machinery was brought in for doing it. The cards were flat pieces of wood, about four by eight inches, fitted with handles and equipped with many rows of small metal teeth, half inch long, made of pieces of wire. By rubbing wool between their toothed surfaces, it was reduced to rolls for spinning.

The Reel—The reel wound the thread from the spindle and converted it into skeins. A skein consisted of a number of "cuts," and the reel was geared to count the cuts as they were wound. A contrivance raised a wooden spring slowly as the reel went round. At the proper time the spring was released, and a sounding whack against a thin board announced that a cut was done. The contrivance was remarkable only because it was one of the few instances where machinery was made to do the thinking for an operator—it counted and recorded the number of threads that went on the reel.

The Loom—Looms were more common in the homes of the pioneers than pianos and organs in those of their descendants. Factories for weaving cloth were few anywhere at that time. The family that did not weave its own cloth bought from some one who had a surplus. It was all homemade. The best wool fabrics of the period of the Revolution were strong and serviceable, but specimens exhibited in museums show that they were far less handsome than machine-made cloth of the present time. A dress suit worn by President Washington, and preserved in the National Museum in the city of Washington, is of cloth that would now be unsaleable because of coarseness. If that was the best of that day, it may be imagined what the common people wore in the distant mountains. The most that can be said for it is that it lasted well. The loom which wove it was crude, and was the handiwork of some versatile mechanic of the time who could do a little of everything. A good many of those old looms, some dating a century back, have come down to the present time. Great difference is observable in their workmanship. Some are of cherry or black walnut, well made, and in pleasing proportions. Others are clumsily constructed of wood selected neither for beauty nor strength, and showing workmanship much inferior to that of some savages whose only tool is a flint hatchet. The loom from Kentucky which was exhibited at the Columbian World's Fair, and is now preserved in the Field Museum, Chicago, is one of that kind, and that in the State Museum at Madison, Wisconsin, is another. Such do not do justice to the pioneer loom makers in general, though they represent a certain part of them. Many of the old time looms in the mountains of West Virginia were of better design and workmanship. The weaving was usually done by the women of the household, though men frequently took a hand in it. The thread and yarn for the cloth was sometimes dyed before it was converted into cloth, and sometimes the finished cloth was dyed. It was deemed a little better to dye the wool before

spinning it, for it held its color better. The phrase "dyed in the wool" is traced back to that custom. The dyes were manufactured at home from bark and roots of trees. Sometimes logwood from Central America, and sulphates of iron, copper or zinc were purchased and used in dyeing wool or cloth. The bark dyes in West Virginia early days were many, but the most common were butternut and yellow oak. The bark of almost every tree affords more or less dyeing matter. The colors produced with barks were not as brilliant or as many as the chemical dyes of today afford. They were subdued, soft, and pleasing, rather than striking, and in that respect resembled the colors now so much admired in Persian rugs. Coal tar dyes have practically rendered the bark dyes obsolete in West Virginia at the present time.

Clothes were made at home in most cases. A few tailors plied their trade, but in the earliest years of the state they could not have been numerous, and their earnings must have been moderate. A paper recorded in the court of Randolph county in 1786 bears witness that one dollar paid a tailor for making an overcoat, after the cloth was furnished.

Tanyards—The first tanneries in West Virginia consisted of one or more wooden troughs, a little hemlock or chestnut oak bark, ashes in place of lime, and one or two tools, and other materials as they could be had. It was not unusual for each family to do its own tanning, and a trough hewed from a log was the vat. Bark was whittled and pounded by hand, and this was one of the evening and rainy day jobs in the cabin. In early times buckskin and bearskin clothes were worn, but they went out of general use as soon as other materials were procurable. The moccasin was worn very early, but shoes took its place later. The shoes were made at home or in the neighborhood. The shoemaker often went from house to house working a week or so at each, the length of time depending upon the size of the family.

Churns—Within the region embraced in West Virginia the churn was in more nearly universal use in early times than it is now. Few towns were then so large that most of the people could not keeps cows which were driven to pasture in the morning and brought home at sunset. In the country, cows were everywhere; all the people had them, whether they owned pasture land or not. There was plenty of unfenced land, and cows were at liberty to roam at will. Fence laws, such as now declare an imaginary line to be a fence, did not then exist to prescribe and describe the ranges where family cows might roam. Consequently, cows, milk, and churns were abundant everywhere. The churn was the old kind with the dash. Its operation fell to the lot of children and old, decrepit men. Churning as a piece of work was despised by most children, for it seemed to them toil without recompense. Until a few years ago the churn, like all other cooperage, was handmade. It was

> "Big at the bottom and little at the top;
> Set it by the fire and the hoops won't drop."

The frontier song expressed a mechanical fact. The churn decreased in size from bottom to the lid, and the hoops never fell off when the staves shrank in the heat of the cabin. Barrels, kegs, and tubs when left empty near the fire, lost their hoops and fell to pieces. The advantage which the churn's shape gave it was well understood. The article was of ash, basswood, yellow poplar, or red cedar. The days of the old dash churns are not yet over, but they are gradually giving way before the cream separator.

The Cider Press—Apple trees followed cabins from the counties of the Eastern Panhandle across the state to the Ohio river. Records of orchards were not often made, and there is no certain information of the number or quality of the trees. Accidental or casual mention of an orchard here and there is all the knowledge now obtainable of apples in the first decades of the state. Doubtless a patient search through the early wills, deeds, and other court records in Hardy, Grant, Hampshire, Mineral, Morgan, Berkeley and Jefferson counties would reveal many orchards prior to the Revolutionary war, and possibly some as early as the French and Indian war. The country west of the mountains was colonized later and orchards were planted in the years following. One is known to have been in bearing in Monongalia county prior to 1784 and another was growing on the site of Beverly, Randolph county, ten years earlier. The first fruit was of rather poor varieties, but grafting with better stocks brought improvement. From all accounts, the first orchards were prolific, in that respect resembling the wild crabapple, which never misses a full crop. A hardy and fairly good variety, called "cunny-kajig," and said to have been named from Conococheague creek near Hagerstown, Maryland, was planted in many early orchards. There was no market for apples, and after using all they could, and burying plenty under the ground for winter use, the farmers made cider of the rest, and most families had it till late in winter.

Mills for grinding and pressing apples were not in existence. Home-made appliances answered. A trough with a capacity of four or five barrels was hewed from a log. In this the apples were pounded with wooden pestles until reduced to pomace, and the mass was transferred to an enormous cider press, the like of which would be hard to find in West Virginia now. It consisted of a log foundation, over which a floor ten feet square of heavy planks was laid, the planks fitted tightly together to prevent cider from running through the cracks. A deep groove forming a circle eight or nine feet in diameter was cut in the floor. An opening at one point in the groove allowed the cider to flow into a barrel set to catch it. The log platform and the floor were always built at the base of a large tree. A hole a foot wide and two feet long was cut entirely through the tree five or six feet from the ground. One end of a log, twenty-five or thirty feet long, was inserted in the hole, The log was the lever which was destined to exert enormous pressure in squeezing the cider from the pomace. A rope about three inches in diameter was twisted of clean straw, and was coiled on the floor, just inside the groove. Other coils to the number of four or five were placed one on another, forming a receptacle for the pomace. This straw receptacle with its four or five barrels of mashed apples, was called a "cheese." When the cheese was complete, boards were laid on top of it, and the heavy lever was slowly lowered on the mass. Care was necessary, for if the lever fell on it heavily, the impact was liable to burst the cheese and scatter the pomace to the four winds.

The pressure of the lever forced a torrent of cider through the coils of straw rope, into the groove, and down its course to the barrel. Half of the cider in the cheese when the lever descended was in the barrel fifteen minutes later, but the other half came away slowly. At the end of twenty-four hours a little was still oozing through the straw. One barrel would not hold the cider from four or five barrels of pomace, and a man with a bucket dipped out and poured in other vessels until danger of overflow was passed. The last few gallons of cider from such a press was considered best. It possessed a rich flavor, and had a touch of mild fermentation which pleased the taste. The experienced farmers who knew good cider when they drank it, generally

corked the last run in jugs which they stored in the cellar for individual use; but the general supply was barreled for market or was used for making apple butter.

Laundry Appliances—Some of the farms of West Virginia were a hundred and fifty years old before a steam laundry came within reach of them; and less than half a century ago practically all the washing of clothes was done with appliances only a little more advanced than those employed by Nausicaa, the washerwoman whose praises Homer sang nine hundred years before the death of Cæsar. The wash tub, the wash board, and the battle, were the tools which, aided by soap and assisted by naked hands, washed the clothing. The battle was a paddle for beating the clothes, and it has gone out of use in this country, but the tub and the board remain in spite of all inventions of labor-saving appliances.

The washtub has been a domestic necessity, and also a symbol of poorly paid labor, and something of humiliation, since very early times. No poet has ever thrown a halo of romance round it, as has been done with the hoe, plow, sickle, and flail. The washtub has never appealed to any bard's fancy, has never inspired the orator, never furnished texts for the statesman. Even when Homer praised the washerwoman, he was careful to leave the washtub out. Yet this despised racker of bone and muscle, and crusher of human spirits, has been ever present in the humble hut and the pretentious mansion in West Virginia, and until recent years the washtub which whited the rich man's linen was not a whit better than that which scoured the workman's wamus. The early tubs were brandy barrels sawed in two.

Washboards have not been always present, for in a good many instances instead of rubbing the fabric on a corrugated board, it was rubbed between the two fists. The corrugated boards were once slowly gouged out by hand, for they were not carried in the market. The want of such a tool was made good by the vigorous use of the battle. Well soaped clothes were laid on a rock or plank and were persistently belabored until they not only gave up most of their impurities but parted with such buttons as graced them at the commencement of the lambasting.

Dishes—Families in moderate circumstances moving from the east into the western wilderness brought some dishes with them, most of which were pewter. After they reached their new homes they made others of wood, gourds, and squash shells. Ash was a choice material for deep, narrow bowls only, and knots were preferred because less liable to crack in seasoning or to break in accidental falls. When wide, shallow vessels were made, other woods were better, and the choice generally fell on cucumber, yellow poplar, or basswood. They were soft to cut, and not liable to check. It may be inferred from the account which Joseph Doddridge gives of this work in his book, that the lathe was in use in the Northern Panhandle soon after the Revolution, although the writer said that he did not know the process of hollowing certain bowls which he had seen. The lathe was not common in the region until long after that period, and bowls, trays, and dishes were carved by hand, and the workmanship was sometimes rather crude. It should be said in justice to the people who made the ware that it was meant for use and not for show, and it served its purpose.

The pewter plates gradually disappeared, and china or ironstone ware took their place. Prejudice and custom retained the pewter a good while after it should have gone. Complaint was made that the china plates were too hard and smooth. The points of fork tines would not sink into china as in pewter, and meat in process of cutting was harder to

hold on china than on a plate of the soft metal. The art of eating on a china plate was finally acquired, and pewter departed forever from the dining tables of West Virginia.

Splitting Tools—Enormous quantities of timber were split during the first hundred years of Western Virginia development, some of it for shingles, some for clapboards, for puncheons, posts, house and barn timbers, and fuel, but for the largest part was mauled into fence rails. The West Virginia Conservation Commission in 1908 estimated that more than four and a quarter billion feet of timber had gone into fence rails. That was enough to build an eight-rail fence twice around the world. Double that quantity, according to the commission's report, was cut for fuel during the same time (120 years). What tools were used in splitting that almost unthinkable number of rails, and the large logs that were cut for fuel?

Two simple wooden tools did practically all of it, the maul and the glut. The former was of black gum if it could be had, because it will stand more beating than any other West Virginia wood. If gum was not at hand, a chestnut oak knot was hewed in shape and a handle was inserted; or a white oak sappling, eight or ten inches in diameter, was made into a maul, the head and handle all one piece. Nearly every farmer had one iron wedge. This was driven in the railcut to open a small crack for the entrance of the wooden gluts which could not otherwise be driven. From this circumstance, the term "entering wedge" has come into use. In the process of splitting very large timber into rails, an extra large maul was sometimes employed to drive wedges or gluts which the ordinary maul could not start. This was called a "death maul."

The gluts were of dogwood when it was handy, otherwise beech, maple, ironwood and oak answered very well. The mate of the "death maul" was the "king glut," an extra large one, two or three feet long, and four or five inches in diameter. It was needed for very large logs. An expert railmaker could pound enough first class white oak into rails in one day to be worth three hundred dollars at present prices of lumber.

The Grist Mill—The grinding of grain by waterpower was not usual in the earliest years west of the Alleghany mountains. The grist mill which did work of that kind came later than the hominy block and the grater. A little capital was required to build and equip such a mill, even of the simplest kind and smallest size. The stones which did the crushing of the grain were not shaped by novices, but their making required the hand of a man who knew that business. A coarse grained, very hard rock was needed, and a pair of stones was necessary, the upper and the nether. The coarse formation known to geologists as the Pottsville conglomerate was so well suited for millstones that one of its names still is "millstone grit." This formation extends north and south along the mountain ranges in the eastern part of the state, and the people within reach of it generally made their millstones of the material. Many parts of the state were too far away from that supply, and they used something else. A set or pair of old fashioned millstones weighed from 600 to 1,000 pounds. The two were of about the same weight. The upper turned upon the fixed one, and the grain between them was crushed.

The miller regulated the coarseness and fineness of the meal or flour by raising or lowering the upper stone. All customers did not like meal of the same fineness, and the accommodating miller learned what pleased each, and sought to give satisfaction. The mills were generally simple and primitive in the extreme, and often were scarcely fifteen feet

square. They were almost destitute of machinery, the principal items, aside from the millstones, being a barrel or box for the miller's share of the grain, a measure with which to determine how much there was, and what was his portion of it; and a meal chest.

The laws of Virginia made ample provision for the regulation of mills. The amount of toll which might be lawfully extracted from a patron's grist was nicely regulated, and appropriate penalties were provided for the miller who took too much. The statutes were plain enough, and no one questioned their justness; but there was a lame place in the law's machinery. No adequate provision was made, or at least none was enforced in the western parts of Virginia, for inspecting the weights and measures which the miller used. There was sometimes a county officer who inspected measures brought into the county, but not those made in the county. The "bushel measure," was generally a half bushel capacity, as nearly as the miller could guess its size. Twice full made a bushel, and all of his customers understood it; but did any of them know, or did the miller know how much the measure really held? It was the handiwork of some neighborhood cooper, and he made it, as he supposed, the proper size to hold a half bushel. If it fell short or went beyond that measure, no one was ever the wiser. The millers' honesty was proverbial, and few of their customers ever gave a thought to the desirability of having some impartial and competent inspector pass on the size of the measure the miller was using.

The toll dish was in the same class. The bushel vessel measured the customer's grist, and the toll dish measured the miller's part of it; for the custom was to take a certain part of the grain as pay for grinding the other part—usually one-eighth or one-tenth. The toll dish seldom or never passed beneath the eye of an inspector. If it was too large, either by accident or design, the miller went on year after year, overpaying himself without any of his customers being the wiser. The old-time arithmetics which the schoolmasters of that day taught in their schools (or pretended to) contained a high ratio of problems for pupils to work, in which the chief factors were a dishonest miller, a toll dish too large, and ill-gotten gain. That perpetual reminder should have suggested to the people the desirablity of having millers' measures inspected, but it never seemed to work that way.

Millers were exempt from jury duty and militia service, under Virginia law. The popular opinion was that they were forbidden to act as jurors because constantly liable to indictment for dishonest practices, and were not, for that reason, fit persons to sit in judgment on others. That was not the basis of their exemption from jury service. They were not required to serve because they were needed at their mills to grind the people's grain. They were exempt from militia duty for the same reason.

Some of the early mills ground thirty or forty bushels of grain a day, others only four or five. The mill that ground corn did not necessarily grind wheat. Additional apparatus was required for the latter. A silk cloth separated the flour from the bran, but with corn, no such separation was required.

In early pioneer times grain was generally carried to mill on horses. The boy rode on top of his grist, and waited at the mill until it was ground, and rode the meal sack home. The family that had no horse, and there were many such, carried the grain to the mill on their backs. It was not unusual for a man to carry fifty or sixty pounds of corn several miles to mill, and carry the meal home.

The mill was often the social center of the neighborhood, or rather the news center. The people all visited that place, and each man told

what news he knew and listened to others tell theirs. By that method the people were kept posted on whatever happened in the country. Newspapers were few and of small circulation on the frontiers, and the people depended for information upon word of mouth. The weekly or fortnightly visits to the mill, and the yearly attendance at court, and the occasional gathering at the militia musters, were the best opportunities to learn what was going on.

The Doctor—In early years on the Western Virginia frontiers, there were few physicians and surgeons who had studied their profession in schools. Medical colleges were few then, and it was a difficult matter to procure an education. Those who were able to meet the expense and overcome the obstacles, and prepare themselves for practice, could do better from a financial standpoint than to take up their abode on a thinly-settled border, where the people were too poor to pay what a doctor had a right to expect for his services. There was now and then a physician who was actuated by the same motives that send the missionary into foreign lands on a labor of love and duty; but not many such cases are recorded in early medical history in Western Virginia, and the doctors who were educated for their calling were scarce. Joseph Doddridge, who knew early conditions so well, and who wrote so entertainingly of the times of his boyhood on the frontiers, said he lost both of his parents for the want of a doctor. The army that marched to Point Pleasant in 1774, numbering 1,400 men, had only one surgeon, and he was shot and disabled early in the battle. The large number of wounded had no medical attention except such as their more fortunate companions could give. A number died who could have been saved by a little attention from a surgeon.

There were instances now and then of a doctor in the thinly-settled regions who gave his services to the people for a poor living, when he might have enjoyed prosperity with half the hardships, had he gone to the eastern towns to practice his profession. But the usual frontier doctor was not a college man. He may have had training under some other physician for a short time; for it was not unusual for a young man wishing to enter the profession, to "read medicine" with some older doctor. The reading which he did was not extensive. Two or three books usually comprised the course, and the time required did not cover many weeks. It was simply no education at all, from the scientific standpoint. There was generally no surgery in the course. Often the young man who went out to practice what he was pleased to call his profession, did not know the names and functions of ten muscles or twenty bones in the human body. He was superficially acquainted with a few herbs, and knew where to find them in the woods, and how to pound them in a mortar and make extracts and decoctions. He had his ideas of the quantity required for a dose for this complaint and that; and he might be acquainted with the effect of a drug which had mineral in it; but any knowledge of chemistry was impossible. The science of poultice making and applying was mastered to the last analysis, and along that line his materia medica were complete. He had no surgical instruments, or very few. Had a kit been placed in his hands, he could not have named one in ten, or even given an intelligent guess at its use. He often had a "cup" and lancet for drawing blood, and he drew it without stint or hindrance. That was one piece of surgery which was easy to learn.

In spite of all handicaps—lack of education, lack of appliances, lack of medicines—there were frontier doctors who were noble men and who did noble work. Occasionally one of them would develop powers and discover resources of his own. Strong common sense, an ability to employ to the utmost all the resources within his reach, a quick percep-

tion and a clear understanding, and a sympathy which brought him in instant touch with the patient, sometimes produced a doctor, in spite of disadvantages. Many of the frontier and back-country physicians were successful. They cured with remedies which they had tried out and found efficient. Nearly everyone of the successful practitioners had some medicine which he had found out for himself and which he held more or less a secret. It was not in any of the books. The old doctor sometimes taught it to a disciple and thus handed it down.

The country doctor usually had a pretty hard life, if he had any practice. He went day and night, and in all kinds of weather. When roads were good, the labor was lessened. In early days the roads were often as bad as they could be; mere paths, up mountains and down, among rocks, over logs, in mire, across bridgeless streams, in pitchy darkness, pouring rain, or driving snow. The sick could not wait for the elements to grow favorable or for storms to howl themselves away. The doctor had to face whatever came, and to hurry on. There are unwritten histories of frontier physicians, tales untold, sacrifice and heroism surpassing the soldier's in the campaign or on the field of battle. The everlasting wilderness was the witness of much of it, and none knew all that was done. It was not for gain, but for humanity. A life of perhaps fifty years was spent in the work by a single doctor whose iron constitution and unyielding courage carried him through hardships that would have worn out other men long before.

There was a strange admixture of knowledge and superstition in the folklore remedies of early times in Western Virginia. The scarcity of doctors compelled the people to be their own physicians, and nearly everybody had a little hoard of cures and preventives, nearly all of which were worthless and some were positively harmful. The barks, buds, roots, flowers, and leaves of numerous trees were held to possess medicinal virtues; and in many instances the more nauseous to the taste, the greater the healing property was supposed to be. To scrape a bark upward in removing it from a tree gave it efficiency for one disease, to scrape it downward made it a different kind of medicine. To pull certain herbs up by the roots preserved and enhanced some supposed quality; to dig them out, wrought some mysterious but profound change in their nature.

Rheumatism and consumption were the prevailing diseases. The people knew there was no cure for the latter, and their pharmacopœias contained no remedies for the dreadful malady. The victim hoped for a time, and died. No precautions were taken against the spread of the plague, for it was supposed not to be contagious; and it was common, considering the out-of-door life the people led. Rheumatism was different. People seldom died of its effects, and the storehouses of nature were ransacked for remedies, and they were discovered by scores and applied without stint. When the sufferer imagined he had found relief, it answered the same purpose as if he had. Poulticing and hot applications, the latter internal as well as external, were the most sensible of the attempted cures. Poor shoes and wet feet were probably the cause or contributing cause of much of the rheumatism and tuberculosis on the frontiers.

There were probably more supposed remedies for snake bites than for any other one thing that afflicted the people of that time. Snakes were numerous, and they frequently struck. Almost every family had a long list of alleged cures, most of which were herbs to be made into poultices and applied to the bite, but sometimes the poultice was placed elsewhere than on the wound, in the belief that it would draw the poison

away from the point where the snake's fangs had deposited it. It was rather unusual for a person to succumb to the bite of a snake.

Dyspepsia or indigestion was prevalent, due to the poor quality of food, its coarseness, and the bad cooking. The belief that the early settlers were exceptionally healthy is a superstition. All were not healthy or sickly alike at that time any more than at present; but there is abundant evidence that many people were dyspeptic.

Measles, whooping cough, smallpox, erysipelas, scarlet fever, and other contagious, epidemic, or sporadic diseases made the rounds of the settlements in early times as persistently as might be expected from the lack of precautions and the want of sanitary conditions in most homes where the family lived in crowded quarters and often in the midst of more dirt than they needed.

The common belief that the pioneers who lived in cabins, and who hunted and slept in the woods, waded streams, and traveled mountain trails in sun and storm, were a robust, healthy, long-lived race, is not founded on historical evidence, or based on probability. The people's health as a whole would probably fall a good deal short of the average health of the people of the present time in the same region. There are no exact statistics by which to draw comparisons.

The Tavern—There were no large towns in Western Virginia for many years after the country contained a considerable population. Every county had a court house, and a few houses clustered near it for the accommodation of the clerk, a lawyer or two, perhaps a doctor, a merchant, blacksmith, and a few others, but the courthouse towns always had one or more taverns or inns. The code of Virginia called them "ordinaries," and they were usually quite ordinary. There were taverns at country crossroads and at other points where the travel justified. Many travelers complained of the entertainment, but some were satisfied. Plain food and substantial beds were generally provided, and the charges were regulated by state law, or by county ordinance. In 1788 the tavern rate in Randolph county was fixed by the county court in shillings and pence, which translated into modern currency were as follows:

Maderia wine, per half pint	25	cents.
Other wines " " "	20 5-6	"
West India rum " " "	16 2-3	"
Other rums " " "	12 1-2	"
Peach brandy " " "	11 1-9	"
Good whiskey " " "	11 1-9	"
Dinner	16 2-3	"
Breakfast	12 1-2	"
Supper	12 1-2	"
Lodging, in clean sheets each night	8 1-3	"
Corn and oats, per gallon	11 1-9	"
Horse at Hay, every 12 hours	11 1-9	"
Pasture, every 24 hours	8 1-3	"

The Virginia pound was $3.33 1-3; the shilling 16 2-3 cents; the penny 1 7-8 cents. The coins in circulation were mostly Spanish or Mexican. In 1795 the Randolph court ordered that whiskey sell at 8 1-3 cents a pint and cider at 8 1-3 cents a quart. In 1829 the court again fixed the tavern rates, and a tendency to advance is observable:

Lodging per night with clean sheets	6¼	cents.
Dieting per meal	25	cents.
French brandy, per half pint	25	cents.
Whiskey, peach brandy, or apple brandy, per half pint	10	cents.
Cider-wine, per quart	25	cents.
Cider-oil, per quart	12½	cents.

Cider, per quart	6¼ cents.
Horse at hay, 24 hours	25 cents.
Oats or corn, per gallon	10 cents.

In 1792 a court order was entered that "Thomas Summerfield be permitted to sell liquors without license on the road which leads from Tygart's valley to the North Fork for the benefit of travelers on such a long and lonesome road." That "long and lonesome road" was the old Iroquois Indian war path, called the Seneca trail, leading across the Alleghany mountains. It is described elsewhere in this book.

The instances of tavern prices and customs here given are not presented because they possess any particular historical importance, but as examples of the custom of the times. The tavern business was pretty much the same all over the state. The leading item in all tavern business of that time in Western Virginia was whiskey. Taverns were simply saloons with arrangements to lodge and board customers. A public house without its bar or liquor closet probably did not exist in the whole region. Drunkenness, or at least drinking, was so common that it excited no comment except from travelers from other regions. Such occasionally passed through the country, on business or pleasure, and a number of diaries written by them have been preserved. The perusal of these records must inpress upon the reader the debauchery and drunkenness that existed a century or more ago about public gathering places in Western Virginia. No one should grieve for what in that particular has passed away, for the present is an improvement upon the past.

A great deal depends upon the viewpoint of the observer, and the frame of mind in which he happens to be when impressions are made upon him. It is well known that one man will draw conclusions very different from another's, though similar facts might be within reach of both. One sees the unfavorable only, and the other the favorable. The picture of certain parts of Western Virginia by Felix Renick, who traveled to the Ohio river in 1798, is not favorable, yet he perhaps did not exaggerate, but simply picked from his experiences that which was calculated to leave the least favorable impression. Following is an extract from a letter by him:

"The first night after leaving the settlement at Clarksburg, we camped in the woods: the next morning while our horses were grazing we drew out our wallets and saddle bags for a snack, that we intended should pass for our breakfast, and set out. We had not traveled far before we unexpectedly came to a new improvement. A man had gone there in the spring, cleared a small field and raised a patch of corn, staying in a camp during the summer to watch it to prevent its being destroyed by the wild animals. He had, a few days before we came along, called on some of his near neighbors on the Ohio, not much more perhaps than thirty miles off, who had kindly come forth and assisted him in putting up a cabin of pretty ample size, into which he had moved bag and baggage. He had also fixed up a rack and trough, and exposed a clapboard to view, with some black marks on it, made with a coal, indicating that he was ready and willing to accommodate those who pleased to favor him with a call. Seeing those things, and although we did not in reality need anything in his way, Mr. Harness insisted on our giving him a call, observing that any man who would settle down in such a wilderness to accommodate travelers ought to be encouraged. We accordingly rode up and called for breakfast, horse feed, etc.

"Then let me say that our host had just put the ball in motion and was destitute of any helpmete whatever (except a dog or two) and had of course to officiate in all the various departments appertaining to a hotel, from the landlord down to the shoeblack on the one side, and from the landlady down to the dish wash on the other. The first department in which he had to officiate was that of the hostler, next that of barkeeper, as it was then customary, whether called for or not, to set out a half pint of something to drink. The next, which he fell at with much alacrity, was that of the cook, by commencing with rolled-up sleeves and unwashed hands and arms, that looked about as black and dirty as the bear's

paws which lay at the cabin door, part of whose flesh was the most considerable item in our breakfast fare.

"The first operation was the mixing up of some pounded corn meal dough in a little black, dirty trough, to which the cleaner, and perhaps as he appeared to think him, the better half of himself, his dog, had free access before he was fairly done with it, and that, I presume, was the only kind of cleaning it ever got. While the dodgers were baking, the bear meat was frying, and what he called coffee was also making, which was composed of some article which grew some hundred or one thousand miles north of where the coffee tree ever did grow. You now have the bill of fare that we sat down to, and the manner in which it was prepared; but you must guess how much of it we ate, and how long we were at it. As soon as we were done, we called for our bill, and here follow the items: Breakfast, fifty cents each, horses, twenty-five each, half pint of whiskey, fifty cents. Mr. Harness, who had prevailed on us to stop, often heard of the wilderness hotel, and whenever mentioned, he always had some term of reproach ready to apply to the host and the dirty breakfast, though we often afterwards met with fare somewhat similar in all respects."

A letter written about the same time as the above by another traveler gives a more cheerful picture of the country and people in the same region. The traveler passed though Monongalia county, a portion of which is now included in Preston, and part of the scene is laid in adjatent parts of Maryland and Pennsylvania. Says the letter:

"The next day we dined with Mr. M. McCartin still higher up in the mountains. There are many settlements in this vicinity. We were entertained in a beautiful, cool, roomy house, surrounded by oat fields and rich meadows, where the sound of the bells told that cattle were pasturing. We dined from delicate china, good forks, spoons, and other utensils. Our hostess, a bright, handsome, healthy woman, waited upon us. After dinner a charming feminine guest arrived on horseback, a young girl from the neighboring farm, of perhaps fifteen years of age, with such bashful eyes and such rosy cheeks, so lovely and attractive in manner that even Coopley, our good mathematician, could not restrain his admiration.

"This is the back woods of America, which the Philadelphian is pleased to describe as a rough wilderness—while in many parts of Europe, in Westphalia, in the whole of Hungary and Poland, no where is there a cottage to be found, which, taking all things together in consideration of the inhabitants, can be compared with the one of which I have just written. . . .

"We breakfasted with Tim Friend, a hunter who lived six miles further on. If ever Adam existed he must have looked as this Tim Friend. I never saw such an illustration of perfect manhood. Large, strong, and brawny; every limb in magnificent proportion, energy in every movement and strength in every muscle, his appearance was the expression of manly independence, contentment, and intelligence. His conversation satisfied the expectation which it awakened. With gray head, sixty years old, forty of which he had lived in the mountains, and of an observing mind, he could not find it difficult to agreeably entertain people who wished for information. He was a hunter by profession. We had choice venison for breakfast, and there were around the house and near by a great number of deers, bears, and panthers. I cannot abstain from believing that the manly effort which must be put forth in the hunt, the boldness which it requires, the keen observation which it encourages, the dexterity and activity which are necessary to its success, act together more forcibly for the development of the physical and mental strength than any other occupation.

. . . "We dined at Dunkard bottom, crossed Cheat river in the afternoon, reached the Monongahela valley, spent the night in a very comfortable block [log] house with Mr. Zinn, and arrived the next day at Morgantown. . . . From Morgantown we went to the mouth of George's creek, Fayette county, Pennsylvania. As it was afternoon when we reached here, we were overtaken by night and compelled to spend the night in a small block house with Mr. McFarlain. We found Mr. McFarlain a respectable, intelligent farmer, surrounded as usual by a large and happy family.

"Directly after our arrival the table was set, around which the entire family assembled. This appears to be the usual custom in the United States with all people who are in some measure in good circumstances. One of the women, usually the prettiest, has the honor of presiding at the table. There were good table appointments, fine china, and the simple feast was served with the same ceremony as in the most fashionable society of Philadelphia. Never, I believe, was there in any place more equality than in this. Strangers who come at this time of day at once enter the family circle. This was the case with us. Mr. McFarlain told

us more about his farm and the misfortunes with which he struggled when he first cultivated the place upon which he now lives. He has lived here thirty years, a circumstance which is here very unusual, because the adventure-loving nature, together with the wish to better their condition, and the opportunity, has led many people to wander from place to place.

"'But,' said Mr. McFarlain when we made this observation, 'I have always believed there was truth in the saying that a rolling stone gathers no moss. With labor and industry I have at last succeeded, and can still work as well as my sons.'

"'Oh,' said his wife, a jolly woman, 'he does not do much. The most he does is to go around and look at the work."

"'Let him, let him,' interrupted the daughter, an energetic, pretty girl of perhaps seventeen years, who was serving the coffee. 'He worked hard when he was young!' And no girl of finer education could have said it with more charming naivete or with the appearance of more unaffected love.

"After the evening meal the eldest son showed us to our bedroom. 'Shall I close the window?' said he. 'I usually sleep here and always leave it open; it does not harm me, and Dr. Franklin advises it.'

"The next morning when we came down we found the old farmer sitting on the porch reading a paper. Upon the table lay Morse's Geography, The Beauty of the Stars, The Vicar of Wakefield, and other good books. I have entered into particulars in my description of this family because we were then only five miles from the home of Gallatin, where the people are too often represented as rough, uncultured, good-for-nothings. It is not necessary to mention that all families here are not as this, yet it is something to find a family such as this, living on this side of the mountains, 300 miles from the sea coast."

CHAPTER XVIII

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Many religious denominations now have churches in West Virginia. Perhaps no person knows how many there are. In early times the number was small. During the first years of the settlements no church organizations existed in most of the localities, for the people did not come in as religious associations, as the Puritans did who entered Massachusetts, nor were they all members of one denomination as were the colonists at Jamestown. The earliest of the Western Virginia immigrants came as individuals, and while many of them were church members, few were zealous advocates of church extension, and most of them thought more of clearing fields and driving the Indians away than of building churches or disputing over catechisms. Many years after settlements began, large regions remained without the presence of a preacher of any denomination, or even a missionary, while in other localities both were early at work. The few trustworthy accounts which have come down from that time show the religious and moral status on the frontiers in a rather unfavorable light. Bishop Francis Asbury's diaries are perhaps the most accurate and minute account of the conditions on the frontiers of Virginia both east and west of the Alleghanies toward the close of the eighteenth century. He had no reason to paint them worse than they were, and he shows much drunkenness, profanity, and carousing, as well as indifference. Rev. James B. Finley's "Sketches of Western Methodism" adds to Asbury's pictures, though most of Finley's narratives refer to regions outside of Virginia. Rev. Joseph Doddridge's account is more of a lamentation because of neglect, than of a picture of the moral and spiritual condition of the people.

The purpose of the present chapter is to give a brief account of the earliest efforts to found and organize churches on the present soil of West Virginia. In no instance will the history of any denomination be brought down to the present time, for that would require more space than can be accorded in a single chapter. The story of the beginning and of the first few years or decades must suffice. Those who may be sufficiently interested in the work of any denomination to wish to know more of its later efforts in this field, can procure the information elsewhere, for nearly all denominations now have well-written, entertaining histories of their own which may be easily procured.

There were few denominations at first in Western Virginia. The Methodists were a single church then. Politics and church government have since split them into three or four churches. The Presbyterians who first entered Western Virginia when it was a wilderness, have since separated as the Methodists have, and like the Methodists, the question of slavery was one of the causes for the parting of the ways. There are nine or ten different denominations of Baptists, most if not all of them now represented in West Virginia. Few of these subdivisions were in existence when the original Baptist preachers turned their steps toward the wilderness of Western Virginia. The Lutherans, who were never very numerous in Western Virginia, now have their divisions. In short, about the only churches which have not divided by secessions since they crossed the Alleghanies a hundred years or more ago, are the Episcopal and the Catholic.

The status of the churches before or at the time they began to enter what is now West Virginia is given somewhat minutely because that knowledge is necessary to an understanding of their work this side of the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies. Many of the first preachers and missionaries had their headquarters in Virginia when they entered upon the western work.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The beginning of the Episcopal Church in Virginia was not accomplished through struggles for existence and contests against adverse circumstances. It had the law on its side, and the power of the government behind it. The church was supported by taxation, the same as other government institutions. The ministers were appointed to "livings." That means that the pastor of a church had a stated income, and the position was as nearly permanent as law and custom could make it. It was the established church in England, and the institution was brought bodily over to Virginia. Other denominations might be tolerated if they conformed to certain requirements, such as taking the oath to uphold the government, confine their meetings to certain places which were designated in the licenses that their ministers were required to procure, and in some instances to hold meetings by day only. These requirements clearly separated all other denominations from the established church. They had to content themselves to occupy an inferior place. They received no financial support from taxes or any other public source, but their church buildings were erected and maintained at the expense of the members, and the preachers were paid by private subscription. All of this gave the Episcopal Church a great advantage over the others.

For many years after the beginning of settlements in Virginia, there was no denomination but the Episcopalians. The church was a part of the government, and was generally one of the first matters to receive attention in laying out a new settlement. When the landing was made at Jamestown, a temporary makeshift for a church was the first thing. It consisted simply of a pole raised in a horizontal position to serve as an altar railing. A better arrangement was, of course, provided as soon as circumstances would allow. Parishes were laid off as the settlements advanced toward the interior, and two governments, that of the church and that of the state, went on side by side, the former dependent upon the latter. Some of the old churches of Virginia became historical, and much has been written concerning them. The parish registers of births, marriages, deaths, and other matters which properly came to the knowledge of the church officials, are now one of the most valuable sources of Virginia history. No other church in the state in any way approached the Episcopal in the completeness of such records.

The ministers were educated men. In many instances they were trained for their calling from youth, and when they entered upon their work they were thoroughly equipped. They were required to know, or at least usually did know, three languages at least, English, Latin, and Greek. They were acquainted with literature and history, and, like Catholic priests, they were the best educated class of the people. Their church service was harmonious and beautiful, and was calculated to attract and hold the attention of the congregation.

This was the church which came into Virginia with so much advantage over all other denominations that any rivalry between them would have seemed forever impossible. Yet, as events proved, it did not satisfy all, though it was the ideal church for many. The history

of most other early denominations in Virginia is a story of small and feeble beginnings, among natural and artificial discouragements, and of the growth and expansion which followed. It is the reverse in the history of the Episcopal Church there. It was strongest at the start and in its first years—not in numbers, but in conditions, when it enjoyed undivided government support. In time it found its field encroached upon by other denominations which drew away some of its people. That was particularly the case when the settlements spread westward from tidewater Virginia and approached the mountains. The people who located in the west came from the north, in most cases, and were not members of the established church. If they were not decidedly hostile toward it, they were indifferent to it. The Episcopal Church met its first trouble when it approached regions filled with that kind of people. The strength of the church did not appear to lose in the old settled regions near tidewater, but it experienced difficulty in extending its field. The Baptists, Presbyterians, Quakers, and German denominations were in the back country, and the established church found it necessary to engage in missionary work there, if it would make any headway. It had not been trained for missionary work. It had been accustomed to rely on the British government to carry and sustain it. It was, therefore, poorly equipped to measure strength on the frontiers with the Moravians, Presbyterians, Methodists, and the Baptists, who had learned to fight for every inch of ground they won.

When the Revolutionary war was over, the Episcopal Church found itself on the losing side. Not that its members were not as strong patriots as any other Americans, but the sentiment of the country as a whole, and of Virginia in particular, was opposed to a union of church and state. The demand was that all denominations should be on the same footing, and that none should be supported by taxation. That attack was aimed at the established church in Virginia. The whole field was against it; all the other denominations were fighting for the principle not of mere toleration but of complete religious freedom. The demand was "that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever," and "that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion."

The established church made a long and determined fight to hold its ground. Able and influential men were on its side, and six years were required by the advocates of religious freedom to force the bill through the Virginia legislature. The bill came out, and was placed on the statute books in 1785, and the Episcopal church found itself stripped of financial support from taxation. In that respect it was placed on an equal footing with all other denominations. The law was written by Thomas Jefferson. It may be found in this book, in the chapter dealing with the influence of the Scotch-Irish.

The Episcopal Church had made little headway in territory now included in West Virginia, when the law separating church and state was passed in 1785. It therefore came into this territory as other denominations came. Bishop Meade in "Old Churches and Families of Virginia," which is largely a history of the Episcopal Church in Virginia, speaks on more than one occasion of the discouragements which were encountered in early years in the efforts to extend the church west of the Alleghanies, and even west of the Blue Ridge. The church scarcely had a foothold in the Shenandoah valley until long after the Revolutionary war; and Joseph Doddridge, writing about 1824, says that no Episcopal bishop had ever crossed the Alleghany mountains. He was an Episcopalian, and one of the earliest, if not the first, to preach west of the

mountains. His complaint of neglect was pathetic. He declared that half of the early settlers west of the Alleghanies were of Episcopal parentage, and that they would have remained in that church if they had not been neglected; but, after long neglect they had gradually gone into churches of other denominations, or had remained outside of all churches. Though Dr. Doddridge's estimate of the proportion of Western Virginians with Episcopalian parentage is certainly too high, the picture which he draws of the poor state of the church west of the mountains is doubtless in the main correct, for he had excellent opportunities to obtain information.

Probably the first Episcopal church in what is now West Virginia was at Mill Creek or Bunker Hill, Berkeley county, about 1740. It was called Morgan's Chapel, and it appears that Morgan Morgan, one of the first white settlers in West Virginia, was a member of the Episcopal Church. Norborne parish, in Berkeley county, dates from 1769. The Hampshire parish, corresponding in area with the county of the same name, was established in 1753, but it does not appear that a church was organized in it for many years afterward. The earliest preacher in Hampshire appears to have been Norman Nash, who prepared himself for the ministry with the particular purpose in view of receiving the appointment to the Hampshire work. For more than fifteen years the parish had been without a preacher. His preparation was not very thorough. He had not studied Latin and Greek. Bishop Moore refused to ordain him because he was ignorant of the dead languages. He went away greatly discouraged, and said, that as he was somewhat advanced in years, and would probably die of old age before he could learn the required languages, the only course left to him was to appeal his case to heaven, and inform the powers there that he did not enter the ministry because Bishop Moore insisted upon dead languages. His threatened appeal to the powers of heaven caused a reopening of his case on earth, and under a special dispensation he was permitted to preach without knowing Greek and Latin, and he was ordained for Hampshire. He built a log church at Romney, which was later replaced by a brick edifice. He worked hard, but the establishing of a church in Hampshire was for many years a discouraging undertaking.

Joseph Doddridge's early labors were at Wheeling and West Liberty. He was preaching in the courthouse at West Liberty, Ohio county, in 1793, and a church was built in Brooke county about the same time. Though the Episcopalians had services occasionally during many years, the first church was not organized there until 1819.

It is not known how many Episcopalians there were among the scattered settlements west of the Alleghanies. When the missionaries of that church penetrated the region, beginning about 1830 (a few years later or earlier) they found a few who had once belonged to the church, and had not forgotten its teachings or considered themselves outside of its pale. It developed that a number of that denomination had settled in 1797 at the mouth of Coal river on the Kanawha. After many years they or their children were discovered by the missionaries who were hunting the lost sheep. A church was established there.

The first missionary which the Episcopal Church sent into Western Virginia was Rev. William F. Lee. The first point to which he directed his labors was Clarksburg, and the next was Morgantown. He afterwards visited the Kanawha Valley, and ascended the Ohio river to Parkersburg. There was preaching at Morgantown in 1819, and at intervals in the following years; but a church was not organized there until 1860, according to Wiley's History of Monongalia county.

The Episcopal Church does not seem to have ever been a church

for the rural and country districts, at least as far as West Virginia is concerned. It has prospered in towns only. There is no apparent reason why this should be so, except that it has always been a church of culture, and for that reason some prejudice may have existed against it among people who lived plainly and whose opportunities to attain to a high degree of culture were not great. They felt more sympathy for other denominations, such as the Methodists, Baptists, and Lutherans, who went about among the highways and hedges seeking for wanderers, and gathering them into the folds.

The following somewhat discouraging picture of Western Virginia and the opportunities for extending the work of the Episcopal Church in that region is from a pamphlet published by Bishop Meade ten or twelve years before the Civil war, when the question of forming a separate diocese in Western Virginia was considered:

"Those who would see the main cause of the feeble condition of the Episcopal Church in Western Virginia, and of the difficulties in the way of its speedy progress, under any helps that can be brought to bear upon it, must consider the history of Western Virginia, and the peculiarity of her condition, by comparison with other portions of our land, similar as to soil and position. Take, for instance, Ohio and Western Pennsylvania, lying on both sides of Western Virginia. While the latter (Western Virginia) is more hilly and mountainous, and less attractive on that account to the emigrant, she has also had other obstacles to settlement and improvement, which have left her far behind the former two. In the first place, the unsettled condition of her land titles continues to this day to present most serious difficulties in the way of sale to those who would form such material as might be molded into Episcopal congregations. Another obstacle to the settlement of Western Virginia is the fact of its being a part of a slave-holding state. This has prevented immense numbers from the north from choosing this as their home; while, on the other hand, the fact of the contiguity of Western Virginia to the free states, furnishing a facility for the escape of slaves, has prevented Eastern Virginians from settling there. Episcopal families for a long period of time have in great numbers been passing by or through Western Virginia, and have formed the basis of churches in the South and Southwest. Comparatively few have settled in Western Virginia. The few are indeed the chief material out of which our churches are composed. The causes above mentioned have mainly produced the immense difference between the present conditions of Ohio, Western Pennsylvania, and Western Virginia. While the two former have their forests cleared, their lands well cultivated and covered with comfortable dwellings and farm-houses—while they abound in flourishing villages and even large towns, and churches and schools and colleges—it is quite otherwise with the latter. A large proportion of her high hills and mountains are still covered with dense forests. Her villages and towns are few and small—some not increasing at all, others but slowly. Immense bodies of her lands are owned by non-residents, being inhabited only by those who have no inducements to improve them, and who only seek to gain during their uncertain residence just what is necessary for the sustenance of life.

"On my recent visit I passed through four tracts of 50,000 acres each, owned by four different individuals who were non-residents. These, I am told, are only a few of many large unimproved tracts. Hundreds of thousands of acres can be bought at the low price of twenty-five cents (perhaps less) to one dollar per acre, and of good land too, which will one day, though a distant one, be covered with flocks and herds. Of course, as villages and towns in the interior are for the most part sustained by the surrounding country, if this be uncultivated or does not flourish, those cannot increase greatly. That Western Virginia has on her surface or in her bosom the material of great wealth and improvement, none can doubt. I have ever believed and said that at some future day she would be one of the most interesting and desirable portions of our country. The improvements in the roads, already made from Winchester, Staunton, and other places, to the Ohio river, have done something for the comfort of the traveler and the improvement of the country; but it is only necessary to travel these roads to see in how wild and uncultivated a condition large portions of Western Virginia still are; while those who traverse it on horseback, by the cross-routes, will see a far more rugged state of things. The Baltimore and Ohio railroad will do much for certain portions of Western Virginia; and the Central railroad, if pursued, as we trust it may me, will do much for some other portions. There will also be a general, though it cannot be a rapid, improvement throughout the greater part of this re-

gion. Still, however, the causes mentioned above will continue for a long time to operate.

"The slaveholder from Eastern Virginia and elsewhere will not choose this increasingly unsafe position for his slave property. The Northern man who still cherishes strong opposition to slavery, will not come where it exists, nor would he be welcome there; for in no part of Virginia is the opposition stronger to anything savoring of abolitionism. Still it is our duty, as I have often said privately, publicly, and officially, not only to cultivate the places already open to us, tend the little flock already gathered, search for wandering sheep among the hills and mountains, but be ever ready to occupy any new positions, such as Fairmont and Fellowsville, which shall from time to time present themselves. If we cannot do all that we would, let us do all that we can. But it is best to think soberly and not deceive ourselves with false calculations. Even Western Pennsylvania, though having more ministers and churches than Western Virginia, has but few by comparison with her agricultural and other improvements, and by comparison with Ohio and other parts of our country. The cause of this may be found chiefly in the character of the population which first took possession of it, and still holds possession, and which was and is averse to the Episcopal Church. The same may be said of the population of Western Virginia. Though for the most part, of a population of a different kind from that which first established itself in Western Pennsylvania, it was not and is not favorable material for the Episcopal Church, as past experience has shown. Western Virginia was doubtless largely settled from Eastern Virginia. Those who moved from the Valley were not Episcopalians, for it is well-known that the Germans and Scotch-Irish took possession of the Valley at an early period, and that the Episcopal Church had scarcely an existence there until a very late period. Those who emigrated from Eastern Virginia were chiefly of that class who had deserted the Episcopal church and been engaged in a violent hostility to it, and carried with them, and transmitted to their children, nothing but prejudice against it—which prejudice has been cherished ever since by their religious teachers. But even if such prejudice has not been, so many generations have since grown up in utter ignorance of our church, that in the great body of the people in Western Virginia there is no tendency toward it, but the reverse. That the service of our church is most admirably adapted to the edification of the poor and laboring man, I firmly believe and often delight to affirm, but the difficulties in the way of getting such to make trial of it are so great, by reason of their partiality to other denominations, and various other circumstances, that hitherto all efforts to induce them so to do, whether in Virginia or elsewhere, have been of little avail."

THE BAPTIST CHURCH

The coming of the first Baptist to Virginia is unrecorded. It is generally considered that the first church was organized about 1714. It was in tidewater Virginia. Members increased in the colony slowly, and in twenty or thirty years they began to attract attention, by their preaching, and particularly by the earnestness of their missionary work among the poorer classes who had little in common with the established church in Virginia. The Episcopal Church was supported by taxation, and all other denominations relied solely on their members for support, and besides, were often hindered and harrassed in their work by overzealous officers of the law. The Baptists and the Presbyterians were the two earliest denominations to run counter to the established church in Virginia, and they bore the brunt of the fight for freedom of worship which was finally won in 1785.

In 1743 the first Baptists appear to have settled in what is now West Virginia. They crossed the Potomac river and came from the north and took up land at Millcreek, Berkeley county. It is said they moved there from Maryland, but the authority for this, H. C. Vedder in "The Story of the Church," says that the first Baptist church in Maryland was organized in 1772. It would seem strange that a sufficient number should emigrate from Maryland to found a church in Virginia twenty-nine years earlier than the founding of the first church in Maryland. The oldest Baptist church in Tennessee was founded in 1765, in Kentucky in 1782, in Ohio in 1790, in Virginia west of the Alleghany mountains, 1775.

The Berkeley county Baptists remained at Millcreek about twelve years. The hostility of savages in 1755, at the beginning of the French and Indian war, made their situation insecure and they abandoned their settlement and fled east across the Blue Ridge. Their exact place of refuge is not known during the ten or fifteen years following; but in 1770 they were again at Millcreek—perhaps others returned with them —and organized a church. That seems to have been the beginning of the Baptist church in West Virginia. Within five years of that time it had crossed the Alleghanies and had organized the first Protestant congregation in Virginia west of the mountains. It was located near Cheat river in Monongalia, then Augusta, county. The Baptists were among the most energetic and aggressive of all the denominations that sent missionaries into the field in America. Their aggressiveness was due to some extent to the resistance which they early encounterd from the Episcopal church, which did not look complacently upon new denominations appearing among the people. As soon as resistance ceased—after 1785 with the passage of the law making all religions free—the Baptist propaganda became much milder, though their work went steadily on and their membership grew. In 1770 there were eighteen Baptist churches in Virginia. Four years later there were 5,000 members. They had ninety churches in 1776, and 227 in 1793. The earliest Baptist preacher in what is now West Virginia, so far as is known, was Shubal Stearns who came from Massachusetts in 1751, and located for a short time in Berkeley county, where he found Baptists already established under the care of S. Henton. He afterwards moved on to North Carolina and later, about 1755, to Capon in Hampshire county. Some of the early Baptist preachers were indefatigable travelers. They rode constantly from settlement to settlement, preaching wherever they could collect an audience. One of them in Virginia, Jeremiah Moore, traveled a distance sufficient to have taken him twice round the world.

The Baptists share equal honors with the Presbyterians in bringing about freedom of worship for all denominations in Virginia. They demanded no special privileges for themselves, but asked only an equal chance. As soon as their members and their manner of preaching began to attract attention, they met opposition, prosecution, and not infrequently persecution. Their manner of preaching is described as peculiar, and in such marked contrast with the solemn and orderly worship in the Episcopal church, to which the people were accustomed, that it could not fail to attract attention, and it too often invited ridicule, and not infrequently mob violence. Some of the preachers were set upon by ruffians and beaten; others were dragged by the hair; some were thrown into water and almost drowned; others had live snakes and nests full of hornets thrown on them when they attempted to preach. Many were arrested and thrown into jails where fleas and other vermin annoyed them; occasionally they were fed days at a time on bread and water while in prison. The law officers and the courts prosecuted them, sometimes on the ground that they were preaching other than the doctrines of the established church; and at times on complaint of some citizen that they were disturbing the peace.

They generally endured the persecution without showing vindictive resentment. When thrown into prison for preaching, they would continue to preach through the prison bars to the crowds which assembled about the jails. Some of their greatest successes in promulgating their doctrine and in making converts was when they exhorted the crowds which surrounded the jails where they were confined. On one occasion when three preachers were led down the street to the jail, from the

courtroom where they had been sentenced "for a year and a day" for preaching, they sang as they went:

"Broad is the road that leads to death
And thousands walk together there,
But wisdom shows a narrow path
With here and there a traveler."

It has been said by one of the Baptist historians, Robert B. Semple, that they brought on themselves part of the rough treatment which they met. Some of their preachers were noisy and spectacular, and attracted attention by the strangeness of their actions. Semple says they made use of "many odd tones, disgusting whoops, and awkward gestures." Such behavior was in marked contrast with the orderly and solemn services of the Episcopalians and Presbyterians to which the people were accustomed, and it is not strange that some persons objected, and went so far as to offer physical opposition.

Their religious services were frequently marked by great excitement on the part of the congregation, and by actions which psychologists have never been able to explain. Other denominations have had experiences similar to those of the Baptists in this respect, and it was not peculiar to that denomination. In the excitement produced by the zealous oratory and exhortations of the preachers, members of the congregation were seized with convulsions which in the language of the time were called "jerks." The victim's muscles were beyond his control, and the limbs and body underwent rapid and violent contortions. The most characteristic feature was violent jerking. Another strange phenomenon induced by religious zeal and frenzy under the spell of the minister's fantastic exhorting, was known as "barks." The affected person barked like a dog, and was powerless to refrain from the unseemly behavior. The manifestations attracted much attention, as was natural, and many of the preachers were proceeded against in the courts on charges of disturbing the peace. Men of moderation and good judgment occasionally countenanced the arrest of the preachers, and conscientiously believed that the good of the country demanded that the disturbers be silenced. It was a question concerning which something might be said on both sides. It would be misleading to suppose that all the Baptists conducted religious exercises in that rude manner. Such was probably the exception; and the majority of the prosecutions were directed against ministers whose only offense was that they preached with zeal a new religion which was not in good standing on the law books of Virginia at that time.

Patrick Henry so understood it. He was a firm friend of the Baptists, though not in full sympathy with the doctrines they taught. He recognized their right to expound their doctrines in a reasonable manner; and on one occasion he volunteered to defend some preachers who were up for trial on a charge of disturbing the peace. He rode fifty miles to attend their trial, and though he arrived almost too late to be of any service, as their trial was in progress when he reached the courthouse, yet so vigorously did he attack the prosecution, and so strong was his plea for the men whose only offense was that they had preached, that the judge ordered the trial to stop short, and he discharged the defendants. It is worthy of note that the father of Henry Clay was once imprisoned in Virginia as a Baptist preacher.

The Baptists had other friends in Virginia who recognized their right to preach in a proper manner. A letter written July 16, 1768, by John Blair, deputy governor, to the king's attorney in Spottsylvania county, takes high and advanced grounds on the subject of religious liberty. It

was of great benefit to the Baptists, and disarmed their enemies to a considerable extent. The deputy governor's letter follows:

"I lately received a letter, signed by a good number of worthy gentleman, who are not here, complaining of the Baptists, the particulars of their misbehavior are not told, any further than their running into private houses and making dissensions. Mr. Craig and Mr. Benjamin Waller are now with me, and deny the charge; they tell me they are willing to take the oath as others have. I told them I had consulted the attorney general, who is of the opinion that the general court only have a right to grant licenses, and, therefore I referred them to that court. But on their application to the attorney general, they brought me his letter, advising me to write to you that their petition was a matter of right, and that you may not molest these conscientious people so long as they behave themselves in a manner becoming pious Christians, and in obedience to the laws, till the court, where they intend to apply for license, and where the gentlemen who complain may make their objections and be heard. The act of toleration (it being found by experience that persecuting dissenters increases their numbers) has given them a right to apply in a proper manner for licensed houses for the worship of God according to their consciences; and I persuade myself the gentlemen will quietly overlook their meetings till the court. I am told they administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper near the manner we do, and differ in nothing from our church but that of baptism, and their renewing the ancient discipline, by which they have reformed some sinners and brought them to be truly penitent. Nay, if a man of theirs is idle and neglects to labor and provide for his family as he ought, he incurs their censures, which have had good effects. If this be their behavior, it were to be wished we had some of it among us."

When the Revolutionary war came on, the Baptists were not a whit behind the Presbyterians in upholding the cause of liberty. If there was a Baptist tory in the thirteen colonies, his name and place of residence have not been learned. Though in Virginia the prosecution of the people of that belief continued in a measure almost to the close of the war, they remained friends of the cause and supported it in every way possible. Some of the best fighters in the patriot army were Baptist preachers who went out as captains of companies made up largely of members of their congregations. They, like their Presbyterian neighbors, proved that they could fight as well as pray.

In the long contest in the Virginia legislature, which continued nearly ten years, to establish religious freedom, the Baptists were always the foremost advocates of the proposed measure. The right of every man "to profess and by argument to maintain" whatever doctrine or opinion he pleased, was precisely what the Baptists wanted, and the act of 1785 gave it to them. It was not an act to tolerate, but a measure to make all equal, to put all religions on the same footing.

The first organized Baptist Church in Hampshire county came into existence in 1787 under the pastorate of B. Stone. It was established with twenty-six members and was located on North river. Three years later the same preacher organized a church on Crooked Run in the same county. It began with forty-four members. It seems to have been eighteen years before another congregation was organized in the county. In 1808 Dr. Munroe became pastor of a church with sixteen members on Patterson creek, in the present limits of Mineral county. Dr. Munroe moved to that place from Fauquier county, Virginia. His title of doctor was a medical one, not theological. He practiced his profession as a physician and his calling as preacher at the same time.

Considering the length of time the country which is now included in West Virginia's eight eastern counties had been settled, the progress of the Baptists had been slow in getting a foothold. They were no slower, however, than other denominations. The Episcopal church, though established and supported by law, made no better progress.

The Baptists organized a church in Monongalia county, west of the Alleghanies, twelve years before the earliest in Hampshire county,

though settlements began thirty years earlier in Hampshire than in Monongalia. Rev. John Corbly, whose family soon afterwards fell victims to the Indians, organized the "Forks of Cheat" Baptist Church on the evening of November 5, 1775, with twelve members. The place was a few miles northeast of Morgantown, near Stewartstown. Rev. Corbly had been a member of the Great Bethel Church at Uniontown, Pennsylvania. When he withdrew from that congregation to organize a new one, a number of others withdrew also and became members of the new organization. The "Forks of Cheat" Church is believed to have been the first of any denomination west of the Alleghanies in Virginia. Records of the Presbyterians show one earlier in Tygart's valley; but the date in the records (quoted in Hanna's "Scotch-Irish") is almost certainly ten or fifteen years too early, and leaves to the Baptists the honor of being first.

There seems to have been a Baptist congregation at Clarksburg in 1788, as may be inferred from the diary of Bishop Asbury. He visited Clarksburg that year and makes record that his "meeting was held in a long, close room belonging to the Baptists. Our use of the house, it seems, gave offense." In Haymond's History of Harrison county it is said:

"It was not long after settlements west of the mountains were established, before the pickets of Christianity were on the frontier, and in the neighborhoods where a few could be collected together, a traveling minister, generally Methodist or Baptist, would occasionally appear, deliver the cheering message from the Master and recall to his hearers the teachings of the faith taught them in their earlier years. The pioneer preacher's lot was not an enviable one, nor free from danger, and in his long journeys through the dim forest trails on horseback he suffered many privations and discomforts, but his motto was, 'Onward, Christian Soldier,' and nobly did he fulfill his divine mission."

A letter written in 1818 gives a few of the facts concerning the early efforts of the Baptists in Clarksburg. The letter was written by Rev. Ira Chase, who preached a short time there. Said he:

"A Baptist Church had once been constituted here, but many years ago the pastor went west. No successor was secured and the flock was scattered. Nothing but the grave yard appeared where the meeting house once stood. A learned and independent minister from England had for nearly twenty years supported himself principally by teaching in the Academy (the only one in this part of the state) and preached some of the time in the village to a few hearers, but with no visible success. About two years ago he was called to a better world. The people were now destitute. There were, indeed, residing here two Paedobaptist preachers, but there was no preaching and no religious meeting. One of the men was in the practice of physic and the other, a licentiate from New England, was teaching school. He came out with the prospect of taking charge of the academy, and preaching in the place; but he found it necessary to relinquish the academy for the present. It was not now in operation and for want of encouragement he had suspended his ministerial labors. There was no church of any denomination and there were few, very few, professors of religion, and some of these were not very correct in their morals. It was painful to see a village containing so many immortal souls, thus abandoned to ruin. Perhaps, thought I, it is my duty to stop and endeavor to excite the attention of the people to their eternal interest. In this I was encouraged by two Baptist brethren who reside in the place."

No definite date has been fixed for the earliest Baptist organization or work in Randolph county. That was one of the early centers of culture and progress in Western Virginia, and it is evident that the Baptists were among the pioneers there, but the year of their coming is not known. Rev. Thomas Collett was an early preacher who was born in 1788. He built a log church four miles below Beverly, which stood three-quarters of a century. It had a gallery and a high pulpit, as the style was in English churches. During the Civil war soldiers tore off most of the

loose wood, including the roof, and the building was never thoroughly repaired. The old builder occupied the pulpit long after he became blind.

One of the noted Baptist preachers of the eighteenth century in Western Virginia was Rev. Simeon Harris, who lived in 1786, and perhaps earlier, near Meadowville, in the present county of Barbour. There is record that in 1795 he built or ministered to a church near the present village of Meadowville in Barbour county, and the few authentic facts and the many traditions in the region concerning him show that he made a deep impression upon the people among whom he labored. The old chimney of his house is still pointed to with veneration. The fireplace is large enough to receive a log ten feet long; and is a reminder of the time in Western Virginia when it was considered almost a Christian duty to destroy as much of the forest as possible.

In 1817 Phineas Wells organized a Baptist church west of Philippi, Barbour county, which has kept up its organization till the present time. In 1839 the division of the Baptists split many churches in this country, and this one, founded by Phineas Wells, went with the conservatives, often called Oldsides.

The history of the Baptist church (and of several other denominations) shows several divisions or partial divisions, brought about by differences of opinion on the interpretation of the Scriptures, or in church discipline. In this very brief sketch no attempt is made to enter into particulars concerning those differences of opinion. Some of the disputes came pretty early, but up to the founding of the first churches west of the Blue Ridge, or even the Alleghany mountains, the common name of Baptist was popularly applied to all.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

The Catholic Church had no existence in Virginia before the Revolutionary war. As late as 1785 when the act of the Virginia legislature was passed, placing all denominations on an equal footing, there were not more than 200 Catholics in the state who were ministered to by priests, though there were doubtless many more dispersed among the valleys and mountains of the west who had no communication with the church. There was not a priest stationed in Virginia at that time. The first congregations of that faith to be organized in the state were in the area now included in West Virginia. One of the stations was Shepherdstown, and one Martinsburg, and they were ministered to by Rev. Denis Cahill, who was stationed at Hagerstown, Md. Another of his congregations was at Cumberland, Md., and if there were Catholics on the Virginia side of the river in Hampshire county, they were within reach of Cumberland.

The early laws of Virginia were overbearing and tyrannical toward all denominations except the Episcopalians, whose church was established by law; but the restrictions against the Catholics were especially severe. A priest was not permitted to remain in the colony. The Presbyterians and Baptist preachers could remain as long as they pleased without molestation, if they held their peace, but not so with the Catholic priests. The mere fact that they were priests was ground enough for their arrest and prosecution under the existing laws of the province.

The first law against Catholics in Virginia was passed in 1641 and provided a fine of 1,000 pounds of tobacco for any Catholic who accepted any office of profit or trust in the province. The colony was then in a very weak condition, having a population of less than ten thousand persons, and was trembling in the balance between life and death in the face of dangers incident to a position on the edge of an unexplored and hostile continent. It would seem that good policy should have dictated the wis-

dom of encouraging every settler who would come to help redeem the wilderness from savagery. But that policy did not prevail.

Some forty-five years later, when James was on the throne of England, the Catholics saw a prospect of living in peace in Virginia, and they prepared to take advantage of it. Negotiations were opened for the purchase of thirty thousand acres of land of the Fairfax estate, and preparations were under way for colonizing it when a political change in England again placed the Catholics in disfavor, and nothing came of the colonizing scheme which might have been of much advantage to Virginia in after years by placing a strong colony in the northwestern part of the state. The colony would probably have been located near the Potomac, east of Harper's Ferry.

So severe were the laws against the Catholics in Virginia that few of that denomination went there. They preferred to locate in Maryland and Pennsylvania, where they were better treated. For nearly fifty years after the failure to plant a colony on the Potomac, little was heard of Catholics south of that river; but finally it was deemed by those in power that there was sufficient cause for alarm.

In 1733 Governor Gooch of Virginia issued the following proclamation and caused it to be widely posted:

"Whereas it has been represented to me in Council that several Roman Catholic priests are lately come from Maryland to Fairfax county in this colony, and are endeavoring by crafty insinuations to seduce his majesty's good subjects from their fidelity and loyalty to his majesty, King George and his royal house, I have, therefore, thought fit, with the advice of his majesty's council, to issue this proclamation, requiring all magistrates, sheriffs, and constables, and other his majesty's liege people within this colony, to be diligent in apprehending and bringing to justice the said Romish priests, or any of them, so that they may be prosecuted according to law."

When Braddock's army was on its way to attack Fort Duquesne (afterwards Pittsburgh) in 1755, it halted a few days at Alexandria, Va., to make final preparations. A letter written soon after by Daniel Dulaney gives a glimpse of the spirit of the times in Virginia. Said he:

"One of the Maryland priests had like to have fallen into the hands of the army when the troops were at Alexandria, and if he had, I believe he would have been hanged for a spy. The man had been sauntering about the camp, and some one from Maryland whispered that he was a priest. This was soon noised about, and the priest thinking himself not very safe on the south side of the Potomac, made all the haste that he could to a boat that was waiting for him, and had just put off when he discovered a party of soldiers running to the place where the boat had waited for him. The officer who commanded the party called to the boatsmen to return, but the priest prevailed on them to make all the expedition they could to the opposite shore. Something ought to be done in regard to these priests, but the present heat and ferment of the times are such that nothing short of a total extermination of them, and an absolute confiscation of all their estate, will be heard of with temper. That the Romish laity might be laid under some restraints in the education of their children is greatly to be wished."

The ministers of the Catholic church in Maryland as late as the Revolution often found it necessary to go stealthily into Virginia to visit a few of their people who were living there. Says John Gilmary Shea in his History of the Catholic Church in the United States:

"The Virginia side was one of great danger. Father Frambach from Frederick visited it only by night, and slept by his horse, ready to mount and put him at his full speed on the slighted warning. More than once the bullets of the pursuers whistled round the head of the devoted priest, for whose blood men were thirsting in their hatred of the church of the living God. . . . Yet Virginia had been the scene of the labors of the Dominican and Jesuit before Protestantism set foot on its soil which had been bedewed with the blood of martyrs."

The Catholics bore their share of the burdens and dangers of the Revolutionary war. Many of the states treated them worse than Virginia treated the Baptists, and yet, like the Baptists, they fought in the cause of liberty and helped to win the victories, and also shared in the defeats. They had nothing to hope from England in the way of justice in the exercise of their religion, and they took chances on receiving justice from America. Washington was always favorable to them; but Jefferson was more active in securing religious equality. Personally he was not much in sympathy with the Catholic religion; but he firmly insisted that all religions ought to be equally free, and he was largely responsible for that result in Virginia in 1785.

The Revolution and the laws which were subsequently passed made all religious denominations equal before the law. They all were at liberty to promulgate their doctrine, and to maintain it by preaching. The effect of those laws was good. The jealousy, rancor, and hatred which had formerly existed, largely disappeared. In Virginia all other denominations had looked upon the Episcopal church, if not with hatred, with a feeling stronger than envy. It was supported by public funds, and they were denied that favor; but after 1785 all fared the same, and the causes of envy and hatred disappeared. With one consent all the denominations in the field took up the work of spreading their doctrines. There was abundant material in the western part of Virginia for building up congregations without proselyting. A majority of the people in that region were not members of any church at that time, and it was a free and open field for the good works of all denominations.

In Shea's Catholic history, already liberally quoted in these pages, it is stated that as late as 1841 Wheeling was the only place in the area now embraced in West Virginia that had a Catholic church. That does not mean that there were not considerable numbers of that faith scattered through the country, and that some of them were not occasionally visited by priests. In 1822 a priest preached a sermon in Morgantown, and doubtless elsewhere, and at intervals others held services there. In general, the Catholics of Monongalia, Marion, Preston, and Hampshire counties during those years were ministered to by priests from Pittsburgh, and those in the Kanawha valley by priests from Cincinnati.

In 1842 Summersville in Nicholas county was made the headquarters of a priest who served the Kanawha valley. The reason why that point was chosen is not stated. It was geographically near the center of a large region, but it was a very small village, and not on important through routes of travel. There could not have been many Catholics there, for a church was not built in Summersville until ten years later.

When Bishop Whelan took charge of the diocese of Wheeling in 1850 it contained four churches, Wheeling, Parkersburg, Weston, and Wytheville, and one log chapel near Kingwood. The church at Summersville was not completed until two years later.

There were few Catholics among the early settlers west of the mountains in Virginia; and apparently there were few among those who came during the following twenty or thirty years. Members of that denomination began to arrive when public works were undertaken. Among the earliest works of that kind was the Northwestern turnpike from Winchester to Parkersburg. Laborers came to work on the construction of the road, and many of them remained, bought little farms with their earnings, and settled down. The Baltimore and Ohio railroad brought many more, for it was a larger undertaking. The boring of the great tunnel ten miles west of Cheat river was at the time the greatest feat of that class that the world had ever seen. The labor was largely performed by Irish Catholics —not the Scotch-Irish who had entered the country long before. The

work continued so long that many of the laborers came to consider the locality as their fixed habitation, and some made it their permanent home to the advantage and profit of the state ever since. Some of the most influential business men of West Virginia are the children or grandchildren of the Irish who helped build the Baltimore and Ohio railroad between sixty and seventy years ago. The "one log chapel near Kingwood," listed as the fifth Catholic Church in Western Virginia (now West Virginia) in 1850 was the worshiping place of the laborers who at that time were boring the great tunnel through Laurel Hill ten miles from Kingwood.

One of the four churches was at Weston. There is history connected with that, also. The Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike passes through that town. It was a great work in its day, and much of it in Lewis county, both east and west of Weston, was macadamized, where the natural ground was too soft for a solid foundation. No power stone crushers were used then, but the thousands of wagonloads of rock needed were broken by the slow process of handwork. Small hammers with long, pliant hickory handles, were used in the work, and the men who handled the hammers acquired marvellous skill. Many of them were Irish; and following the example of their countrymen who worked in the tunnel, they invested their savings in little farms. The presence of the Catholic Church at Weston so early in its history indicates what was the religious faith of those people.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

The Presbyterians were among the earliest of the religious denominations to enter the territory now embraced in West Virginia. In the chapter in this book which gives an account of the Scotch-Irish, much is said concerning the early Presbyterians which need not be repeated here. All Presbyterians were not Scotch-Irish, but the majority of those who entered Western Virginia in early times were. They fared better than the Baptists, in the matter of persecution, though they were no less opposed to the established church. They were simply more successful in avoiding controversies. They took pains to win the friendship, as far as they could, of those in power, and thus made their own paths smoother. A few persons of their faith were early in Virginia, and lived among the other people without attracting much notice; but when a considerable number proposed to enter the state and settle in a body in such situations as would make it possible for them to have churches of their own, they took pains to ask consent of the governor, and solicit his good will. They were encouraged to do this, because the man then in the executive chair of Virginia, Governor Gooch, was himself of Scotch descent and his sympathies were with his kinsmen, though he was not a Presbyterian. On September 30, 1738, the synod of Philadelphia wrote to the governor on behalf of some of the church people who proposed to go into the Shenandoah valley and the neighboring regions to acquire land of their own and make a settlement. The letter follows:

"We take leave to address you in behalf of a considerable number of our brethren who are meditating a settlement in the remote parts of your government, and are of the same persuasion as the church of Scotland. We thought it our duty to acquaint your honor with this design and to ask your favor in allowing them the liberty of their consciences and in worshiping God in a way agreeable to the principles of their education. Your honor is sensible that those of our profession in Europe have been remarkable for their attachment to the house of Hanover, and have upon all occasions manifested an unspotted fidelity to our gracious sovereign King George, and we doubt not that these our brethren will carry the same loyal principles to the most distant settlements, where their lot may be cast,

which will ever influence them to the most dutiful submission to the government which is placed over them. This we trust will recommend them to your honor's countenance and protection, and merit the enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties."

The governor of Virginia returned the following favorable reply to the petitioners:

"By the hand of Mr. Anderson I have received an address signed by you, in the name of your brethren of the synod of Philadelphia. And as I have been always inclined to favor the people who have lately removed from other provinces to settle on the western side of our great mountains, so you may be assured that no interruption shall be given to any minister of your profession who shall come among them, so as they conform themselves to the rules prescribed by the act of toleration in England, by taking the oaths enjoined thereby, and behave themselves peaceably toward the government. This you may please communicate to the synod as an answer to theirs."

Governor Gooch was not actuated by motives altogether unselfish in granting the request of the Presbyterians. He would probably have lent a favorable ear to a similar request from any other denomination. It may be noticed that the proposal was to settle far back, on what was then the remote frontier, removed from any immediate chance of contact or conflict with the established church in Virginia. The governor had little reason to expect protests from the Episcopalians, who at that time had no interest in the Shenandoah valley, and except one small group of a few families, had no members in that region.

The chief reason the governor had for granting such prompt permission to the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians to locate in the Shenandoah valley and beyond, was the safety they would afford the more thickly settled parts of Virginia from attacks by western Indians. There was peace at that time with the Indians; but no one knew when the savages might take up the hatchet and swarm across the Blue Ridge to attack the plantations. Since the Presbyterians proposed to settle west of the Blue Ridge, their settlements would provide a wall, as it were, between the populated regions of lower Virginia and the Indians beyond the mountains. The governor's knowledge of the character of the people who were asking permission to locate on the Shenandoah and the upper Potomac, assured him that they could be depended upon to hold their ground. He had reason, therefore, to consider that he was driving a good bargain when he granted them permission to settle there.

That was only twelve years after the first white man's house was built west of the Blue Ridge; and it was yet an open country, with abundance of good land, already pretty well cleared by the Indian fires which until recently had burned over it annually. The land was cheap, and Governor Gooch had been granting it in enormous tracts to speculators who were anxious to dispose of it to settlers. The Pennsylvania Presbyterians who were looking in that direction knew this, and they at once began to move into the new country.

Some were already there before the governor wrote the letter authorizing the immigration. In 1735 William Hoge came from Pennsylvania and located in the lower Shenandoah valley. He established some sort of place of worship, called the Opeckon Church, which was the first Presbyterian Church west of the Blue Ridge. The exact chronology of the churches which followed the first one is not very certain, nor is it important. It is clear that the Presbyterians were established in the Shenandoah valley and along the Potomac from about that time. They did not build meeting houses at first, but assembled in private houses. Doubtless the presence of several Presbyterians in a community was sometimes

called a church whether they actually had an organization or not. Missionaries sent by the synod at Philadelphia visited Opeckon in 1737, and in 1738 James Anderson came, and the next year Mr. Dunlap went up the Shenandoah as far as Staunton. After that, visits from Presbyterian preachers and missionaries were fairly numerous.

It is related in Gillett's History of the Presbyterian Church that some of the settlers in the valley, who were worshipers according to the Presbyterian belief, did not know by what name to call themselves. This would indicate that the churches were not organized and named, at least in certain places where there were Presbyterians. On one occasion, as the historian relates, several of these people were arrested for holding religious meetings without authority, and were cited to appear before the governor and council to answer. Then for the first time they realized that they did not know to what denomination they belonged; but they talked the matter over among themselves and decided that they must be Lutherans. After a long journey they appeared before the council to stand trial, and when asked what creed they professed, one of them gave the governor a book and said they believed according to that. The governor found the book to be a Presbyterian confession of faith, and he accordingly dismissed them. This occurred after the year 1743.

William Robinson preached in the Shenandoah valley in 1742 and 1743, and it has been said that he was the first Presbyterian minister there. This could scarcely be correct, although he may have been the first to reside in the valley, those who were earlier merely passing through and tarrying a short time. The Presbyterians west of the Blue Ridge had country churches only for many years after they located in the region. The towns were small and few, and it does not appear that town churches were popular.

The Presbyterians were decidedly a church militant during the war of the Revolution. They took a firm stand from the very first against English tyranny and oppression. In the troubles and long controversies leading up to the actual beginning of armed resistance, the Presbyterians were all on one side. Wherever two or three of them were gathered together, they made known their views, and declared their purpose to stand up for their rights. This was the spirit shown by them everywhere in America. They made themselves heard in Western Pennsylvania, where they passed resolutions; at the mouth of the Hockhocking river in Ohio when General Lewis' army was returning from chastising the Indians; and in North Carolina, where they took a leading part in the Mecklenburg declaration of independence which preceded by a year the declaration at Philadelphia, July 4, 1776.

The Presbyterians did not confine their efforts in the cause of liberty to words and resolutions. They knew what they wanted, and they understood that no mere words, however strong and vigorous, would procure it; neither was it a matter where prayers alone would suffice. There was fighting to be done. In the language of Patrick Henry there must be "an appeal to arms and the God of hosts." They made the appeal. They fought and prayed at the time some of their co-religionists were confining their efforts to prayer, and perhaps not much of that.

The Presbyterian preachers were among the first and the last in the patriot army. Some went as chaplains, and others raised companies from their congregations, and led them as captains, while some of the preachers volunteered to serve in the ranks. Incidents quoted by the church historians show that the ministers did not seek easy positions or places of little danger. For example one of them who was holding services during a lull in battle on Long Island, drew the fire of the enemy by loud singing. He adjourned the meeting to a shelter behind a neighboring hill, where

the exercises were hurried through, and the men went up to the firing line again. Another was preaching in a church when word came that the enemy was approaching. He cut short his sermon, took up his musket, as did his hearers, and went out to drive the enemy back. Another was in the habit of unbuckling his belt of pistols before commencing his sermon. Another who was not in the army, took up his musket after a disastrous battle had been fought in the vicinity, and was hurrying to join the defeated army when an officer told him he could do more good at home by encouraging the disheartened people, and he returned.

Although Presbyterians in considerable numbers were scattered over the country from the Blue Ridge to the Ohio river at the close of the Revolution, it is said there were only six settled preachers in all that region. The number of preachers who visited the people from time to time must have been considerably in excess of six, though during the troubled time of the Revolution the efforts to spread the work and influence of the church were not very great. In 1791 John Lyle, who had fought in the battle of Point Pleasant, was a missionary on the Greenbrier river, where the number of Presbyterians was considerable. He visited other places west of the mountains, and two years later was in Hampshire county preaching at Springfield. He traveled among the mountains and valleys of Hampshire county, visiting the scattered people of his faith who had no opportunity to attend church. He died in 1807 and was buried at Springfield.

Hardy county, on the South Branch above Hampshire, had a Presbyterian preacher in 1782, but it does not appear that he had an organized church. He preached at "the forks of the road" near Moorefield for five years. In 1787 his health had failed. He attributed it to the climate and asked for work somewhere else. A call came from Shepherdstown, in Jefferson county, and he went there. That left the whole South Branch valley and the surrounding country from North Mountain westward, without a Presbyterian minister, as far as is known, except such visits as missionaries made to the region. Moses Hoge, who had been the minister at Shepherdstown, left there in 1787. William Hall was stationed near Martinsburg in Berkeley county in 1792.

There was material for Presbyterian congregations west of the mountains at a comparatively early period. There were many people with sympathies for that church, but, as already explained, they usually lived in situations scattered and dispersed, and they could not be brought together for religious worship. That made it necessary to establish the first churches in the towns. Even there it was difficult to bring people together to form a congregation. About 1788 a few Presbyterians at Morgantown associated themselves to form a religious society, and the first preacher who visited them regularly was Rev. Joseph Patterson. It cannot be ascertained that he preached anywhere else west of the mountains, and his support must have been precarious if it depended upon a single congregation of not above a dozen souls. If the preacher who labored in that frontier place was encouraged by hopes that his church would grow, the hope was doomed to die. Eighteen years later there were only four members left. Some had died, and no new ones had been added. It was twenty-five years before another Presbyterian Church was organized in that vicinity.

As far as records show, the first religious services in Tygart's valley were by the Presbyterians, and it was two years earlier than at Morgantown. A considerable number of Scotch-Irish settled in the valley, and it is assumed that most of them had Presbyterian leanings, though apparently they were not organized into congregations until a good many years later. The earliest available census of Presbyterians in that region was

in 1831, and at that time there were sixty in Tygart's valley. The earliest recorded preaching was in 1786 by Rev. Edward Crawford of the Shenandoah valley. He preached two sermons, probably the first ever heard within fifty miles of that place. The next year the Presbyterians of Tygart's valley heard two more sermons, that time by Rev. William Wilson of the "Old Stone Church" of Augusta county. In 1789 they were favored with two sermons. There seemed to be some sort of arrangement that they were to have two sermons a year, and the preachers came from the Shenandoah valley. This year the visit was from Rev. Moses Hoge, and the next year Rev. William Wilson returned for two more sermons. For nearly thirty years the records are silent as to Presbyterian efforts in Tygart's valley; but it is not to be supposed that so promising a field was wholly neglected. Sometime prior to 1820 Rev. Asa Brooks visited the region as a missionary. He was a New Englander, and subsequently settled at Clarksburg, where he died in 1836. The first Presbyterian minister who made Tygart's valley his home was Rev. Aretas Loomis, who came in 1820, and organized the first congregation in Randolph county. The first Presbyterian Church was built near Huttonsville. It served the congregation many years and was destroyed by Federal soldiers during the Civil War. From the building of the first church in Randolph county, the Presbyterians maintained an organization, and a few years later a second church was built near the head of the valley.

Some of the Presbyterian preachers who occasionally visited the people in Tygart's valley, extended their visits to the head of the Greenbrier river, in the present Pocahontas county, where they preached at the residence of Jacob Warwick. Ministers sometimes came from Augusta county and preached there. The lower Kanawha valley was settled a little later, but as soon as enough Presbyterians were in the country to form congregations, ministers were at work among them.

In 1801 a deed was made for a lot on Simpson's creek, Harrison county, for a Presbyterian Church, but there is no evidence that the church was built. The fact that the land was deeded is strong evidence that the Presbyterians were there in considerable numbers. It seems that the first church in Clarksburg built by Presbyterians was commenced in 1829 by Rev. Asa Brooks, who was first in Tygart's valley but moved to Clarksburg. He died before the edifice was completed.

The diary of Rev. Philip B. Fithian, a Presbyterian preacher, who visited the frontiers during the Revolutionary war, gives some of the peculiarities of Presbyterian worship as he saw it in the course of his rounds. Says he:

> "The man who has charge of the singing raises the tune in the primitive, genuine Presbyterian whine and roll; begins the first note of the music with a deep, strained gutteral from the last words of the reading, without any intermissions. This, however, in this society is universal. I am under the necessity of close study, as the people here do not allow of reading sermons. Preach without papers, seem earnest and serious, and you will be listened to with patience and wonder. Both your hands will be seized and almost shook off as soon as you are out of the church, and you will be claimed by half the society to honor them with your company. Read your sermons, and their backs will go up at once, their attention all gone, and their noses will grow as red as their wigs; and you may get your dinner where you breakfasted."

It is interesting to note the stand taken by the Presbyterian Church on the subject of slavery, even before the adoption of the constitution of the United States. It was not alone, however, as a church in that stand. The Methodists and Baptists were as strongly opposed to the institution. In after years a number of the churches divided on the subject, and the factions opposed to slavery and those favoring it went their several ways.

There was no serious division on that subject in the Presbyterian Church in its early years in this country.

In 1787 the synod of New York and Philadelphia officially expressed sentiments on the subject of slavery as follows:

> "The synod of New York and Philadelphia do highly approve of the general principles in favor of universal liberty that prevails in America, and the interest which many of the states have taken in promoting the abolition of slavery; yet, inasmuch as men, introduced from a servile state, to a participation of all the privileges of civil society without a proper education, and without previous habits of industry, may be in many respects dangerous to the community; therefore, they earnestly recommend it to all the members belonging to their communion, to give those persons who are at present held in servitude, such good education as to prepare them for the better enjoyment of freedom; and they moreover recommend that masters, whenever they find servants inclined to make a just improvement of the privilege, would give them a *peculium*, or grant them sufficient time and sufficient means of procuring their own liberty at a moderate rate, that thereby they may be brought into society with those habits of industry that may render them useful citizens; and finally they recommend it to all their people to use the most prudent measures consistent with the interests and the state of civil society, in the countries where they live, to procure eventually the final abolition of slavery in America."

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH

Though the Lutheran Church has never been very strong in numbers in West Virginia, it was one of the first denominations on the soil, and has always, since its first coming, been a factor in the religious history of the state. Members of the church came with the earliest German immigration from Pennsylvania and Maryland that crossed the Potomac at or above Harper's Ferry, and pushed up the Shenandoah valley. The area now embraced in Jefferson and Berkeley counties was the first west of the Blue Ridge to be occupied by people of that faith. The membership was never exclusively German, but people of that nationality were in the majority. The church services in the early years in Western Virginia were generally conducted in German, and the primitive records of missionaries and traveling preachers were in that language. However, all of the early German immigrants in Western Virginia were not Lutherans. A considerable number were Moravians or United Brethren. The Lutherans in the Shenandoah valley at a pretty early date built substantial stone houses and churches.

Beginning about the year 1736—just ten years after the first white man's house was built on the soil of West Virginia—a preacher or missionary named Ezra Keller was in the Shenandoah valley, partly in the present territory of West Virginia and partly in Virginia, traveling in the interest of his church. The dividing line between different branches or divisions of the Lutheran Church is not very clearly drawn in the early records and traditions. The German Reformed Church was very early in that territory, and had an organization within five years after the time that Rev. Keller began his labors. He is said to have traveled as far west as there were any settlers at that time, which could not have been much west of the Shenandoah valley.

In 1753 Lord Fairfax gave the Lutherans a lot for a church in Kernstown, but they were not able to complete their building before 1764. The French and Indian war nearly broke up the settlements in that region, and it was no time to build churches. The danger from Indians was so great much of the time that the fields already cleared could not be tilled, and many of the deserted cabins were burned.

The Germans who crossed the Potomac pushed southward, up the Shenandoah valley, rather than westward, and in a few years—about 1735—they had at least one church organization in that direction. They con-

tinued to extend their settlements toward Southwestern Virginia until they had reached and crossed the New River. That, however, brought them down to the time of the Revolutionary war. They took the lead in that region in the matter of schools, and their children were generally given sufficient education to enable them to read and write German. They had churches in Jefferson county at the beginning of the Revolution. The diary of Rev. Philip B. Fithian, who was in this region in 1775, speaks of his visit to Stephensburg, which had been settled almost exclusively by Germans:

"An old starched Dutch Lutheran clergyman dined with us to-day. He professed to be a scholar and has attempted to institute a small academy in this county."

The people were organizing for the Revolution, and the diary continues:

"The village is full of people, men busy mustering, women in the streets and at the doors looking on, all things festive. The drum beats and the inhabitants of this town muster each morning at five o'clock. Mars, the great god of battle, is honored in every part of this spacious colony, but here every presence is warlike, every sound is martial—drums beating, pipes and bag pipes playing, and only sonorous tunes. Every man has a hunting shirt, which is the uniform of each company. Almost all have a cockade and a bull tail in their hats to represent that they are hardy, resolute, and invincible natives of the woods of America. Today for the first time I went through the new exercise, gave the word, and performed the action. One snipe of this town was backward this morning in his attendance with the company of Independents. A file was sent to bring him. He made resistance, but was compelled at length, and is now in great fear, and is very humble since he heard many of his townsmen talk of tar and feathers. Many men of note are warm in the cause, especially Colonel Hite, a man of property in the neighborhood."

The support of the patriotic cause by the German element in Virginia was not violent or noisy, but it was solid and substantial. They were generally men of means, and the aid they gave consisted of money as well as military service. This, of course, does not apply to Quakers, who were in considerable numbers in some parts of Western Virginia and whose religious beliefs made them neutral. They were opposed to war, but were appreciative of the religious freedom which the successful issue of the Revolution, and the passage of liberal laws in Virginia, brought to them.

The members of the Lutheran Church, and the German people in Virginia generally, were opposed to slavery from their earliest entrance into the state until the Civil war settled the question. The influence of the German element in Western Virginia had much to do in shaping the course which West Virginia took when the Civil war came. The influence had been quiet, but it was a current that ran deep, and it moved in the right direction. The people of German descent, whether they belonged to the Lutheran Church or not, were never a slave holding class. They were opposed to it on moral grounds, and were not accustomed to search the Scriptures for texts which might be construed into a divine indorsement of a custom which gave all the liberty to one man and none to another.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The Methodist Episcopal Church does not go as far back in the past as several of the other denominations which now have large membership in West Virginia. It is comparatively recent in comparison with the Episcopal, Catholic, Lutheran, or even the Baptist, Presbyterian, and United Brethren churches. Like them, its origin as an organization was

on the other side of the ocean, and it came to America in search of new fields of usefulness; but its coming was later than theirs. For all practical purposes it may be said that Bishop Francis Asbury brought the church to America in 1771. That is not exactly accurate as a fact of history, but is nearly so. He was the first great apostle of the faith in this country, and the greatest pioneer and missionary that the Methodist Church ever produced. He did a prodigious quantity of work and performed it under circumstances often so unfavorable, and sometimes so perilous, that few missionaries in heathen lands have had records to compare with it. His is an example of what perseverance and determination can accomplish when they never lag. He was sick much of his time, and endured exposures which would have severely taxed the strongest constitution. He was often cold, hungry, wet; he crossed rivers without bridges; climbed mountains over narrow trails; threaded paths through thousands of miles of wilderness; slept by night in the woods, or among the rocks, or in deserted huts, or rode all night. When he found shelter he made the most of it; and such shelter as he found was often worse than the open sky outside, for the cabins of the backwoodsmen were too often miserably dirty and swarming with vermin.

He rode on horseback almost exclusively. Opportunity was seldom afforded him to go in any other way; but when he might have ridden in a carriage, he declined to do so. He covered practically the whole settled country from Maine to Georgia, east of the Appalachian Mountains, and he several times crossed the ranges and made long pilgrimages through the thinly-settled and Indian-infested country west of the mountains. Some of his most heroic work was done among the valleys and hills of those ranges in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina. His missionary labors can be more properly compared to Paul's than can those of any other person that has labored in the Methodist church.

Bishop Asbury was not the only early laborer in the American field of Methodism. There were several whose good works entitle them to places in history, but in a sketch as short as this, and with the purpose of this, pretty much all must be excluded except that which has a direct bearing upon the beginning of the church in the region now embraced in West Virginia. It would be an injustice, however, not to mention as one of the founders of the denomination in this country—though not particularly in West Virginia—an Irishman, probably of English descent, named Robert Williams, who had known John Wesley and worked under him. He sailed for America in 1769—two years before Asbury—to begin his work in the new world. His poverty would compare favorably with that of the early apostles in their worst straits. A friend paid for his passage over the sea, and he embarked with no earthly wealth except a pair of saddlebags, a loaf of bread, and a bottle of milk. He landed in New York, and in course of time he was presented with a ten dollar hat. His earliest movements are somewhat obscure, but before long he appeared at Norfolk, Virginia, where, it is said, he preached the first Methodist sermon ever delivered in the Old Dominion. It was delivered on the court house steps, and he nearly fell into the hands of the law on account of it; for some of the bystanders reported to the authorities that a man was in front of the court house, "preaching, praying, and swearing." It turned out that the language which was taken by the audience for profanity included the words "devil" and "hell," many times repeated as he fervently admonished his hearers to flee from the wrath to come. The people were accustomed to listen to Episcopalian preachers, who did not make use of that kind of language in their sermons.

The Methodists were not sufficiently numerous in this country during

the Revolutionary war to do much or to attract much attention. They came as nearly taking no sides in the controversy as any denomination, except the Quakers, who were opposed to war. Bishop Asbury, Rev. Rankin, and other influential Methodists who entered America before the Declaration of Independence, came as loyal subjects of England. When the war began, those who did not wish to cast their lot with this country quietly returned to England. Asbury remained in America, but for two years he was in retirement, but as he afterwards explained, he "was busy." He never said much on the subject of politics, but the fact that he remained in this country indicated that he had cast his lot with the Americans. His brethren in England suspected that he had in mind the setting up of an independent church in this country—not different in doctrine, but free from financial and political connection. Even John Wesley who sent him here afterwards wrote to him, accusing him of designs for self-aggrandizement. Toward the close of his life Bishop Asbury spoke of America as a missionary field in which he and others began with nothing and built up a strong church without any cost to the mother church in England. The denomination soon became intensely American, and early manifested an interest in political questions which concerned the public welfare. Its influence was always wholesome, its policies vigorous and aggressive.

The Methodist Episcopal discipline, in the early years of the church, set forth the stand of the church upon the subject of slavery in the following words:

> "We declare that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery; therefore, no slaveholder shall be eligible to any official station in our church hereafter, where the laws of the state in which he lives will admit of emancipation, and permit the emancipated slaves to enjoy freedom.
>
> "When any traveling preacher becomes an owner of a slave or slaves, by any means, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our church, unless he execute, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the state in which he lives.
>
> "All our preachers shall prudently enforce upon our members the necessity of teaching their slaves to read the word of God; and allow them time to attend upon the public worship of God on our regular days of divine service."

The stand of the church against slavery led to the secession of a part of the membership and the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church South at Louisville, Kentucky, in 1845. But that was long after the early chronicles of the church were written. No man did more to found the church and carry it through its perilous years than Bishop Asbury. His journal, which commenced in 1771 and ended with his death forty-four years later, is an almost complete history of Methodism in the United States during that period. He was several times through what is now West Virginia, and wrote trivial as well as important circumstances of his ministry. He gives many a valuable picture of the people, the country, and the times. He was not as careful in names as he might have been. Many times he used only initials when the full names would have been more satisfactory. His geography was often vague and faulty, and his journals published in 1820 in three volumes, would need careful editing to make them entirely intelligible to modern readers who might seek information concerning local geography.

Bishop Asbury's first extensive journey into territory now included in West Virginia was ten years after he landed in America.

On Monday, June 11, 1781, he passed through the gap in the mountain cut by the south branch of the Potomac four miles below Romney, and wrote:

"On my way I had a view of a Hanging Rock that appears like a castle wall, about three hundred feet high, and looks as if it had been built with square slate stones. At first glance a traveler would be ready to fear it would fall on him. I had about 300 people; but there were so many wicked whiskey drinkers, who brought with them so much of the power of the devil, that I had but little satisfaction in preaching."

The next day he wrote:

"I rose at five o'clock, crossed the South Branch, and went to Patterson's creek. I came to a Dutch settlement. The people love preaching but do not understand class meeting, because they are not enough conversant with the English tongue, and we cannot do as J. Hagerty and H. Widner who speak both languages. Could we get a Dutch preacher or two to travel with us, I am persuaded we should have a good work among the Dutch. I love these people. They are kind in their way. I am now in a land of valleys and mountains, about ten or fifteen miles from the foot of the Alleghany, a mountain which at this part of it is two days' journey across. Thither some of our preachers are going to seek the outcasts of the people."

Bishop Asbury was then in what is now Mineral county. He passed south into the present area of Grant county where he visited a large spring on the present Grant county alms-house farm. He says:

"We had hard work crossing the Fork mountain, being sometimes obliged to walk where it was too steep to ride. I was much blessed in speaking to about ninety Dutch folks who appeared to feel the word. Here is a spring remarkable for its depth and the quantity of water it discharges, sufficient for a mill within 200 yards of its source. I find a few humble, happy souls in my course, and although present appearances are gloomy, I have no doubt but there will be a glorious gospel day in this and every other part of America. There are but two men in the society at Lost River able to bear arms. They were both drafted to go into the army. I gave them what comfort I could, and prayed for them."

Three days later he wrote, the place where he then was being hard to identify, but perhaps in what is now Hardy county:

"We set out through the mountains. It was a very warm day and part of our company stopped after 30 miles, but William Partridge and myself kept on until night overtook us in the mountains among rocks and woods, and dangers on all sides surrounding us. We thought it most safe to secure our horses and quietly await the return of day; so we lay down and slept among the rocks, although much annoyed by the gnats."

Four days later he wrote:

"I have been obliged to sleep on the floor every night since I slept in the woods. Yesterday I rode 27 miles and today 30."

On the fourth of the following September Bishop Asbury was on Cheat river, probably in Monongalia county. Says he in his diary:

"At Cheat river we had a mixed congregation of sinners, Presbyterians, Baptists, and it may be, of saints. I had liberty, and gave it to them as the Lord gave it to me, plain enough."

In July, 1788, Bishop Asbury was again on West Virginia soil. He entered the state from the south, and on July 7 he wrote: "Our troubles began, it being the day we set out for Clarksburg. Thirty miles brought us to the Great Levels" [Greenbrier county]. Two days later, after passing through the southern part of Pocahontas county, he continues: "We rode to the Clover Lick, a very remote and exposed house. Here we found good lodgings for the place. The former tenant had made a small estate by keeping cattle and horses on the range, which is fertile and

extensive." The next day he pushed forward toward Tygart's valley, and wrote: "We had to cross the Alleghany mountain again." He was mistaken in his geography. He did not cross the Alleghanies, but the mountain which deceived him was the east and west watershed between the sources of the Greenbrier and the streams which flow northward into the Monongahela. He reached the head of Tygart's valley at Mingo Flats. Of this journey he says:

"Our course lay over mountains and through valleys, and the mud and mire were such as might scarcely be expected in December. We came to an old, forsaken habitation in Tygart's Valley. Here our horses grazed about while we boiled our meat. Midnight brought us up at Jones's, after riding forty or perhaps fifty miles. The old man, our host, was kind enough to wake us up at four in the morning. We journeyed on through devious lonely wilds, where no food might be found except what grew in the woods, or was carried with us. We met two women who were going to see their friends and to attend the quarterly meeting at Clarksburg. Near midnight we stopped at a house whose owner hissed his dogs at us; but the women were determined to get to the quarterly meeting, so we went in. Our supper was tea. Brothers Phoebus and Cook took to the woods, and the old man gave up his bed to the women. I lay along the floor on a few deerskins with the fleas. That night our poor horses got no corn, and the next morning they had to swim the Monongahela [two miles below Philippi]. After a ride of twenty miles we came to Clarksburg, and man and beast were so outdone that it took us ten hours to accomplish it. I lodged with Colonel Jackson. Our meeting was held in a long, close room belonging to the Baptists. Our use of the house, it seems, gave offense. There attended about 700 people to whom I preached with freedom. After administering the sacrament, I was well satisfied to take my leave. We rode 30 miles to Father Haymond's [at Fairmont] after three o'clock Sunday afternoon, and made it nearly eleven before we came in. About midnight we went to rest, and rose at five o'clock next morning. My mind has been severely tried under the great fatigue endured both by myself and my horse. O, how glad I should be of a plain, clean plank to lie on, as preferable to most of the beds; and where the beds are in a bad state, the floors are worse. This country will require much work to make it tolerable. The people are, many of them, of the boldest class of adventurers, and with some the decencies of civilized society are scarcely regarded, two instances of which I myself witnessed. The great landlords who are industrious will soon show the effects of the aristocracy of wealth, by lording it over their poorer neighbors, and by securing to themselves all the offices of profit and honor. On the one hand, savage warfare teaches them to be cruel, and on the other, the preaching of the Antinomians poisons them with error in doctrine. Good moralists they are not, and good Christians they cannot be unless they are better taught."

This picture of the people, given by Bishop Asbury in 1788, was his comment on the region now embraced in the counties of Randolph, Barbour, Harrison, Marion, and Monongalia. It is needless to say that his gloomy prophecy of financial tyranny and moral degeneracy was never fulfilled. From Fairmont he passed 25 miles further down the Monongahela, and here follows his comment:

"I had a lifeless, disorderly people to hear me at Morgantown to whom I preached. It is a matter of grief to behold the excesses, particularly in drinking, which abound here."

In may, 1792, Bishop Asbury was in the Kanawha valley, and enters a complaint in his diary which resembles that of the prophet Elijah at Horeb when he was ready to give up the fight. The diary reads:

"I am sensible the western parts have suffered by my absence. I lament this and deplore my loss of strict communion with God, occasioned by the necessity I am under of constant riding; change of place; company, and sometimes disagreeable company; loss of sleep, and the difficulties of clambering over rocks and mountains, and journeying at the rate of seven or eight hundred miles per month, and sometimes forty or fifty miles per day. These have been a part of my labors, and make no small share of my hindrances. I crossed the Kanawha at Paris Ferry. Here I conversed with a man who informed me a brother preacher had

called there, and, as he said, was peevish. The dear man was just at death's door, and though his exercises and bodily infirmities may have pressed him sore and excited expressions of discontent, he was, nevertheless, a meek and holy servant of God."

Five days later, after he had preached at Rehoboth church, in Greenbrier county, where he complained that he could make little impression on the people, he wrote:

"My mind and body feel dull and heavy. We rode 160 miles from Rich Valley to Greenbrier conference. Afterwards we rode through Greenbrier by the town [Lewisburg] a distance of 36 miles."

Four days later, after passing into Pocahontas county, he entered in his diary:

"O what a solitary country this is. We have now 120 miles before us, fifty of which is a wilderness. There is a guard at two houses on our route [through fear of Indians] but I do not fear. Nature is spent with labor."

He pursued the route which he had traveled four years before which led over the mountains into Randolph county, and wrote in his diary:

"We at length reached Tygart's Valley. We stopped where there were several families crowded together for fear of Indians. The upper end of the valley has been depopulated. One family has been destroyed since I was last here."

Four days later he was in Barbour county at a place called the Coves, where he said he

"Met with a most kind and affectionate reception. But, O, the flies for the horses and the gnats for the men! And no food, not even good water to be had."

The next day he continued the dismal narrative, as he journeyed through Monongalia county to Uniontown, Pennsylvania:

"We had a dreary path over desperate hills for fifty miles: no food for man or beast, which caused both to begin to fail very sensibly. Both men and horses traveled very sore and wearily to Uniontown. O how good are clean houses, plentiful tables, and populous villages when compared with the rough world we came through. Here I turned out my poor horses to pasture and rest after riding them nearly 300 miles in eight days."

In May, 1796, Bishop Asbury was once more on the Greenbrier river, headed for Morgantown. He rode the distance in four days, and complained anew of many of the things which had formerly vexed him. There was no longer any danger from Indians, as peace had been concluded with them the year before. He seems to have taken a dislike for Tygart's valley. No explanation of his antipathy can be given, as it was and still is one of the finest regions of the state. Starting from Greenbrier, he continues:

"We opened our campaign through the mountains, following a path I had thought never to travel again. Frequently we were in danger of being plucked off our horses by the boughs of the trees under which we had to ride. About seven o'clock, after crossing six mountains and many rocky creeks and fords of Elk and the Monongahela rivers [Tygart's valley river is meant], we made the 'Valley of Distress,' called by the natives Tygart's Valley. We had a comfortable lodging at Mr. White's [near Huttonsville], and here I must acknowledge the kindness and decency of the family, and their readiness to sacred and civil duty. Thence we hastened on at the rate of 42 miles a day. We had to ride four miles in the night, and went supperless to the puncheons [floor] where we slept a little on hard lines. After encountering many difficulties, known only to God and ourselves, we came

to Morgantown. I doubt whether I shall ever request any person to come and meet me at the Levels of Greenbrier, or accompany me across the mountains again, as Brother Hitt has done."

Rev. Joseph Doddridge, who was not a member of the Methodist Church, speaking of the period immediately following the Revolution, and of the region embraced in northwestern Virginia and southwestern Pennsylvania, said of the Methodists:

"The little cabin was scarcely built, and the little field fenced in, before these evangelical preachers made their appearance amongst them, collected them into societies, and taught them the worship of God. Had it not been for the labors of these indefatigible men, our country, as to a large extent of its settlements, would have been at this day a semi-barbaric region. How many thousands and tens of thousands of the most ignorant and licentious of our population have they instructed and turned from the error of their ways."

Soon after Bishop Asbury first made his appearance in the Shenandoah valley and westward, another Methodist, Rev. John Hagerty, began work in the same field. He spoke both English and German, and was thus able to reach people who could poorly understand Asbury. Rev. Henry Widener traveled on the South Branch and westward of that region in the present counties of Grant and Mineral, and they may have extended their labors into the present county of Pendleton.

In 1789 Rev. J. J. Jacob was licensed to preach in Hampshire county. He lived three miles from the mouth of the South Branch, where the Greenspring railroad station is now located. Three years later, 1792, a session of the Baltimore Methodist conference was held at that place, and Bishop Asbury presided. Rev. Jacob married the widow of Michael Cresap—the man who was accused in Logan the Indian Chief's speech of murdering the Indians at Yellow creek in 1774. Rev. Jacob was the author of "Jacob's Life of Cresap," a book written for the purpose of clearing the name of Cresap of the charge that he had murdered the Indians. The book is otherwise valuable for the history it contains. It is largely reprinted in Kercheval's "History of the Valley." Rev. Jacob was the father of J. J. Jacob, who was elected governor of West Virginia in 1870 by the Democrats, and two years later was re-elected by the Democrats and Republicans combined.

There may have been Methodist preachers or missionaries on the Monongahela earlier, but the first record seems to date from 1784, when Rev. John Cooper and Rev. Samuel Breeze organized a congregation at Morgantown and another a few miles distant at Martin's fort. The most that is known of the early Methodists in Monongalia county is contained in Bishop Asbury's journal, quotations from which have been already made. The picture which he paints of "a lifeless, disorderly people" is not very flattering. It should be remembered, however, that Bishop Asbury was often a sick and discouraged man, and the way he happened to be feeling at the time had a good deal to do with the way he saw and described things.

Rev. John Cooper and Rev. Samuel Breeze were succeeded as preachers in the Monongahela valley in 1785 by Rev. Peter Moriarty, Rev. John Robert Ayers, and Stephen Deakin. The next year Rev. William Phoebus, one of the traveling companions of Bishop Asbury, was preaching on the Monongahela. A congregation was organized about that time at Fairmont.

The Methodists could get no foothold in Clarksburg for many years; but a church was organized above there, on Hacker's creek, in the present county of Lewis in 1786, and another in the present county of Upshur.

There was another congregation some miles below Clarksburg, on the west fork of the Monongahela.

Tygart's valley was much like Clarksburg in one respect—the Methodists were a long time in getting a foothold there. The fact that Bishop Asbury, who traveled several times through the valley, gave it such a poor recommendation, indicates that he received little encouragement in that region. He never preached in the valley. The court records of Randolph county, which give the names and denominations of ministers who were authorized to solemnize marriages, contain no mention of a Methodist before Rev. Adam Burge in 1807. That was 35 years after the settlement of the county. Folded away between the leaves of the old record of ministers in Randolph was found in 1897 some verses in manuscript, with the memorandum that a Methodist preacher wrote them, but name and date were not given. The paper was evidently very old. The title of the verses was "Randolph County," which was prosaic enough. The verses, which were printed in Maxwell's History of Randolph county, follow:

The hungry bear's portentous growl;
The famished wolf's unearthly howl;
The prowling panther's keenest yell—
These echo from the gloomy dell.

But still man holds his dwelling there,
Defying panther, wolf and bear;
But prowling varmints plainly tell
This is no place for man to dwell.

The mountains high with grandeur rise
And reach the everlasting skies;
The vales between are dark and wild,
And streamlets dash or murmur mild.

The roaring rivers, rough and wide,
Dash down, or pause and softly glide;
And oftentimes their rushing waves
Bear dwellers down to watery graves.

Too many souls these valleys in
Are lost in doubt and dead in sin;
Too few the knees that bend in prayer:
Too many tongues that curse and swear.

Too few that tread the Narrow Path;
Too many on the road to wrath;
Too many hearts as hard as stone;
Too few the pilgrims to the Throne.

But in that day of wrath and doom,
When Gabriel's trump shall burst the tomb,
Above these mountains shall arise
Ten thousand souls to fill the skies.

Methodism began to gain a foothold in the lower Kanawha valley about 1803, the first preacher being Rev. William Steel; but on the Kanawha's upper tributaries, particularly on the Greenbrier, there had been Methodist organizations for more than ten years. The first Methodist sermon was preached in Charleston, now the State capital, on January 1, 1804, by Rev. Steel, whose circuit extended from the mouth of the Little Kanawha to the mouth of the Guyandot. He rode his circuit once every four weeks, a distance of over 300 miles, practically all of it along paths through the woods. He was succeeded in 1804 by Rev. Asa Shinn, who afterwards became the founder of the Methodist Protestant Church, and deserves more than passing mention. West Virginia has furnished

the founders of two important churches, the Campbellite by Alexander Campbell, and the Methodist Protestant by Asa Shinn. The latter was a son of Jonathan Shinn, who was formerly a Quaker but became a Methodist in 1799, and his son Asa at the same time. They lived on a farm in the present county of Marion, fifteen miles above Fairmont. Two years afterwards, when he was about twenty years old, he was licensed to preach, although at that time he had never seen a church, a pulpit, or a clock—and had not even heard that clocks existed. He had a rudimentary English education.

The Methodist preachers who rode the frontier circuits in early times, did not look for their reward in this world, at least not in money. There is a scarcity of information in regard to the salaries of most of them. The early Methodists were not as faithful historians as the Episcopalians were, or even as the Presbyterians. They were workers rather than writers. The pay was always very small, and depended, of course, upon voluntary donations by friends. In later years, that is, after the church became well established, and the preachers lived within reach of a majority of their members, it was customary to pay a portion of the minister's salary with products of the farm and garden. In the fall, when all crops were gathered in, the faithful and conscientious members of the church set apart a few baskets of carrots, cabbage, pumpkins, turnips, beans, a chicken or two, and about butchering time, added a piece of pork, for the preacher; and when all the members arrived at the same time at the parsonage, which they usually did by prearrangement, the fortunate minister was almost completely buried with gifts. There was plenty while it lasted, but long before the spring of the year came, there were lean days in the preacher's household.

It is difficult to see how the preachers managed with so little money. One who early traveled on the Monongahela has left record that his cash salary was less than five dollars a month during a long period. When Bishop Asbury was an old man he recorded in his journal as one of his reasons for never marrying that he had not money enough. He sometimes had not one cent. He could truthfully say with the Apostle: "Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have give I thee." The preachers who journeyed long distances in regions where bridges were scarcely known, needed a comparatively large sum of money to pay ferryage. That was one place where cash was demanded. They were frequently under the necessity of buying horsefeed, and meals for themselves. They had to pay for shoeing their horses. Practically nothing of their small salaries could go to buy the most meager comforts for their families or themselves. Under such circumstances it required almost the martyr's moral courage to stay with the work.

As late as 1835 a Methodist preacher, Rev. Gideon Martin, had a yearly salary of sixty dollars. He rode his monthly circuit of 300 miles on horseback, and preached once each month at Philippi, Belington, Beverly, White Oak, St. George, Terra Alta, Oakland, Md., and other places —traveling through five counties and two states. That was probably a typical case of the times; and yet it was in a region where Methodism was fifty years old.

One of the most entertaining pictures of early Methodism, and particularly of the way the people lived and how they thought and acted, is given in the autobiography of Rev. Henry Smith, written in the form of a series of letters. He writes a much more interesting narrative than Bishop Asbury, but it is not nearly so wide in its scope. The part of Rev. Smith's narrative relating to his work in Monongalia, Marion, Harrison, and Lewis counties, is given below, but in so condensed a form that

three-fourths of the text and many interesting parts are wholly omitted. It begins in 1794 in Monongalia county:

"During the summer I saw a man said to be 113 years old, ride to meeting on a horse led by his son, himself an old man. He was a German known by the name of Daddy Ice through all that country. He had been taken prisoner by the Indians and suffered incredible hardships. I visited him in his last sickness and found that his intellect had not failed as much as might be expected. I preached at his funeral, and it was a solemn time while I preached to his children, then old gray-headed people, and his grandchildren and great-grandchildren. From this place I pushed ahead through Clarksburg, and met my first appointment at Joseph Bennett's, about fifteen miles above Clarksburg. The people came to this meeting from four or five miles around, and among them Joseph Chiveront, quite a respectable local preacher. They were all backwoods people and came to the meeting in backwoods style, all on foot, a considerable congregation. I looked around and saw one old man who had shoes on his feet. The preacher wore Indian moccasins. Every man, woman, and child besides was barefooted. Two old women had on what we then called short gowns, and the rest had neither short nor long gowns. This was a novel sight to me for a Sunday congregation. Brother Chiveront, in his moccasins, could have preached all round me; but I was a stranger, and withal the circuit preacher, and must preach of course. I did my best, and soon found if there were no shoes and fine dresses in the congregation, there were attentive hearers and feeling hearts. In meeting the class, I heard the same humble, loving religious experience that I had often heard in better dressed societies. If this scene did not make a backwoodsman of me outright, it at least reconciled me to the people, and I felt happy among them. No doubt a great change has since taken place in that settlement; but that was Methodism and the state of society as I found them.

"When I left Bennett's I went 25 or 30 miles higher up the Monongahela and preached at the house of Brother Stortze. Within a short distance of this house the Indians took a young woman prisoner, and murdered and scalped her. A messenger came and injudiciously announced that her remains had been found, and threw the whole congregation into consternation. Here I saw the men coming to meeting with their rifles on their shoulders, guarding their families, then setting their guns in a corner of the house till after the meeting, and returning in the same order. In this settlement I met with a young man who had escaped from the Indians a few months before. He had been a prisoner for some time. He traveled eighteen nights through the wilderness, for he would lie concealed all day and travel by night.

"From Stortze's we went to Edward West's where we had a society and preached regularly. The house was enclosed by strong and high pieces of timber set deep in the ground and close together. They had built a new house outside the enclosure; the doors and windows were cut out, and the lower floor laid with loose plank. In this house they had a bed, and I was conducted to that bed to sleep; but before I got to sleep the dogs raved round the house at a terrible rate. I do not know that I was in danger; but the Indians having but a little while before been through the country, and done mischief, and this being a frontier house, I did not feel myself secure in my exposed situation.

"From West's we went to John Hacker's on Hacker's Creek. I believe this man could read, but not write; and yet he was a magistrate and a patriarch in the settlement, and gave name to the creek, having lived here more than twenty years. He raised a large family and never lost but one by the Indians, and one scalped and left for dead; and every year when the Indians were troublesome, they were in danger. He was a man of good common sense, and I think an honest man, and a good Christian, and among the first that took in the Methodist preachers. His house had long been a preaching house, and the preachers' home, and also a place of refuge in time of danger."

When Rev. Smith came round to that place on his next preaching tour he wrote:

"They were all glad to see me, but I was rather sorry, and somewhat alarmed, to find the women alone, for there was not a man or even a gun about the place. The men were all in the woods, some hunting, others digging ginseng and snakeroot, and did not come home that night; so I had to guard and comfort the poor women and children. The house was crowded. Toward sunset we all went into the house and barred the doors as well as we could. The next day the men came home before preaching. In this place we had a pretty large society, and some very pious people. They lived, in the true sense of the word, in backwoods style.

Their sugar they made out of the water from the sugar tree. Their tea they got out of the woods, or from their gardens. For coffee they had a substitute, namely rye or chestnuts. Money they had but little. They traded at Winchester and other places, with ginseng, snakeroot, and skins, for salt, rifles, powder, lead, etc. All their produce was carried to market on packhorses. Their wearing apparel and bedding were mostly of their own manufacture. Religion certainly did exert a happy influence on the morals of this uncultivated people, and I was often delighted with their artless simplicity. In their way, they appeared to be as happy and contented as falls to the lot of most people. Taking all things into consideration, our congregations were good; for people made going to meeting a business, and trifles did not stop them. In the lower part of the circuit the people were more refined in their manners.

"I was in Morgantown on Christmas eve, when I saw the first Indians, but they were prisoners. Captain Morgan had collected a small company of daring spirits like himself and had gone on an Indian hunt. He crossed the Ohio and came across an Indian camp, where there were two Indians, three squaws, and two children. They shot the men and brought in the women and children prisoners. I saw them when they came, and went to the house the next day to see them. My heart yearned over them, when I looked upon an old mother and two daughters, and two interesting grandchildren, a boy and a girl. The old woman appeared to be cheerful and talkative. One of the company spoke Indian quite fluently, having been with the Indians. She said she had been through all that country when quite a wilderness. The young women were sad and reserved . They all appeared to be uneasy and somewhat alarmed when strangers came in. After the treaty they were returned or exchanged.

"On Christmas morning we had a meeting at five o'clock in a private house, and we had a full house. The novelty of the thing brought out some of the most respectable people of the town, and we had a very solemn and interesting meeting. We preached in the court house at eleven o'clock; for we had no meeting house, neither was there any place of worship in the town. We had but one-half finished log meeting house in the whole circuit. We labored hard and suffered not a little, and did not get the half of sixty-four dollars for support. We traveled through all weathers and dangers, over bad roads and slippery hills, and crossed deep waters, having the Monongahela to cross seven times every round, and few ferries. Our fare was plain enough. Sometimes we had venison and bear meat in abundance, and always served up in the best style. It is true my delicate appetite sometimes revolted and boggled, till I suffered in the flesh. I then concluded to eat such things as were set before me; for other people ate them and enjoyed health, and why not I? After I had conquered my foolish prejudice, I got along much better. Our lodgings were often uncomfortable. I was invited to have an appointment at a brother's house one night. After the people were gone, I found there was but one small bed in the house. When bed time came, the good woman took her bed and spread it crosswise before a fine log fire, and I was requested to lie down on one end; and it answered very well for me, the man and his wife, and two children. This indeed was very comfortable to what I had sometimes. Most of my clothes by this time became threadbare, and some worn out, and I had no money to buy new ones. I had to put up one night with a strange family, and I was obliged to keep on my overcoat to hide the rents in my clothes.

"On this circuit I learned some lessons in the school of adversity which have been of great service to me during my itineracy. Although I never was in real danger from the Indians, yet I have often ridden fifteen or twenty miles through the woods where no one lived, the people having fled from danger; and I rode alone, for I never had any guard but the angels. The tales of woe that were told me in almost every place where there was danger; the places pointed out where murders had been committed, sleeping in houses where the people who were inured to these things were afraid to go out of doors after sunset; I say, riding alone under these circumstances was far from agreeable. I was, however, often in real danger in crossing rivers, swimming creeks, etc. I found the people remarkably kind and sociable. Many pleasant hours we spent together by the side of large log fires in our log cabins, conversing on various subjects. It is true, some of us smoked the pipe with them, but we really thought there was no harm in that, for we had no anti-tobacco societies among us then. I believe James Fleming and myself were the last who traveled the Clarksburg circuit during the Indian wars."

CHAPTER XIX

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

The seeds of discord were sown among the people of Virginia, west of the mountains, when the state adopted its first constitution in 1776. That discontent ripened into antagonism between the two sections as the years went by, and culminated in the division of the state eighty years after the adoption of the first constitution. During the years immediately following 1776, a common cause and unity of purpose held the two sections in bonds of sympathy, and not much was heard of the differences between them until after independence had been achieved; but none the less, the seeds had been sown, and the harvest, though long delayed, was sure. The second constitution, that of 1830, and the third, 1851, tended to widen, rather than close, the line of division between the sections. Much of the later history of West Virginia cannot be clearly understood unless studied in connection with the constitutions adopted before the two parts of the state finally separated. For that reason a brief review of the constitutional history, prior to 1863, is in order, and also mention in some detail of the two constitutions which West Virginia adopted after it became a state.

The Constitution of 1776—The territory now embraced in the state of West Virginia has been governed under five state constitutions—three of Virginia's and two of West Virginia's. The first was adopted in 1776, the second in 1830, the third in 1851, the fourth in 1863, the fifth in 1872. The first constitution was adopted by the Virginia convention, June 29, 1776, five days before the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Virginia had taken the lead in declaring the United States independent and capable of self-government; and it also took the lead in preparing a system of government for itself. The constitution of 1776 was one of the first documents of the kind in the world, and absolutely the first in America. Its aim was lofty. It had in view greater liberty than men had ever before enjoyed. The document is a masterpiece of statesmanship, yet its terms are simple. It was the foundation on which nearly all the state constitutions have been based. It was in force nearly fifty years, and not until experience had shown wherein it was defective was there any disposition to change it or form a new constitution. Viewed now in the light of nearly a century and a quarter of progressive government, there are features seen in it which do not conform to the ideas of the people of today. But it was so much better, at the time of its adoption, than anything gone before that it was generally accepted without question.

A Bill of Rights preceded the first constitution. On May 15, 1776, the Virginia convention instructed its delegates in Congress to propose to that body to declare the United States independent, and at the same time the convention appointed a committee to prepare a Declaration of Rights and a plan of government for Virginia. On June 12 the Bill of Rights was passed. The document was written by George Mason, member of the committee. This state paper is of interest, not only as being one of the earliest of its kind in America, but because it contains inconsistencies which in after years clung to the laws of Virginia, carrying injustice with them, until West Virginia, when it became a state, refused to allow them to become part of the laws of the new commonwealth. The chief of these

inconsistencies is found in the just declaration at the outset of the Bill of Rights, "that all men are by nature equally free and independent," and yet further on it paves the way for restricting the privilege of suffrage to those who owned property, thereby declaring in terms, if not in words, that a poor man is not as free and independent as a rich man. Here was the beginning of the doctrine so long held in Virginia by its law-makers, that a man without property should not have a voice in the government. In after years this doctrine was combatted by the people of the territory now forming West Virginia. The inhabitants west of the Blue Ridge, and especially west of the Alleghanies, were the champions of universal suffrage, and they labored to attain that end, but with little success until they were able to set up a government for themselves, in which government men were placed above property. Further on in this chapter, and in other chapters, will be found something more upon this subject.

The Bill of Rights declares that the freedom of the press is one of the chief bulwarks of liberty. This is in marked contrast with and a noticeable advance beyond the doctrines held by Sir William Berkeley, one of Virginia's royal governors, who solemnly declared, "I thank God that we have not free schools or printing, and I hope we will not have, these hundred years, for learning hath brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world and printing hath divulged them and libels against the government. God keep us from both." This solemn protest of Virginia's governor was made nearly forty years after the founding of Harvard University in Massachusetts. It has been sometimes cited as an illustration of the difference between the Puritan civilization in Massachusetts and the Cavalier civilization of Virginia. But the comparison is unfair. It was no test of Virginia's civilization, for the governor was carrying out instructions from England to suppress printing, and he did not consult the people of the colony, or ask whether they wanted printing presses tured into Virginia with a press, he was promptly brought before the governor Berkeley asked divine protection against schools and printing, ventured into Virginia with a press, he was promptly brought before the Governor and was compelled to give bond that he would print nothing until the King of England gave consent.

In view of this experience it was not surprising that the Virginians were prompt in declaring in their Bill of Rights that the press should be free. But they did not take advantage of that excellent opportunity to say a word in favor of schools. Nor could they, at one sweep, bring themselves to the broad doctrine that property does not round off and complete the man, and make him capable, competent and trustworthy to take full part in the affairs of government. The Bill of Rights was brought into existence in the early part of the Revolutionary War, and at that very time the bold, patient, patriotic, and poor backwoodsmen from the frontiers were in the American armies fighting and dying in the cause of liberty and equal rights; and yet, by laws then being enacted, these same men were denied the right to take part in the management of the government which they were fighting to establish. It was for no other reason than that they were not assessed with enough property to give "sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with and attachment to the community." This notion had been brought from England, and had been fastened upon the colony of Virginia so firmly that it could not be shaken off when that state severed the political ties which bound it to the mother country. The idea clung to the constitution passed in 1776; to that of 1830; to that of 1851; but sentiment against the property qualification for suffrage constantly grew, and particularly among the people of western Virginia, until it manifested itself in striking the obnoxious clause

from the constitution when the state of West Virginia came into separate existence.

If the war of the Revolution did not teach the statesmen of Virginia that the poor man can be a patriot, and if the thirty-five or more years intervening between the adoption of the constitution of 1776 and the second war with England had not sufficed to do so, it might be supposed that the new experience of the War of 1812 would have made the fact clear. But it did not convince the law-makers. Virginia was speedily invaded by the British after the declaration of war, and some of the most valuable property in the state was destroyed, and some of the best territory was overrun by the enemy. The city of Washington, just across the Potomac from Virginia, was captured and partly burned. An ex-President of the United States was compelled to hide in the woods to avoid capture by the enemy. In this critical time no soldiers fought more valiantly, none did more to drive back the invader, than the men from western Virginia, where lived most of those who were classed too poor to take part in the affairs of government. It is said that some times half the men in a company of soldiers had never been permitted to vote because they did not own enough property. Not only did the territory now forming West Virginia furnish its full quota of soldiers, but large numbers volunteered who could not get to the front.

The Constitution of 1830—The people of Western Virginia felt the injustice keenly. They never failed to respond promptly to a call when their services were needed in the field, but in time of peace they sought in a lawful and decent manner the redress of their grievances. They could not obtain this redress under the constitution then in force, and the War of 1812 had scarcely come to a close when the subject of a new constitution began to be spoken of. It was agitated long in vain. The restriction of suffrage was not the only wrong the people of Western Virginia endured, somewhat impatiently, but always with full respect for the laws then in force.

The eastern part of Virginia had the majority of inhabitants and the most property, and this gave that portion of the state the majority in the assembly. This power was used with small respect for the rights of the people in the western part of the state. Internal improvements were made on a large scale in the east, but none west of the mountains, or very few. Men in the western counties had little encouragement to aspire to political distinction. The door was shut against them. The state offices were filled by men from the wealthy eastern districts. At length the agitation of the question of a new constitution ripened into results. The assembly of Virginia in 1828 passed a bill submitting to a vote of the people whether they would have a constitutional convention called. At the election there were 38,542 votes cast, of which 21,896 were in favor of a constitutional convention. By far the heaviest vote favoring the convention was cast west of the Blue Ridge. The wealthy slave-owners of the lower counties wanted no change. The constitution had been framed to suit them, and they wished for nothing better. They feared that a change would give them something less suitable. Nevertheless, when the votes were counted and it was ascertained that a new constitution was inevitable, the representatives of the wealth of the state set to work to guard against any invasion of the privileges they had so long enjoyed.

The delegates from what is now West Virginia elected to this convention were: E. M. Wilson and Charles S. Morgan, of Monongalia County; William McCoy, of Pendleton County; Alexander Campbell and Philip Doddridge, of Brooke County; Andrew Beirne, of Monroe County; William Smith, of Greenbrier County; John Baxter, of Poca-

hontas County; H. L. Opie and Thomas Griggs, of Jefferson County; William Naylor and William Donaldson, of Hampshire County; Philip Pendleton and Elisha Boyd, of Berkeley County; John Laidley, of Cabell County; E. S. Duncan, of Harrison County; Lewis Summers, of Kanawha County; Adam See, of Randolph County. The leader of western delegates in the convention was Philip Doddridge, who did all in his power to have the property qualification clause omitted from the new constitution.

The convention met at Richmond, October 5, 1829. From the very first meeting, the western members were slighted. No western man was named in selection of officers of the convention. It was seen at the outset that the property qualification for suffrage would not be given up by the eastern members without a struggle, and it was soon made plain that the qualification would have a majority. It was during the debates in this convention that Philip Doddridge, one of West Virginia's greatest men, came to the front in his full stature. His opponents were Randolph, Leigh, Upshur, Tazewell, Standard, and others, who supported the doctrine that a voter should be a property owner. One of Doddridge's colleagues was Alexander Campbell, the founder of the Church of the Disciples of Christ, some times known as the Christian Church, and again called, from its founder, the Campbellite Church. Here were two powerful intellects, and they championed the cause of liberty. Doddridge himself had followed the plow, and he felt that an honest man does not need a certain number of acres before he can be trusted with the right to vote. He had served in the Virginia legislature and he knew from observation and experience the needs of the people in his part of the state. He was born on the bank of the Ohio river two years before the backwoodsmen of Virginia annulled the Quebec Act, passed by the Parliament of England; and he had grown to manhood in the dangers and vicissitudes of the frontiers. He was but five years old at the first siege of Fort Henry, and but ten at the second siege; and the shot that brought down the last British flag that floated above the soil of Virginia during the Revolutionary war was fired almost within hearing of his home. Among his neighbors were Lewis Wetzel, Ebenezer Zane, Samuel Brady, and the men who fought to save the homes of the frontier settlers during the long and anxious years of Indian warfare. Although Doddridge died two years after this convention, while serving in Congress, he had done enough to give West Virginia reason for remembering him. The work of Campbell does not stand out in so conspicuous a manner in the proceedings of the convention, but his influence for good was great; and if the delegates from west of the mountains labored in vain for a time, the result was seen in later years.

Judge Leigh was acknowledged in the convention as the champion of the rich aristocracy of the east, and he was blunt and direct in stating his belief that the people of the west ought not to have any part in the government of Virginia. "What real share," said he, "so far as mind is concerned, does any man suppose the peasantry of the west—that peasantry which it must have when the country is completely filled up with day laborers as ours is with slaves—can or will take in the affairs of state?"

The work of the convention was brought to a close in 1830, and a new constitution was given to the voters of the state for their approval or rejection. The western members had failed to strike out the distasteful property qualification. They had all voted against it in the convention except Doddridge, who was unable to attend that session on account of sickness, no doubt due to overwork. His vote, however, would have changed nothing, as the eastern members had a large majority and carried every measure they wanted. In the dissatisfaction consequent up-

on the failure of the western counties to secure what they considered justice, began the movement for a new state. More than thirty years elapsed before the object was attained, and it was brought about by means and from causes which not the wisest statesman foresaw in 1830, yet the sentiment had been growing all the years. The old State of Virginia was never forgiven the offense and injury done the western district in the constitutional convention of 1829-1830. If the injustice was partly removed by the enlarged suffrage granted in the constitution adopted twenty years after, it was then too late for the atonement to be accepted as a blotting out of past wrongs; and in 1861 the people of West Virginia replied to the old state's long years of oppression and tyranny.

The constitution of 1830 adopted the Bill of Rights of 1776 without amendment or change. Then followed a long preamble, reciting the wrongs under which Virginia suffered, prior to the Revolutionary War, before independence was secured. Under this constitution the Virginia House of Delegates consisted of one hundred and thirty-four members, of which twenty-six were chosen by the counties lying west of the Alleghanies; twenty-five by the counties between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies; forty-two by the counties between the Blue Ridge and tide-water, and thirty-six by the tide-water counties. The senate consisted of thirty-two members, of which thirteen were from the counties west of the Blue Ridge. The right of suffrage was based on a property qualification. The ballot was forbidden and all voting was viva voce. Judges of the supreme court and of the superior courts were not elected by the people, but by the joint vote of the senate and house of delegates. The attorney general was chosen in the same way. Sheriffs and coroners were nominated by the county courts and appointed by the governor. Justices of the peace were appointed by the governor, and the constables were appointed by the justices. Clerks were appointed by the courts. The state treasurer was elected by the joint vote of the senate and house of delegates. It is thus seen that the only state officers for which the people could vote directly were senators and members of the house of delegates. Such an arrangement would be very unsatisfactory at the present day among people who have become accustomed to select their officers, almost without exception, from the highest to the lowest. The growth of the republican principle of government has been gradual. It was not all grasped at once; nor has it reached its fullest development yet. The Bill of Rights and the first constitution of Virginia were a great step forward from the bad government under England's colonial system; but the gathered wisdom of more than a century has discovered and corrected many imperfections.

It is noticeable that the constitution of 1830 contains no provisions for public schools. It may be stated generally that the early history of Virginia shows little development of the common school idea. The state which was satisfied for seventy-five years with suffrage denied the poor would not be likely to become famous for its zeal in the cause of popular education. The rich, who voted, could afford schools for their children; and the father who was poor could neither take part in the government nor educate his children. Virginia was behind most of the old states in free schools. At the very time that Governor Berkeley thanked God that there were neither free schools nor printing presses in Virginia, Connecticut was devoting to education one-fourth of its revenue from taxation. As late as 1857 Virginia with a population of nearly a million and a half, had only 41,608 children in common schools. When this is compared with other states, the contrast is striking. Massachusetts with a smaller population had five times as many children in free schools; New Hampshire with one-fifth the population had twice as many; Illi-

nois had nearly eight times as many, yet a smaller population; Ohio with a population a little larger had more than fourteen times as many children in public schools as Virginia. The following additional states in 1857 had more children attending common schools than Virginia had in proportion to their population: Maine, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Indiana, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, Louisiana, Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama. The states with a smaller percentage of children in the common schools than Virginia's were South Carolina, California, and Mississippi. For the remainder of the states, the statistics for that year were not compiled.

Although the lack of provision for popular education in the convention of 1830 does not appear to have caused opposition from the western members, yet the promptness with which the state of West Virginia provided for public schools as soon as it had a chance, is evidence that the sentiment west of the Alleghanies was strongly in favor of popular education.

When the western delegates returned home after completing their labors in the convention of 1829-1830, they found that their constituents were much dissatisfied with the constitution. The chief thing contended for, less restriction on suffrage, had been refused, and the new constitution, while in some respects better than the old, retained the most objectionable feature of the old. At the election held early in 1830 for ratifying or rejecting the new constitution, 41,618 votes were cast, of which 26,055 were for ratification and 15,563 against. The eastern part of the state voted strongly for ratification; the western part against it. Only two counties in what is now West Virginia gave a majority for it; and only one east of the Blue Ridge voted against it. The vote by counties in West Virginia was as follows: Berkeley, for 95, against 161; Brooke, the home of Doddridge and Campbell, for 0, against 371; Cabell, for 5, against 334; Greenbrier, for 34, against 464; Hampshire, for 241, against 211; Hardy, for 63, against 120; Harrison, for 8, against 1,112; Jefferson, for 243, against 53; Kanawha, for 42, against 266; Lewis, for 10, against 546; Logan, for 2, against 255; Mason, for 31, against 369; Monongalia, for 305, against 460; Monroe, for 19, against 451; Morgan, for 29, against 156; Nicholas, for 28, against 325; Ohio, for 3, against 643; Pendleton, for 58, against 219; Pocahontas, for 9, against 288; Preston, for 121, against 357; Randolph, for 4, against 567; Tyler, for 5, against 299; Wood, for 28, against 410. Total, for 1,383, against 8,375.

The Constitution of 1850—Although the constitution of 1830 was unsatisfactory to the people of the western counties, and they had voted to reject it, it had been fastened upon them by the vote of the eastern counties. However, the matter was not to end there. In a republican government the way to reach a redress of grievances is to keep the proposed reform constantly before the people. If right it will finally prevail. In all reform movements or questions, the right is nearly always in the minority at first; perhaps it is always so. The Western Virginians at once began to agitate the question of calling another constitutional convention. They kept at it for twenty years. Finally a legislature was chosen which called an election on the subject of a constitutional convention. The majority of the legislature was in favor of the convention, and in May, 1850, an election was held to choose delegates. Those elected from the country west of the Alleghanies, and from districts partly east and partly west of those mountains, were John Kenny, A. M. Newman, John Lionberger, George E. Deneale, G. B. Samuels, William Seymour, Giles Cook, Samuel C. Williams, Allen T. Caperton, Albert G. Pendleton, A. A. Chapman, Charles J. Faulkner, William Lucas, Dennis Murphy, Andrew

Hunter, Thomas Sloan, James E. Stewart, Richard E. Byrd, Charles Blue, Jefferson T. Martin, Zachariah Jacob, John Knote, Thomas Gally, Benjamin H. Smith, William Smith, Samuel Price, George W. Summers, Joseph Johnson, John F. Snodgrass, Gideon D. Camden, Peter G. Van Winkle, William G. Brown, Waitman T. Willey, Edward J. Armstrong, James Neeson, Samuel L. Hayes, Joseph Smith, John S. Carlile, Thomas Bland, Elisha W. McComas, Henry J. Fisher and James H. Ferguson.

One of these delegates, Joseph Johnson, of Harrison county, was the only man at any time chosen governor from the district west of the Alleghanies; and in the three-quarters of a century since the adoption of Virginia's first constitution, no man from west of the Alleghanies had ever been sent to the United States Senate; and only one had been elected from the country west of the Blue Ridge. Eastern property had outvoted western men. Still the people west of the mountains sought their remedy in a new constitution as they had sought in vain nearly a generation before.

The constitutional convention met and organized for work. The delegates from the eastern part of the state at once showed their hand. They insisted from the start that there should be a property qualification for suffrage. This was the chief point against which the western people had been so long contending, and the members from west of the Alleghanies were there to resist such a provision in the new constitution and to fight it to the last. Lines were drawn upon this issue. It was seen that the western members and the members who took sides with them were not in as hopeless a minority as in the convention of 1830. Still they were not strong enough to assure victory, and the battle was long and hard fought. The eastern members forced the issue and Waitman T. Willey of Monongalia met it. He denied that property is the true source of political power; but, rather, that the true source should be sought in wisdom, virtue, and patriotism; and that wealth, while not bad in itself, frequently becomes a source of political weakness. The rights of persons are above the rights of property. Mr. Scott, a delegate from Fauquier county, declared that this movement by the western members was simply an effort to get their hands on the pocket books of the wealthy east. Mr. Willey repelled this impeachment of the integrity of the west. Other members in sympathy with the property qualification took up the cue and the assault upon the motives of the people of the west became severe and unjust. But the members from that part of the state defended the honor of its people with a vigor and a success which defeated the property qualification in the constitution.

It was not silenced, however. It was put forward and carried in another form by a proviso that members of the assembly and senate should be elected on an arbitrary basis until the year 1865, at which time the question should be submitted to a vote of the people whether their delegates in the legislature should be apportioned on what was called the "white basis" or the "mixed basis." The first provided that members of the legislature should be apportioned according to the number of white inhabitants; the second, that they should be apportioned according to both property and inhabitants. The eastern members believed that in 1865 the vote of the state would favor the mixed basis, and thus the property qualification would again be in force, although not in exactly the same form as before.

The proceedings of the convention had not advanced far when it became apparent that a sentiment in that body was in favor of electing many or all of the county or state officers. The sentiment favoring electing judges was particularly strong. Prior to that time judges in Vir-

ginia had been chosen by the legislature or appointed by the governor, who was a creature of the legislature. The members from Western Virginia, under the leadership of Mr. Willey, were in favor of electing the judges by the people. It was more in conformity with the principles of republican government that the power which selected the makers of laws should also select the interpreters of those laws, and also those whose duty it is to execute the laws. The power of the people was thus increased, and with the increase of power there was an increase also in their responsibility. The constitution of 1850 is remarkable for the general advance embodied in it. The experience of more than half a century had shown that landmarks were set on higher ground, but as yet the idea that the state is the greatest beneficiary of the education of the people, and that it is the duty of the state to provide free schools had not gained sufficient footing to secure so much as an expression in its favor in the constitution of 1850 .

The work of the convention was completed, and at an election held in 1852 it was ratified and became the foundation for state government in Virginia. The Bill of Rights, passed in 1776 and adopted without change as a preamble or introduction to the constitution of 1830, was amended in several particulars and prefixed to the constitution of 1850. The constitution of 1830 required voting by *viva voce* without exception. That of 1850 made an exception in favor of deaf and dumb persons. But for all other persons the ballot was forbidden. The property qualification for suffrage was not placed in the constitution. Although a provision was made to foist a property clause on the state to take effect in 1865, the great and unexpected change made by the civil war before the year 1865 rendered this provision of no force, so far as concerned West Virginia. The leading features of the "mixed basis" and "white basis," as contemplated by the constitution, were: In 1865 the people by vote were to decide whether the members of the state senate and lower house should be apportioned in accordance with the number of voters, without regard to property, or whether in such apportionment, property should be represented. The former was called the white basis or suffrage basis, the latter the mixed basis. Under the mixed basis the apportionment would be based on a ratio of the white inhabitants and of the amount of state taxes paid. Provision was made for the apportionment of senators on one basis and members of the lower house on the other, if the voters should so decide. The members of the convention from West Virginia did not like the mixed basis, but the clause making the provision for it went into the constitution in spite of them. There was a clause which went so far as to provide that members of the senate might be apportioned solely on the basis of taxation, if the people so decided by vote.

Under the constitution, free negroes were not permitted to reside in Virginia unless free at the time the constitution went into effect. Slaves thereafter manumitted forfeited their freedom by remaining twelve months in the state. Provision was made for enslaving them again.

For the first time in the history of the state, the governor was to be elected by the people. He had before been appointed by the legislature. County officers, clerks, sheriff, prosecuting attorney, and surveyor, were now to be elected by the people. The county court, composed of not less than three or more than five justices of the peace, held sessions monthly, and had enlarged jurisdiction. This arrangement was not consistent with the advance made in other branches of county and state government as provided for in the constitution. That county court was not satisfactory, and even after West Virginia became a state, it did not at first rid itself of the tribunal which had outlived its usefulness. But after a number of years a satisfactory change was made by the new state. Under Virginia's

constitution of 1850 the auditor, treasurer, and secretary were selected by the legislature.

Constitutions of 1863 and 1872—Before the constitution of 1863 was adopted, the region west of the Alleghany mountains, and eight counties east of that range had separated from the parent state and had organized the state of West Virginia. The events and movements leading up to and culminating in the formation of the new state are fully set forth in other chapters of this book, and need not be reviewed here. The first constitution of West Virginia was a growth, a development, rather than a creation by a body of men sitting in a single convention. The region west of the mountains, and several counties east of the range refused to go with the parent state when it seceded from the Union, and in a convention at Wheeling, an ordinance was passed for the temporary guidance and government of the western part of the state. This ordinance was not meant to be a constitution, but it was a good substitute for one in the emergency in which the western people found themselves. The convention called an election of delegates to meet at Wheeling, and when it met, it took up the work of framing a constitution, which was adopted and became the law of the state in 1863. Nine years later a second constitution for the state was adopted, and became the fifth under which the region embraced in West Virginia had been governed, Virginia's three, and West Virginia's two.

PART TWO

THE CIVIL WAR AND ORGANIZATION OF STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA

CHAPTER XX

THE CIVIL WAR, AND ORGANIZATION OF STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA

Volumes have been written on the raid made by Old John Brown in the autumn of 1859, upon Harper's Ferry, West Virginia (then in Old Virginia), which act no doubt hastened on the civil war and the emancipation of the slaves. From all that can be gleaned of value from documents and books of authority, the following is believed to be a fair and concise statement of facts, and sufficient in detail for the present-day history of West Virginia.

John Brown was born May 9, 1800, at Torrington, Connecticut, a descendant of Peter Brown, who came in the "Mayflower" in 1620. John was of the third generation that had espoused the cause of freedom for American slaves, and it is noted that it was a hobby of the Brown family for almost a century, but not to that extreme extent that it was developed in the hero of Harper's Ferry, whose

> "Body lies moldering in the grave,
> While his soul goes marching on."

When but a mere youth he lived in a house where was a negro boy of about his own age, and who was frequently beaten, sometimes with a fire-shovel. From that day on, Brown said himself: "I became a most determined Abolitionist and was led to swear eternal war with slavery." He became a land surveyor and farmer, and dealt in wool in Ohio for eastern houses, and failed in business twice. He was twice married and reared a large family. Politically, he was a member of the early Republican party, but did not agree with its leaders on the position they held on the slavery question. When they cried "Halt!" he always exclaimed, "Forward, march!" In short, he was an ultra-Abolitionist, and had little sympathy with the sentiments of Garrison and Seward. He had come to distrust the party leaders, both Democratic and Republican. Apathy to the welfare of the slaves would, he believed, follow the election of a Republican president in 1860, hence he argued it was necessary to strike a blow at once. He had already been connected with the border war in Kansas and Nebraska, and there won fame as a leader of the Free State idea, and helped to prevent the admission of Kansas into the Union as a slave state. He led the engagement at Osawatomie and other points in the Kansas war. His sons had settled in that territory in the early fifties with their father, and took part in the struggle for freedom against the pro-slavery element from the south that insisted on the territory being admitted as a slave state or not at all.

Brown was a remarkable man in many ways. He had undaunted courage, and carried to the bitter end his deepest convictions. As early as 1857 he had drilled a squad of men at the little country hamlet of Tabor, Iowa, near the Missouri and Nebraska line. He also had a "military school" at Springfield, in a Quaker settlement in Eastern Iowa, where his company received the best of military instructions under a paid officer from a foreign land. Some of his men had been trained in Canada, and all seemed to be imbued with the same spirit as their leader. All was done without remuneration, and at great risk of their lives.

Early in June, 1858, he left Boston, Massachusetts, with $500 in money, furnished by his friends and sympathizers, and he had permis-

sion to keep the guns he had used in Kansas. But few, possibly no one, knew his objective point, and he was not heard of for some time. He had kept his own counsel. Sometime in 1858 he had been at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, accompanied by two of his sons, all going under the assumed name of Smith. They there made enquiries about the prospects of mining ore in that section, and looked at land to that end. For a time Brown boarded at Sandy Point, a mile east of the Ferry, and a few months later he appeared there and leased a small farm on the Maryland side of the river, four miles from Harper's Ferry. He and his sons brought picks and shovels, and gave all to understand that they were mining prospectors for precious metals. He was known by all as "Bill Smith."

Brown's attack on Harper's Ferry—On Sunday evening, October 16, 1859, at half past ten o'clock, Brown mustered twenty-two men, of whom six were colored. Brown said, "Men, get your arms on; we will proceed to the Ferry." It was a cold night and ended in a rain. They reached the armory in a short time, broke in the gateway with hammers and crowbars, after which it was an easy matter to take the night watchmen prisoners. Before midnight, Brown and some of his men quietly patrolled the little village of Harper's Ferry, but no gun was fired. Six men had been sent out about four miles to capture a planter with his numerous slaves and have them brought in, which was effected. Brown had also taken several leading citizens of the town and was holding them as hostages, but he let a railroad train cross the Potomac bridge and go northward, and the passengers gave the alarm. The people of the town, with such fire-arms as they could procure on short notice, rushed to the scene. Shots were exchanged freely, and several men were killed. Before Monday evening, Brown was hemmed in hopelessly. Colonel Robert E. Lee, later of Confederate army fame, arrived from Washington City with a company of marines when practically all was over. Brown and his men, now reduced to six in number, were barricaded in the little armory engine-house. Thousands of bullets penetrated the walls, but Brown kept up a return fire, stubbornly refusing to surrender. When some of his men were aiming at passersby who had taken no part in the fight, Brown would stop them, saying "Don't shoot! that man is unarmed." One witness at the trial testified that Brown was brave and full of great courage, possessed with wonderful coolness, and related how, while feeling the pulse of his dying son, and holding his gun with his other hand, he at the same time was encouraging his men to fight.

Up to this time his real identity had not been known, but at a moment, Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart, who had known him in the Kansas border warfare, called him by name. When finally captured, his two sons were dead, and he badly wounded in a number of places, especially severely in the groin, by a spear or bayonet thrust, and it was supposed he could not long survive.

Governor Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, and several hundred men, reached Harper's Ferry on the noon train on October 18th. He held interviews with John Brown and others of the company. The following is his estimate, at the time, of John Brown, whom it was his duty as executive to try and probably execute as a felon. He said: "They are mistaken who talk of Brown being a madman. He is a bundle of the best nerves I ever saw, cut and thrust and bleeding and in bonds. He is a man of clear head, of courage and fortitude, and simple ingenuousness. He is cool, collected, indomitable; and it is but just to say of him that he was very humane to his prisoners, and he inspired me with great trust in his integrity and truthfulness."

An eye witness to this attack soon after published the following account:

"The first attack was made by a detachment of the Charlestown Guards, who crossed the Potomac river above Harper's Ferry and reached the buildings where the insurgents were confined. Sharp firing occurred and the rioters were driven from the bridge. One man was killed here, and another fearfully wounded. A man ran out to escape by swimming the river; a dozen shots were fired after him; he partially fell, but rose again, threw his gun away, and drew his pistols, but both snapped; he then drew his bowie-knife and cut his heavy accoutrements off and plunged into the river; one of the soldiers was about ten feet from him, to his rear; the man turned and held up his hands, saying 'don't shoot.' The soldier fired and the man fell into the water, with his face blown off. His coat-skirts were cut from his person, and in his pockets were found a captain's commission to E. H. Leeman, from Brown's provisional government, the same bearing date of October 15, 1859, and signed by A. W. Brown, commander-in-chief of the army of the Provisional Government of the United States. Five of the insurgents, armed with minie rifles and posted in the armory building, were expelled by the Charlestown Guards. They all ran for the river, and one was unable to swim and was drowned. The others swam to the rocks in the center of the stream—the Shenandoah river—and fired upon the citizens and troops on both banks. This act drew upon them the musketry of between two and three hundred soldiers, and not less than four hundred shots were fired at them from Harper's Ferry, about two hundred yards distant. One was finally fatally shot; the second, a negro, attempted to jump over the dam, but fell shot, and was not afterwards seen; the third was badly wounded, and the remaining one was unharmed. The white insurgent, wounded, captured, and dead in the arms of his comrades in a few moments completed this part of the awful scene. From him it was learned that there were only nineteen whites engaged in the insurrection. For nearly an hour a steady firing was kept up against the rioters. Several were shot down, and others escaped but were wounded. During the firing the women and children present ran shrieking in every direction, but when they learned that the soldiers would protect them, they soon busied themselves by preparing refreshments for the soldiers and cared for the wounded men. Soldiers could be seen pursuing, singly and in couples, and the crack of musketry or rifles was heard, generally followed by an insurgent biting the dust. The dead lay in the streets where they fell. The wounded were cared for.

"The Shepherdstown troops arrived, marching down the Shenandoah side, and joined the Charlestown Guards at the bridge. A desultory exchange of shots followed, one of which struck Fountaine Beckman, mayor of Harper's Ferry and depot agent of that town. The ball entered his breast and passed entirely through his body. It was a large elongated slug, and made a dreadful wound. He died almost instantly. He was without firearms, and was exposed for only a moment while approaching the water-tank. His assailant was one of Brown's sons, who was very soon killed for the act. The death of Beckman greatly excited the citizens of the town, and the cry went up to bring the prisoner Thompson out, which was done, and at the bridge he was shot down. He fell into the water, and, some appearance of life being discovered, he was riddled with bullets.

"A large squad of railway men, mostly laborers, with poor or no arms at all, were on the scene as soon as possible. Conductor Evan Dorsey, of Baltimore, was killed, as was also George Richardson, who died before night. Several more were badly wounded, including a son of Dr. Hammond, of Martinsburg.

"Col. Robert E. Lee arrived with the company of marines from Washington on the eleven o'clock train at night, but took no special action till early in the morning, when the doors of the building occupied by the insurgents were opened, and one of their number came forth bearing a flag of truce. The terms were not acceptable. Shortly after seven o'clock in the morning, Lieutenant J. E. B. Stuart, of the First U. S. Cavalry, aide to Colonel Lee, advanced to parley with the besieged. Samuel Strickler, Esq., an old and respected citizen, bore a truce flag. They were received at the door by Captain Cook. Stuart demanded again an unconditional surrender, only promising them immediate protection from violence and a trial by law. Captain Brown refused this, saying, as he had before: 'We shall be permitted to march out with our men and arms, taking our prisoners with us, and we will proceed to the second toll-gate, where we will free our prisoners; the soldiers must then be permitted to pursue their way, fighting if they have to. These terms, of course, would not be accepted by the soldiers, and Lieut. Stuart turned and slowly walked away. The marines were already in two lines, ready to dart at the doors at the word. The signal was at once given for an attack, and the marines, headed by Col. Harris and Lieut. Green, advanced in two lines on each side of the door. Two powerful fellows sprang in between the lines with

heavy sledges, battered at the doors, but owing to ropes Brown had fastened over the doorway inside, the force was broken in the impact and did not do its work as designed by the hammer holders. But finally the command was given to procure a forty-foot heavy ladder, which was carried by men and brought as a battering ram against the heavy doors, and this effected an entrance very soon. The marines immediately advanced to the breach, Major Russell and Lieutenant Green leading the way. One marine fell in front of the works, killed. The firing from within was rapid and effective. They fired with deliberate aim to kill. For a moment the resistance was fierce and desperate enough to excite the bystanders outside. The next moment the marines fired a volley, and by its effectiveness all was soon quieted within. In this assault private Ruffert of the marines received a ball in the stomach.

"The lawn in front of the engine room, after the assault, presented a dreadful sight. Lying on it were two bodies of men killed on the previous day and found on the side of the building inside. There were three men, one of them just in the last gasp for life, and two others groaning with intense pain. One of the dead was Brown's son. The wounded father and his son Watson were lying on the grass. The old man presented a gory spectacle. He had a severe wound in his side, and his face had several sabre cuts, while the clotted blood was about his long gray hair and face. He had received two bayonet wounds—one in the groin and one in his breast, besides four sabre slashes, but not a single ball had hit his body."

Aside from the three white men whom Brown had sent out on errands before the attack, the following is a list of the men of the company, with their proper title in the "Provisional Government" of John Brown: White men: General John Brown, commander-in-chief; Captain Oliver Brown; Captain Watson Brown, dead; Captain Aaron C. Stephens, of Connecticut; Lieutenant Edwin Coppoc, of Iowa, unhurt; Lieutenant Albert Hazlett, of Pennsylvania, dead; Lieutenant William Leeman, from Maine, dead; Captain John E. Cook, Connecticut, escaped. Privates: Stewart Taylor, of Canada, dead; Charles P. Tidd, of Maine, died; William Thompson, of New York, died; Adolph Thompson, of New York, dead; Captain John Kagi, of Virginia, dead; Lieutenant Jeremiah Anderson, of Indiana, dead. Negroes: Dangerfield, of Ohio, raised in Virginia, dead; Emperor, of New York, reared in South Carolina, a prisoner; Lewis Leary, of Ohio, dead; Copeland, of Virginia and Ohio, a prisoner.

No attempt was made to rob the paymaster's department in the arsenal, which contained much money at the time. The prisoners, including Brown, the leader, were at once taken to Charlestown, Virginia, for safe keeping. The number of whites killed was six citizens, fifteen insurgents, one soldier; wounded, three insurgents; prisoners, five.

On the day of the arrest of Brown and his invaders, a detachment of marines and volunteers made a visit to Brown's farm, and found the following articles: 102 Sharpe's rifles; 102 Massachusetts Arms Company's pistols; 56 Massachusetts Company's powder flasks; 4 large powder flasks; 10 kegs of powder; 23,000 percussion caps; 100,000 percussion pistol caps; 1,300 ball cartridges for Sharpe's rifles; 160 boxes Sharpe's primers; 14 lead balls; 1 major-general's sword; 12 old artillery swords; 483 standard spears; 150 broken handled spears; 16 picks; 40 shovels; 1 tin powder case; 1,500 pikes; 1 box of clothing and stationery; a carpet sack containing Brown's documents, private papers and the constitution for his new government, all tending to show that he was in communication with men of his kind in several of the northern states.

Judge Richard Parker, of the circuit court, tried the Brown case, as well as the others connected with it. The jury was as follows: Richard Timberlake, Joseph Myers, Thomas Watson Jr., Isaac Durst, John C. McClure, William Rightsdale, Jacob J. Miller, Thomas Osborne, George W. Boyer, John C. Wiltshire, George W. Tapp, William A. Martin. The indictment charged John Brown, Aaron C. Stephens, Edwin Coppoc, white persons; and Shields, Green and John Copeland, free negroes, with confederating to make rebellion and levy war against the

state of Virginia, and to effect this purpose, seizing Harper's Ferry, within the jurisdiction of this state, capturing divers goods and loyal citizens, and slaying and murdering certain others, and establishing a government hostile to the government of the state and exercising offices under it, and compelling obedience and resisting the laws of Virginia; with conspiracy to induce slaves of Lewis M. Washington and John H. Alstadt to make rebellion and insurrection; with committing murder upon Thomas Borely, Fountaine Beckman and Luke Quinn, white persons, and Hayward Sheppard, a free negro.

Brown was tried first. The prisoner was compelled to stand upright while the indictment was being read. Stephens was so ill that he had to be held up by two bailiffs. Brown was fearfully wounded and asked a short stay of proceedings before his trial, but this was denied him, and in the afternoon he was brought to the courthouse on a cot. Brown, being asked if he had anything to say before his sentence, answered:

"I have, may it please the court, a few words to say. In the first place, I deny everything but what I have already admitted long ago, of a design upon my part to free the slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of it this time, as I did last winter when I went to Missouri and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moving them to Canada. I designed to have done the same thing only on a larger scale. That was all I intended to do. I never did intend murder and treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite the slaves to rebellion or to make an insurrection. I have another objection, and that is, that it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered in the manner which I admit, and which I shall admit has been fairly proven —for I admit the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case—had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, either father, mother, brother, sister, wife or children, or any of that class had suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would be all right, and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment. This court acknowledges, too, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed, which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least, the New Testament, which teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do unto me, I should do even unto them. It teaches me further to remember them that are in bonds as bound with them. I endeavored to act upon these instructions. I say I am yet too young to understand God to have ever been a respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I always freely admitted I have done, in behalf of His despised poor, is no more than right, and not wrong. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I shall forfeit my life for the furtherance of this end, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in the slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel and unjust enactments, I say, let it be done. Let me say one word further—I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial, considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I had expected. But I feel no consciousness of guilt. I have stated from the first what was my intention, and what was not. I never had any design against the liberty of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason, or excite slaves to rebel or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of that kind. Let me say also in regard to the statements made by some of those who are connected with me, I fear it has been stated by some of them that I have induced them to join me, but the contrary is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness. Not one of them but what joined me of their own accord, and the greater part at their own expense. A number of them I never saw until the time they came to me for this purpose. Now I am done."

The judge then read his sentence, after a few preliminary remarks said, "you will be hung on Friday, December 2, 1859." On the day of his execution, Brown handed a slip of paper to his chief guard at the jail at Charlestown, Virginia, containing these words: "I, John Brown, am now quite CERTAIN that the crimes of this GUILTY LAND will never be purged away but with BLOOD. I had, as I now think, vainly flattered myself that without much bloodshed it might be done." Eigh-

teen months later the sound of clashing arms was heard between the two great contending armies—the one for the Union and the other for the Southern Confederacy.

On leaving the jail at Charlestown, John Brown had on his face a smile, and possessed more calmness than any of the thousands present to witness his execution. He really displayed the true character of a patriot who believed he was about to die for the good of mankind. With firm yet elastic tread he proved himself "every inch a man." As he stepped out of the door of the jail, a black woman with her child in her arms stood near by him—they of the despised race for whom he was soon to be offered up a sacrifice. He halted a moment, then, reaching over, tenderly implanted a kiss on the face of the little colored child, in an affectionate manner.

Brown rode to his scaffold in a furniture wagon. In the box of the wagon was his coffin, made of black walnut, encased in a poplar outer-box, with a flat lid. Brown mounted the wagon and took his place in the seat with Captain Avis, the jailer, who had cared for him, and who had become much attached to him. As they made their way to the grounds where he was to be hung, Brown remarked "What a beautiful country you have here." "Yes," was Avis' only reply. Said Brown: "It seems the more beautiful to behold because I have been so long shut from it." "You are more cheerful than I am," replied Mr. Saddler, the undertaker. "I ought to be," responded Brown. He then added, "I see no citizens here; where are they?" "The citizens are not allowed to be present, only the soldiers," said Saddler. Brown added, "That ought not to be," and added "citizens should be allowed as well as others."

The scaffold was erected in a forty acre field about half in corn stubble and half in grass. The sun shone forth in splendor, as the escort came up, with bright gleaming bayonets. On the field companies glittered with military trappings and gay uniforms. Away to the far east and south the Blue Ridge loomed up in all of its sublimity against the December skies. The wagon passed halfway around the scaffold, and then halted. The flag of Virginia was planted beneath the scaffold, while the United States flag was in the field. A guard composed of the Petersburg Grays marched with the prisoner, and opened ranks to let him pass through. Brown descended from the wagon, assisted by two men, and with firm step and erect form walked to the spot with the sheriff, the jailer, and a few others. He was the first to step upon the scaffold, firmly and unfalteringly. He threw off his old felt hat gracefully, and ran his hand through his long gray hair, cast a glance around, and then, turning to the jailer, said, "Sir, I have no words to thank you for your kindness." This was John Brown's last farewell to the officer who had tried to make him comfortable while in his keeping—words he never forgot till his dying day! No clergyman attended John Brown in his last hours. He refused to allow a southern minister who taught that slavery was a divine institution, and no other was present. Through bitter hatred for him, men of Missouri, Kentucky and South Carolina sent rope with which to hang him.

The rope was adjusted, and the face of the doomed man covered with the death-cap, and he was instructed to step upon the trap. Captain Avis asked him, "are you tired?" to which Brown responded, "no, but don't keep me waiting any longer than is necessary." The sheriff asked him if he would hold a handkerchief in his hand to drop as a signal when he was ready, but Brown replied, "No, I don't want it, but don't detain me longer than is absolutely necessary." After much needless military movements about the scaffold, a hatchet cut the rope, and Brown swung into the open space left by the falling of the trap. Local and

army surgeons were present to note his heart beats, and to officially pronounce him dead. The body was taken to Harper's Ferry by military escort and delivered to his widow, who had been sitting in her bedroom at Charlestown, Virginia, while her husband was being executed. From Harper's Ferry the remains went to Philadelphia and on to New York and Albany, accompanied by the widow and Wendell Phillips. From the last place the remains were taken to North Elba, Essex county, New York, where they were buried in the old family burying place, in accordance with his expressed desire.

Scenes at John Brown's Home—As Mrs. Brown alighted from the carriage at her old home, she was greeted with a sharp, low cry of "Mother," and answered in the same tone of agony and tenderness, "Oh Annie!" and the mother and daughter embraced in love and sorrow. Then followed the same scene with the next daughter, Sarah; then with the daughter Ellen; and then the little five-year-old daughter was brought to the mother, and then another outburst of anguish and love ensued. Next came the daughter-in-law, Oliver Brown's widow, and Watson, the twenty-three year old son, when went up a wail before which flint itself would almost have softened.

The funeral soon followed, and John Brown, of Harper's Ferry fame, went down into American history along with Lovejoy, Garrison, Phillips, and the martyred Lincoln. Whatever may be said of his methods, his motives were of the purest type, and his personal character of the noblest and most self-sacrificing in all American history.

Besides John Brown were also executed, a little later, his comrades—Copeland, Green, Cook and Coppoc, and also Stephens and Hazlett. Although an effort was made by friends in Boston and of leading men from Kansas and Iowa to save these men, they were executed under the laws of the commonwealth of the Old Dominion State.

No sooner was it known that an insurrection had taken place than Virginia military organizations were ordered out, and those in Jefferson and Berkeley counties, both now within West Virginia, were the first to arrive on the scene. These were as follows:

The Jefferson Guards, of Charlestown, Jefferson county, Captain John H. Rowen, who had commanded a Jefferson county company in the war with Mexico twelve years before. This company was the first to arrive at Harper's Ferry, October 17, 1859, the morning after the insurgents took possession of the armory and arsenal buildings.

The Hamptramck Guards, formerly a Shepherdstown light infantry company, were on the ground early on the day following the occupancy of Harper's Ferry.

Berkeley County Company organized at Bunker Hill, Berkeley county, 1859, and the night after the insurrection, it was stationed at Bedington, in that county, awaiting orders to proceed to the scene of action.

The Berkeley County Rifles, Captain E. G. Alburtis, left Martinsburg early in the morning after the insurrection commenced, and arrived on the scene of action shortly after noon.

The Berkeley Rangers, of Berkeley county, an infantry company of Gerrardstown, Captain James W. Gray, hastened away to Harper's Ferry on the first alarm.

From the date of the insurrection, October 16, 1859, to the final execution of the last of the insurgent band, fully 1,700 Virginia troops were on duty at different times at Harper's Ferry and Charlestown; but the companies mentioned above, the first to arrive on the scene, were all from West Virginia.

Brown's Idea of Government—Among the personal effects of John Brown was a draft which was the basis for a government, which evi-

dently animated his men as well as himself. It was what he was pleased to term a "Provisional Constitution and Ordinance for the People of the United States," and had for its preamble and articles the following wording:

Whereas: Slavery throughout its entire existence in the United States is none other than the most barbarous, unprovoked and unjustifiable war of one portion of its citizens against another portion, the only conditions of which are perpetual imprisonment and helpless servitude or absolute extermination, in utter disregard and violation of those eternal and self-evident truths set forth in the Declaration of Independence;

Therefore, We, the citizens of the United States, and the oppressed people who by a recent decision of the Supreme Court (the Dred Scott case) are declared to have no rights which the white man is bound to respect, together with the other people degraded by the laws thereof, do for the time being ordain and establish for themselves the following Provisional Constitution and Ordinances, the better to protect our people, property, lives and liberties, and to govern our actions.

Then follow the various articles describing qualifications of membership; for legislative and judicial organization; for a military establishment; for the establishment of schools and the safe-guarding of religious organizations, etc.

CHAPTER XXI

THE RISING WAR CLOUD

At the general election in 1860, the Republicans had Lincoln and Hamlin as standard bearers; the northern wing of the Democratic party had Stephen A. Douglas for their presidential nominee; the Constitutional Union ticket was headed by Bell and Everett; the Southern Democracy had for their candidate, John C. Breckinridge. The result was 180 electoral votes for Lincoln and Hamlin; they had a popular vote of 1,866,352, being a majority of 491,195. Breckinridge received 845,763 votes, entitling him to 72 electoral votes. Bell and Everett had 39 electoral votes. Stephen A. Douglas polled 1,375,157 votes and had 12 electoral votes.

The census of 1850 showed the following to be the population in the counties now included in the territory of West Virginia:

	Total Pop.	Slaves		Total Pop.	Slaves
Barbour	9,005	113	Monongalia	12,387	176
Braxton	4,212	89	Nicholas	3,963	73
Brooke	5,054	31	Ohio	18,066	164
Doddridge	3,750	32	Pocahontas	3,598	267
Fayette	3,955	156	Preston	11,708	87
Gilmer	3,475	72	Putnam	5,338	632
Greenbrier	10,022	1,317	Randolph	5,243	201
Hancock	4,050	3	Ritchie	3,902	16
Harrison	11,728	488	Taylor	5,367	168
Jackson	6,544	53	Tyler	5,498	38
Kanawha	15,853	3,140	Wetzel	4,284	17
Lewis	10,131	368	Wirt	3,353	32
Marion	10,552	94	Wood	9,450	373
Marshall	10,138	49			
Mason	7,539	647	Total	206,735	8,896

According to the New York *World* of April, 1861, the following estimate was made of the population of Virginia just before the Federal census had been taken and made public: Virginia had 158 counties, with a white population of 1,047,579, and 491,456 slaves. In the 48 counties west of the Blue Ridge mountains there were 5,000 slaves. This was in about one-third of Virginia territory. During the decade from 1850 to 1860, slaves had decreased 1,185 in the western counties. The whites had increased during the same decade almost 80,000. The total increase in all Virginia had been only 152,742, fifty-eight per cent. of which was in the 48 counties to the west of the mountain range.

But the difference was not altogether this, between the two sections of the Old Dominion. The indifference and hostility to slavery as an institution was not all the motive for wanting to form a new state west of the mountains. The inequality of imposts levied upon the western section by the Richmond government and the higher rate of taxes came in for its share. Then the East exempted all slaves under twelve years of age from taxation. This one act caused one-eighth of the entire tax of the state to come upon the counties west of the mountains. Fully one-half of the building improvements of the commonwealth came out of the people of the western section. This had for years been the burden of contention between the eastern and western portions of Virginia.

In West Virginia, which in 1860 was still a part of the "Old Dominion," political sentiment and interest was at a high-keyed condition, as well as elsewhere in the country. In fact, it was probably more intense,

from the fact of its territory being on the border of the slave states, and the trouble the eastern and western portions of the commonwealth had been having over taxation, representation, etc., for a number of years prior to that date.

The numerous political parties of that memorable campaign each held rousing political mass-meetings at Wheeling and in almost all the larger cities in the State—especially in the western portion. Among the noted speakers who spoke in Wheeling were Tom Corwin and Breckinridge. Rousing meetings were kept up all over the state by the "Douglas Democrats." Hon. Waitman T. Willey, later United States Senator, of Morgantown, supported the Bell-Everett ticket.

What was known in that campaign from ocean to ocean was the organization of Republicans into clubs known as the "Wide Awakes," Their torchlight processions were perhaps as famous throughout the north and east as any other political organization of its character. The first of these companies in Virginia was formed at Wheeling in August, immediately after Mr. Lincoln's nomination. It consisted of seventy members at first, to which many were recruited later. They attended all public gatherings held in Virginia by the Republicans, and also went to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and made a part of a great parade for the "Rail Splitter," which words were inscribed on their banners.

Owing to its geographical location, Virginia was destined to become the seat of a great war, signs of which, as early as the autumn of 1859, at least, were to be seen by thinking men both north and south. On her soil were soon to be marshalled contending hosts, and the valleys and mountains were to be crimsoned with some of the best blood the nation afforded in both sections, each contending for what they thought to be right. Two great states were eventually to be where once the Old Dominion stood alone.

Virginia in 1860 was in the wildest state of confusion. Throughout the eastern portion, meetings were held at which enthusiastic thousands heard from eloquent lips the portraiture of Virginia's future destiny, when she should become the chief corner-stone of a newly formed Southern Confederacy. Her people had but recently witnessed the tragic scenes of John Brown's famous raid on Harper's Ferry, and no one could conjecture what the next move would be upon the part of the northern faction that did not believe in the slave system of the south. All felt sure, however, that a blow was soon to be struck at that institution, as a natural result of the sentiment in the North. Hence the people of Eastern Virginia nowhere saw safety except as allied with their neighboring sister states to the south, with whom they felt they must share a common destiny. This was the sentiment, largely in East Virginia, but vastly different did the people in the western portion of the commonwealth feel concerning secession, which they regarded as ruinous in effect, and they maintained that safety could only be found beneath the Stars and Stripes of the undivided Union of States. To this loyalty they pledged their sacred honor, their lives and their fortunes. Men of different political faith on all other questions met on one common ground when the question of secession was brought up, and bitterly opposed such a measure.

The first public meeting for the purpose of expressing opinion along these lines was held in Preston county (now a part of West Virginia), November 12, 1860—less than six months before Fort Sumter was fired upon. The feeling at this meeting was intense. Almost unanimous was the opinion of those assembled that to endorse secession was but treason on the part of an American. One of the resolutions there passed was: "That any attempt upon the part of the state to secede will meet with

the unqualified disapprobation of the people of this county." Twelve days later a similar mass-meeting was held in Harrison county, and declared "That the people will first exhaust all constitutional remedies for redress before they will resort to any violent means; that the ballot box is the only medium known to the constitution for a redress of grievances, and to it alone we will appeal; that it is the duty of all citizens to uphold and support the lawfully constituted authorities."

November 27, 1860, the citizens of Monongalia county assembled at Morgantown, headed by the loyal leaders of all the great political parties, and there resolved: "That the election of the candidates of the Republican party does not constitute or justify a reason for secession, and that the Union of the States is the best guarantee for the present and future welfare of the people."

December 3, that same year, the people of Tyler and Marion counties met at Wheeling and Point Pleasant, and passed similar resolutions. As a state, Virginia was slow to act in the matter. On the west and north was the Federal Union, and on the south lay those who had cast their fortunes with the Confederacy.

On December 14, 1860, was held a great mass meeting known as "A Union Meeting" in Wheeling, at the Atheneum. The call as published in *The Intelligencer,* shows the political sentiment at that date, just after the election of Mr. Lincoln. It said:

> "The call is made irrespective of party, by old and respected citizens, who have the good of the country at heart, and we hope to see a large attendance—that the meeting may be placed on the right basis, that party politics will be eschewed, that the tone of the meeting will be conciliatory in every respect, and that nothing will be done to impugn the motives or the spirit of any portion of our people. We believe there is a Union sentiment here amounting almost if not altogether to a unanimity, and nothing should be done to prevent the expression tonight. If ever there was a time for good feeling, compromise, and the ignoring of partisan feeling, it is now."

The meeting was addressed by Congressman Sherrard Clemens, who took strong grounds against secession. His audience was enthusiastic, and cheered long and loud. Resolutions were adopted declaring a warm attachment for the Constitution and the Union; "that it is the sacred duty of all men in public offices and all citizens in private life to support and defend the Constitution and the laws; that there are not in the past acts of the government of the United States any such acts of oppression or wrong as justify revolution, or attempt to overthrow the Constitution and dissolve this Union; that the general government generally has performed all duties well; that although some of the states have passed acts designed to obstruct or embarrass the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, they have in every instance been wholly disregarded by the judges and officers of the United States, and this law by them faithfully enforced; that it is the duty of all good citizens and lovers of our common country, to sink all party passion, prejudices and rivalries, to let by-gones be by-gones, and to give all their united energies and efforts to maintain and support our present Constitution and Union, and to effect such settlement or adjustment of all the matters heretofore preventing grounds for controversy by amendments of the Constitution or otherwise, as shall restore peace and harmony, and be sufficient to secure us a future from all continuance or renewal of the same controversies; and that "although we deplore the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency as calculated to impair the harmony of the Union, nevertheless, such a movement does not, in our judgment, justify secession, or a dissolution of our blessed and glorious Union."

On January 1st, 1861, there was held a large mass-meeting at Park-

ersburg—the greatest gathering ever held in the county. Speeches were made by General James J. Jackson, J. M. Stephenson, W. J. Boreman and others. The resolutions declared that "the doctrine of secession of a state has no warrant in the Constitution, and that such a doctrine would be fatal to the Union and all the purposes of its creation, and that in the judgment of this meeting secession is revolution; and, while we fully admit the doctrine and right of revolution for the great causes set forth in the Declaration of Independence, or for others of equal force, and while we are grieved to say that this government, especially several of the states and its citizens have been guilty of flagrant acts of injustice and in violation of the sacred rights of slaveholders, yet we cannot perceive that a state of facts yet exists to warrant the extreme resort of revolution; indeed, we are fully persuaded that all our grievances may be redressed under the Constitution. We therefore deprecate the course of South Carolina, and protest against any convention being called in Virginia to take into consideration federal relations, as in our judgment it would necessarily give countenance to her conduct."

Not much time was to be lost in determining which course to pursue. Governor Letcher called an extra session of the assembly, which body convened January 7, 1861, when began the stormiest session in all the state's history. One week later a bill was passed calling for a convention of the people, the delegates to be chosen in the manner prescribed for the election of members of the assembly. The body was to consist of one hundred and fifty-two members. This action on the part of the assembly was without precedent. Before, the people themselves had always called conventions, but now they were to be denied that right. However, the act provided that the action of the convention should be submitted to the people. January 21, 1861, the assembly declared, by joint resolution, that if all efforts failed to reconcile the difficulties existing between the two sections of the country, "it is the duty of Virginia to unite her destiny with the slaveholding states of the South."

Delegates were elected February 4, 1861, and on the morning of the 13th there was witnessed a scene in and around the old State House at Richmond that has gone into history as being one of the most memorable events. There convened jurists, wise men, experienced statesmen, not a few of whom had a national reputation and possessed great ability; these included such men as ex-President John Tyler; Henry A. Wise, ex-governor of the state; and many others of high standing in the councils of the nation. It was a time fraught with problems of great importance, and the people west of the mountains sent their best talent and wisest representatives over the Blue Ridge range to take part in the deliberations. The convention organized by electing John Janney, of Loudoun county, president, and John L. Eubank, of Richmond, secretary. A committee on federal relations was made up as follows: Robert Y. Conrad, A. H. H. Stewart, Henry A. Wise, Robert E. Scott, W. B. Preston, Lewis E. Harvie, Sherrard Clemens, W. H. McFarland, William McComas, R. L. Montague, Samuel Price, Valentine W. Southall, Waitman T. Willey, James C. Bruce, W. W. Boyd, James Barbour, S. C. Williams, Timothy Rives, Samuel McD. Moore, George Blow, Jr., John B. Baldwin, John J. Jackson, and Peter C. Johnson. Stewart and Clemens asked to be excused, and were dropped from the list.

The final result was seen almost from the beginning. On the second day of the convention, January 14, 1861, credentials of the Confederate commissioners—John S. Preston, of South Carolina, Henry L. Benning, of Georgia, and Fulton Anderson, from Mississippi—were received. Four days later, the two last named were heard in speeches of enthusiastic oratory and flourish, but with literary excellence, as they painted a pic-

ture pointing out the danger of Virginia remaining longer on the side of the north, and held up a view of a new government of a new nation of which Virginia should be the corner-stone, should she but pass an ordinance for secession. The next day the commissioner from South Carolina declared that the people of his state believed the Union unnatural, and that no human force, no sanctity of human touch, could ever compel them to again unite with the people of the North. No such Union would ever be effected unless "the economy of God was changed."

On January 20, 1861, a committee reported from all counties in Virginia, save sixteen, resulting in 52,875 in favor of submitting the action of the convention to the people. January 26, William L. Goggin, of Bedford county, made a speech in which he said that he denied the right of secession, but closed his remarks by adding that "if Virginia went, he went with her." On March 2, that year, John Goodie Jr., also of Bedford county, presented a resolution asserting that as the power delegated to the general government by Virginia had been perverted to her injury, therefore every consideration of duty, interest, honor and patriotism required that Virginia should declare her connection with the government to be dissolved. January 9th the committee on federal relations made a lengthy report in which it set forth that any state had a constitutional right to withdraw from the Union whenever the people of that state chose to do so. January 19th, the same committee reported a series of proposed amendments to the federal constitution, such as would be satisfactory to the people of the south. By these: Involuntary servitude, except for crime committed, was to be prohibited north of 36° 30′ latitude, but should not be prohibited by congress or any territorial legislature south of that line; the importation of slaves from places beyond the limits of the United States to be prohibited; the granting of the elective franchise and right to hold office by persons of the African race was forbidden.

On April 6th, Wood Bouldin, delegate from Charlotte, offered a substitute, declaring that the independence of the seceded States should be acknowledged without delay, but this was lost by a vote of 68 to 71. On January 9th, Henry A. Wise substituted a resolution to the effect that Virginia recognize the independence of the seceded states, which was adopted by a vote of 120 to 20. At length came the crisis. On January 17th the convention went into secret session. Wise addressed the body, and said that events were then transpiring which caused a hush to come over his soul. He spoke well, for then the blaze of fire was around Fort Sumter's walls; the state authorities were then preparing to seize the Federal navy-yard and property at Norfolk, and about two thousand state troops were collected in the Shenandoah Valley and doing the bidding of a mysterious power—were at that very moment attempting the seizure of the government's armory and arsenal at Harper's Ferry,—but the garrison destroyed most of the valuable property, fired the buildings, and fled to the Maryland shore.

At 1.30 p. m. on Wednesday, the vote was finally taken, and the Ordinance of Secession was passed by a vote of 88 to 55. Of the forty-six delegates from the territory now comprising West Virginia, twenty-nine were against it, nine for it, seven were absent and one was excused. Those who voted against it hastened to leave the city, and the same evening Chester D. Hubbard and Sherrard Clemens, of Ohio county; John Carlile, of Harrison county; Marshall M. Dent, of Monongalia county; John S. Burdett, of Taylor county; Campbell Tarr, of Brooke county; and George McC. Porter, took the first train north and were in Washington City the next morning. Had they remained in Richmond longer, they might have been detained indefinitely, for those who did remain were obliged to obtain passes from the governor. Among these were

Waitman T. Willey, W. G. Brown and James Burley. But for the fact so many had already left for their homes, likely all would have been held till the convention closed, and just what the effect would have been is not known.

On the passage of the Secession Ordinance, then was East Virginia wild with excitement and glee over the result. All night bonfires lighted up the heavens in and near Richmond and Petersburg, while cannon boomed in the towns and cities in the interior of that part of Virginia. The sounds finally died away in their faint echo, as they rolled back to the eastern base of the Blue Ridge. Enthusiasm reigned supreme from the mountains to the seaboard.

But different were the sights on the western side of the Alleghanies. There the multitudes stood with bated breath, trying to catch some word from Richmond and the final decision of the convention. But the only telegraph wire over the mountain range had been cut at Harper's Ferry, and no intelligence was to be had until the delegates should return. At Morgantown, Weston, Clarksburg and Wheeling, men stood looking each other in the face, only to see reflected back the same feelings which were locked silent within their own bosoms. But when the delegates did return, the same old jealousies that had been rankling in the bosoms of the east and west sides of Virginia, again came welling up.

After the election of 1860, the *Lynchburg Virginian,* one of the two leading newspapers of the State, had an editorial containing these words: "So long as the bones of Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Madison, and other illustrious compatriots who cemented this Union, mingle with its soil, Virginia will be true to her memories, she will never desert the Union, with its hallowed associations, until she shall have exhausted every effort of compromise. She knows full well that nations are not born in a day; that republics, when once broken up, are not early reconciled; and that, least of all, it is impossible, when the work of disintegration proceeds from internal dissensions, to cement again the jarring fragments. The sword, a despot, and a throne, are the appropriate symbols of what follows. The North will concede our rights, and the South will be pacified —there will be but two great parties in this country, a Union and a Disunion party, however else it may be named, and with the former Virginia will ally herself."

The following call was published in the *Wheeling Intelligencer* and copied generally over the western part of Virginia, in April, 1861—a week after the firing on of Fort Sumter:

"We are informed that there is a strong feeling and a movement on foot among many of the western Virginia counties urging a general convention in Wheeling at an early date in May, to look to such action as shall be necessary in view of the movements of Eastern Virginia and other parts of the south against the government. The object is a new organization, either as a state or a part of some other state, under the federal flag. We have been requested by several friends in some of the back counties to give this notice a prominent position in the columns of this paper, that the Union men may come in and take such action as they deem wisest. It is needless to add that we endorse and will encourage such a movement."

An editorial in the same paper, said:

"The events of the last few days have made it apparent to us that northwestern Virginia will never submit to be wrenched from under the flag of the federal government by the secession traitors at Richmond. Committees from the counties of Preston, Marshall, Monongalia, Marion, Tyler and Wetzel, have all reported, and ask for information as to the course to be taken by the Unionists in Wheeling and elsewhere. These letters all breathe out warm patriotism, and urge the organization of a provisional government. They say they will never submit to Jeff Davis & Co. We urge one and all that there be no excitement, but go ahead calmly but energetically, and all will be well in a short time in the north-

western section of our state. The traitors have no hold among us. They find that the rattlesnake is at a heavy discount here."

A Democratic Union convention was held at Wheeling on April 19, 1861, to nominate a candidate for congressman. The president was J. M. Bickel; J. W. Morrow and R. H. Sweeney secretaries. Forty-nine delegates were present; the counties represented were Monongalia, Hancock, Brooke and Ohio. Dr. Mackey made a stirring speech in favor of the Union, and denounced the secession move in bitter language. The first of the long set of resolutions adopted by this convention read as follows:

"*Resolved,* That although we were called together as Douglas Democrats, and consider, as we do and ever shall, that we are the only true Democrats as a national party, yet the troubles of these times admonish us that this is no time or place to make a senseless contest for an empty name, and that the nominee of this convention shall be known as the Union Democratic candidate, and that we will heartily and earnestly ask the co-operation of all true Union men in this district, to aid in the work we have undertaken.

"That we also acknowledge our allegiance to the state of Virginia, and are ready at all hazards to defend the rights and honor of the district, ever contending for Virginia maintaining a free and undivided position in the Union of States."

Union sentiment rapidly crystalized. At Wheeling a meeting was held at American Hall, filled to its capacity, when Chester D. Hubbard gave an account of the proceedings of the Richmond convention, and urged the organization of Union men into companies, so they might make more effective their work. He said, notwithstanding the next day was the Sabbath, a day he had from childhood's earliest years been in the habit of keeping sacred, yet under existing circumstances he deemed it right to go immediately to work. Accordingly, two companies were formed—one at the old American Hall and one at the old Hose House in the Fourth ward; officers were elected, and all sworn "to support the Constitution of the United States and the Old Flag." After much difficulty a Virginian was found who could administer such oath, in the person of A. S. Hollowell, and this was the first oath ever taken on Virginia soil from which the obligation to support the state constitution was omitted.

The *Wheeling Intelligencer* gave an account of the meeting and of the formation of the home companies. The mayor hastened to C. D. Hubbard "to see what they were going to do." Hubbard answered, "nothing, but to keep the peace of the city." That afternoon a mass meeting was held at the court house, where a resolution was offered urging the newly formed military companies to unite with the police force of the city, but the meeting closed without its passage. The next morning at a meeting the resolution was brought up again, but persistently opposed by the Union men, and a substitute was offered by Daniel Lamb to the effect "that we pledge ourselves to do all we can to procure peace and order of this city, and to protect the persons and property of all persons whomsoever, against lawlessness and mob violence." This resolution was passed.

Ten companies met at the Guards Hose House and effected a regimental organization by the election of the following officers: Chester D. Hubbard, colonel; Thomas H. Logan, lieutenant-colonel; Andrew Wilson and S. H. Woodward, majors; James H. Paxton, adjutant. The regiment thus formed had no arms or ammunition save what each member was able to furnish himself with, yet this organization held the city under control and made possible later usefulness. When the First West Virginia Regiment was formed for active service, two of these original companies—the "Rough and Ready Rifles," Captain A. H. Britt,

and the "Iron Guards," Captain E. W. Stephens, enlisted almost to a man. From the remainder a sufficient number was enrolled to form three companies in the regiment which marched to the field under Colonel B. F. Kelley.

While this had been transpiring at Wheeling, delegates Campbell Tarr, of Brooke, and John S. Carlile, of Harrison county, were each relating the scenes and acts of the Richmond convention to their fellow-citizens at Wellsburg and elsewhere. Both urged the necessity of immediate action for the Union, and opposition to secession, not only at the ballot-box, but, if need be, by force of arms. Arms they lacked, but a committee was appointed to go at once to the national capital and procure them. Such committee consisted of Messrs. Campbell Tarr, Adam Kuhn, Joseph Applegate and David Flemming. They immediately went on to Washington, stopping en route to call on Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, who gave them all possible encouragement, tendered his sympathy for them, and hoped with them that the loyal men of Western Virginia would not be forced out of the Union with the eastern part of the state. Hastening on to Washington, they were, through their personal friend Edwin M. Stanton, enabled to secure two thousand stand of arms. A portion of these arms finally were employed in equipping the First West Virginia Regiment.

It was not alone in and about Wheeling that the work of preparing for an invasion was going on in earnest. At Morgantown, on April 17th —the very day that the Ordinance of Secession was being passed by the convention at Richmond, a mass meeting was being held in anticipation of what was foreseen to be the result, and at this gathering among other words in way of resolution were these: "The time has come when every friend of the Union should rally to the support of the flag of his country and defend the same; that the people of Monongalia county, regardless of past party affiliations, hereby enter their solemn protest against secession in the state of Virginia; that we owe undying fidelity to the Federal Union, and that we will cling to it despite the efforts of traitors to precipitate us into the gulf of secession and consequent ruin; that the idea of being thus severed from this Union of our fathers and attached to a Southern Confederacy, is repulsive to every instinct and feeling of patriotism, and that we are unalterably opposed to such a measure; and further, that Western Virginia has patiently submitted to and borne up under the oppressive policy of Eastern Virginia for the last half century, and is shown in her denial to us of equal representation, and her refusal to bear an equal share of taxation; that now the measure of oppression is full, and if, as they claim, secession is the only remedy for all real or supposed wrongs, then the day is near at hand when the West will arise in the majesty of her strength, and, repudiating her oppressors, will dissolve all civil and political connection with the East, and remain firmly under the Stars and Stripes." Then followed a vote of thanks to delegates Willey and Marshall, then in Richmond attending the convention that was to take Virginia out of the Union. They were also instructed, in the event that Virginia went out, that they were to propose a division of the state. Thus it is seen that from the people of Monongalia county came the first real action toward the formation of a new state.

The Ordinance of Secession was adopted by the Virginia convention at Richmond, April 17, 1861. While it is generally understood that West Virginians were loyal when the war for the Union came on in 1861, it is well to preserve the following record, showing as it does who opposed and who favored disunion, when voting on the "Ordinance of Secession".

Those voting for the state of Virginia to go out of the Union and become a part of the so-called "Southern Confederacy" were: Allen T.

Caperton, John Echols, Napoleon B. French, James Lawson, Johnson Orick, Henry L. Gillispie, Cyrus Hall, Leonard S. Hall, John N. Hughes, Samuel Woods and Franklin P. Turner—11 in all.

Those voting against it were—Edward M. Armstrong, George W. Berlin, Caleb Boggess, William G. Brown, John S. Burdett, James Burley, Benjamin W. Byrne, John S. Carlile, Sherrard Clemens, C. B. Conrad, James H. Couch, Alpheus F. Haymond, Chester D. Hubbard, John J. Jackson, William McComas, James C. McGrew, Henry H. Masters, Logan Osburn, Spicer Patrick, Edmund Pendleton, George McC. Porter, Samuel Price, David Pugh, Marshall M. Dent, Ephraim B. Hall, Allen C. Hammond, James W. Hoge, Burwell Spurlock, Chapman J. Stuart, George W. Summers, Campbell Tarr and Waitman T. Willey—32 in all.

Those not voting were Thomas Maslin, Benjamin Wilson, Alfred M. Barbour and Paul McNeil—4 in all.

Those who voted in the negative and afterwards changed to the affirmative, were George W. Berlin and Alpheus F. Haymond.

Those who did not change from the negative to the affirmative, but afterwards signed the Ordinance of Secession, were Alfred M. Barbour and Paul McNeil.

At the Richmond Convention, April 19th, John S. Carlile left Richmond for his home in Harrison county, and the next day a meeting of West Virginia members was held in a room at the Powhatan Hotel (later Ford's) in Richmond, to determine upon a course of action. Those present were James Burley, Sherrard Clemens, Marshall M. Dent, Ephraim B. Hall, Chester D. Hubbard, John J. Jackson, James C. McGrew, Spicer Patrick, Chapman J. Stuart, Campbell Tarr, and possibly a few others. Neither Waitman T. Willey nor William G. Brown were present, they not having been notified of the hurried gathering. General Jackson acted as chairman. All resolved to leave the convention city the next morning for their homes, proceeding by way of Alexandria and Washington City, and this was done. George W. Summers, James W. Hoge, Caleb Boggess, James H. Couch, and others returned to their homes within the next few days, thus leaving the West Virginia membership in the convention greatly reduced.

On June 20, 1861, Alpheus F. Haymond, a delegate from Marion county, West Virginia, and chairman of the committee on elections and privileges, presented a "Report in relation to absent members" in which it was stated that this committee "had come to the following conclusions," to wit:

First, As to the members of the convention who were absent; Caleb Boggess, of Lewis county; Sherrard Clemens, of Ohio county; John Echols, of Monroe county; James W. Hoge, of Putnam county; Thomas Maslin, of Hardy county; Spicer Patrick, of Kanawha county; Edmund Pendleton, of Berkley county; Burwell Spurlock, of Wayne county; Franklin P. Turner, of Jackson county; and Benjamin Wilson, of Harrison county, who have not as yet attended the convention during its present session (the first adjourned session); some are in the field serving the state; some are detained on account of sickness; and others are absent from unknown causes to the committee. It has not been able to ascertain that any of these members are absent from their seats by reason of disloyalty to Virginia or sympathy with the enemy.

Secondly, As to certain other absent members: It appearing to the satisfaction of the committee that William G. Brown and James C. McGrew, of Preston county; James Burley, of Marshall county; John S. Burdett, of Taylor county; John S. Carlile, of Harrison county; Marshall M. Dent and Waitman T. Willey, of Monongalia county; Chester D. Hubbard, of Ohio county; George McC. Porter, of Hancock county; Chapman J. Stuart, of Doddridge county; Campbell Tarr, of Brooke county; and John J. Jackson, of Wood county, elected members of this convention, have been engaged in a conspiracy against the commonwealth of Virginia, and are now engaged in aiding and abetting the open enemies of Virginia; therefore, resolved, that the said members (above named)—William G. Brown,

John S. Burdett, John S. Carlile, Marshall M. Dent, Waitman T. Willey, Chester D. Hubbard, John J. Jackson, George McC. Porter, Chapman J. Stuart and Campbell Tarr, be and they are hereby expelled from this convention, and that their seats as members of this Convention be and are hereby declared vacant.

Thirdly, The committee further reports that James H. Couch, of Mason county, and George W. Summers, of Kanawha county, have resigned their seats; that elections to fill vacancies have been held, but official information has not been received as to who was elected.

On motion, the report was laid on the table, ordered printed, and the committee instructed to report the testimony on which the report was based. (Journal of Convention, vol. I, p. 257, and Doc. xxvii, vol. ii.) June 28th, the resolution in the above report came up for action. A division of the question was demanded and ordered. The next day the name of William G. Brown, of Preston county, was called, and he was expelled by a vote of 73 to 11. Then James Burley and John S. Burdett were expelled the same day, the vote standing 85 to one. Next came the name of John S. Carlile, who was expelled, the vote being 82 to one. Then the seats of Marshall M. Dent, Ephraim B. Hall, and Chester D. Hubbard were declared vacant. John J. Jackson was expelled at the same time, the vote standing 79 to six. The question was then severally put on the resolution so far as related to James C. McGrew, George McC. Porter, Chapman J. Stuart and Campbell Tarr, and they were expelled. Mr. Haymond, of Marion county, chairman of the committee, then moved that so much of the resolution as related to Waitman T. Willey be recommitted to the committee. This was on Saturday, June 29th, and on Monday, July 1st, the convention adjourned to meet again November 13 following. It reassembled at the time, this being the beginning of the second adjourned session. Three days later, November 16, the convention adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That Waitman T. Willey be and he is hereby expelled as a member of this body on account of his disloyalty to the Confederate States and his adherence to the enemies of the same. (Journal of Convention, vol. i, p. 326).

Meantime, John N. Hughes, delegate from Randolph county, had been killed in the Confederate army at the battle of Rich Mountain, June 11, 1861.

November 18, Mr. Haymond reported document 34, which provided for filling vacancies in the membership of the convention. During the recess between July 1 and November 13th, elections were held in the Confederate camps from the West Virginia counties in which there were vacancies, and the soldiers voted for successors to the members expelled. Six soldiers from Marion county voted at the courthouse in Richmond and elected a successor to Ephraim B. Hall. November 19 the convention adopted a Preamble and Resolution as follows:

Whereas, Vacancies have occurred in the representation of the counties of Ohio, Brooke, Marshall, Marion, Monongalia, Preston, Taylor, Harrison and Wood, by the expulsion of the late delegates from said counties; and in the Randolph-Tucker delegate district by the death of John N. Hughes killed in the battle of Rich Mountain; and

Whereas, The vacancies could not be filled in the mode prescribed by law, in consequence of the occupation of said counties by the public enemy; and

Whereas, The Governor, in order to provide for the exigency, issued a proclamation (advisory in its character) inviting the loyal citizens of those counties to vote in their respective camps for delegates to fill these vacancies, under said proclamation elections were accordingly held in several camps, at which elections Joseph H. Pendleton was chosen as the successor of Chester D. Hubbard, of Ohio county; Joseph D. Pickett, to succeed Campbell Tarr, of Brooke county; Jefferson T. Martin to succeed James Burley, of Marshall county; Stephen A. Morgan as the successor of Ephraim B. Hall, of Marion county; Jonathan M. Heck

to succeed Marshall M. Dent, of Monongalia county; Robert E. Cowan and C. J. C. Cresap to succeed William G. Brown and James C. McGrew, respectively, of Preston county; John A. Robinson to succeed John S. Burdett, of Taylor county; William P. Cooper to succeed Edward D. McGuire, as the successor of John J. Jackson, of Wood county; and Jacob W. Marshall to succeed John N. Hughes of the Randolph-Tucker delegate district.

These elections were ratified by the convention by a vote of 79 to 20, on November 29, 1861.

November 22, that year, the committee on elections was instructed to inquire into the absence of Sherrard Clemens, a delegate from Ohio county; Benjamin Wilson, from Harrison county; and Caleb Boggess, from Lewis county and report to the convention whether such absence was due to disloyalty to the state or the Confederate States, and if so whether they should not be expelled. (Journal of Convention, vol. i, p. 354). November 29th the committee submitted a report stating that its members were satisfied that Sherrard Clemens and Caleb Boggess were absent from the convention by reason of disloyalty to the commonwealth of Virginia and the Confederate States, and should be therefore expelled from the convention; and the committee had no evidence of the disloyalty of Benjamin Wilson nor to explain his absence. This was laid on the table. On December 4th, Franklin P. Turner, of Jackson county, endeavored to secure action on this report, but was unable to do so. Two days later it was again called up, but action postponed. It was the last day of the convention, and the matter was never more heard of.

Mass meetings in opposition to Secession were held in Taylor, Wood, Mason and Jackson counties, each independent, one of the other. But it yet remained for a call from Clarksburg, (the birthplace of "Stonewall" Jackson) to bring together in a great meeting April 22, 1861, about twelve hundred men of Harrison county, who met in response to a call only forty-eight hours before. John Hursey was president, and J. W. Harris, secretary. This was, indeed, an enthusiastic gathering of men fired with the true spirit of patriotism. The subjoined preamble and resolutions were adopted without a single dissenting voice:

Whereas, the Convention now in session in this state, called by the legislature, the members of which had been elected twenty months before said call, at a time when no such action as the assemblage of a convention by legislative enactment was contemplated by the people, or expected by the members they elected in May, 1859, at which no one anticipated the troubles recently brought upon our common country by the extraordinary action of the state authorities of South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, has, contrary to the expectation of a large majority of the people of the state, adopted an ordinance withdrawing from the Federal Union; and whereas, by the law calling said convention it is expressly declared that no such ordinance shall have force or effect or be of binding obligation upon the people of this state until the same shall be ratified by the voters at the polls; and whereas, we have seen with regret that demonstrations of hostility unauthorized by law and inconsistent with the duty of lawabiding citizens still owing allegiance to the Federal Government, have been made by a portion of the people of this state against the said government; and whereas, the governor of the commonwealth, through his proclamation, has undertaken to decide for the people of Virginia that which they had reserved to themselves—the right to decide by their votes at the polls—and has called upon the volunteer soldiery of this state to report to him and hold themselves in readiness to make war upon the Federal government, which government is Virginia's government, and must in law and right continue to be until the people of Virginia shall by their votes and through the ballot box, that great conservator of a free people's liberties, decide otherwise. And whereas, the peculiar situation of Northwestern Virginia, separated as it is by natural barriers from the rest of the state, precludes all hope of timely succor in the hour of danger from the other portions of the state, and demands that we should look to and provide for our own safety in the fearful emergency in which we now find ourselves placed by the action of the state authorities who have disregarded the great and fundamental principles upon which our beautiful system of government is based, to wit: "that all governmental power is derived from the consent of the governed," and have,

without consulting the people, placed the state in hostility to the Federal Government by seizing upon her ships and obstructing the channel at the mouth of Elizabeth river, by wresting from the Federal officers at Norfolk and Richmond the custom-houses, by tearing from the nation's property the nation's flag and putting in its place a piece of bunting with the emblems of rebellion, and by marching upon the nation's armory at Harper's Ferry, thus inaugurating a war without consulting those in whose name they profess to act. And whereas, the exposed condition of Northwestern Virginia requires that her people should be united in action and harmonious in purpose—there being perfect identity of interests in times of war as well as in peace—therefore, be it

Resolved: That it is hereby recommended to the people in each and all counties comprising Northwestern Virginia, to appoint delegates, not less than five in number, of their wisest, best and discreetest men, to meet in convention at Wheeling, on the 13th day of May next, to consult and determine upon such action as the people of Northwestern Virginia should take in this fearful emergency.

Resolved: That Hon. John S. Carlile, W. P. Goff, Hon. Charles S. Lewis, John J. Davis, Thomas L. Moore, S. S. Fleming, Lot Bowen, Dr. William Dunkin, William E. Lyon, Felix Sturm and James Lynch, be and hereby are appointed delegates to represent this county in said convention.

On April 22d, the people of Wetzel county assembled in a mass meeting and by resolution said, in substance:

"That secession is no remedy for the evils which now afflict the country, and we pledge ourselves to oppose any act of secession which will sever us from the federal government, and if the convention by an Ordinance of Secession, attempts to force us into a connection with the Gulf states, then as citizens of Western Virginia we will deem it our duty to ourselves and posterity to adopt such measures as will result in a division of the state."

The above action by the people of Clarksburg and Wetzel county is indicative of conditions throughout Western Virginia generally. The majority of the people in the north and west portion of the old state were loyal to the Union, while some of the officials and professional politicians were favoring secession and uniting their fortunes with the more southern states. Political parties were instantly dissolved; families were divided one against another; friends of a lifetime and kindly neighbors became enemies. Many merchants had posted in their places of business cards prohibiting the discussion of politics. It was a move back to nature, when it was every man for himself.

History does not record an incident so thoroughly exhibiting the capacity of the American people for self-government in the midst of dangers and civic commotion, when utterly cut off from all governmental control by legal authorities at the state capital at Richmond, abandoned by the circuit judges, thrown upon their own resources, and compelled to take matters into their own hands for the protection of person and property. It was their firm resolve that under no circumstances would they abandon the flag of their fathers. In the midst of this confusion, local and county justices held court as usual and performed their official duties in a manful manner.

For example, take it in Harrison county, which was but a fair illustration of the sentiment in what is now West Virginia, and especially in and about Clarksburg. Prior to the Richmond convention of February, 1861, there was held at Clarksburg a convention for the selection of delegates to Richmond, and this was presided over by Charles Lewis, with Dr. David Davisson as secretary. After resolving to adhere to the Union, "Weal or Woe," they adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved: That we will support no man as a delegate to the convention to be held at Richmond who will not unequivocally oppose secession and will so pledge himself.

Resolved: That we will support no man who will not pledge himself to oppose and vote against the appointment of persons to represent this state in any conven-

tion having for its object the establishment of a provisional or other government, or of persons to any body convened for the purpose of forming a Southern Confederacy or government.

Resolved: That we will support no man who will not pledge himself to vote against any ordinance, resolution or motion that has for its object the withdrawal of the State from the Federal Union.

Resolved: That we will support no man who will not pledge himself to vote against any resolution to be laid down as an ultimatum and the refusal of which by the other states is to be considered just cause for seceding from the Union.

Resolved: That we will support no man who believes that this convention to be held at Richmond, or other State authority, can absolve the citizens of this state from their allegiance to the general government; and that we will support no man who does not believe that the federal government has the right to self-preservation.

Resolved: That we will support no man who will not oppose all deliberations and discussions by the members of said convention in secret sessions.

The convention met, a majority of its members being in favor of the Union, but the firing on Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call for 75,000 men, precipitated matters and on April 17, in secret session an ordinance of secession was passed and the members from west of the mountains went home, in disappointment and great despondency.

History should be fair and impartial, hence let the sentiment held by "the other side" be mentioned in this connection. No better method can be employed than to reproduce some of the circulars posted here and there over the western part of Virginia, especially in the vicinity of Clarksburg, by those who saw "States' Rights" in a different light, and were bold and outspoken in their utterances against the north and its supposed political policies. One read as follows:

To the "Southern Rights Men" of Harrison County.—War is upon us! A most fearful, terrible and devastating war has been inaugurated by the present administration; it has been forced upon the people of the south, and the proclamation of Lincoln calling for 75,000 troops to carry out the infamous behests of the north to murder the citizens of our sister states, is published in our midst, and Virginia is called upon to furnish her quota of men and means for the slaughter of those who know their rights and dare maintain them. Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, Florida, and Louisiana, and after them Virginia and the other southern states, are to be trampled under the iron heel of Black Republicans. The battle-cry and shout of an insolent and vindictive northern fanatic who claims by the votes of your enemies to be your masters, is now heard; he is now arranging a civil war and inciting blood and rapine at the hands of the slaves; is now calling for you to aid in coercion to carry fire and sword into the homes of those whom you are endeared to by every tie of consanguinity of interests and affection.

Freemen of Harrison county! Will you stand by and permit this war to be waged without interfering? You are bound to assume a position; the fanatical north calls for you; the outraged, injured and innocent people of the south call upon you; the honor, the independent States' Rights men of Virginia call upon you, and you this day have to decide which voice you will obey. The Union is dissolved; it *cannot* be cemented again and made a Union by the spilling of blood. The independence of the southern seceded states should at once be acknowledged; civil war and destruction should not wrap this land in flames, and strife should not be forced upon us.

Freemen of Harrison County! The dark and bloody drama which Abraham Lincoln is desiring to open up before the country, the people of Virginia by prompt action may avert; we invite you to meet with us in solemn assembly; let every man come to Clarksburg on April 26th to take council together and take such action as the circumstances then surrounding us may require.

We do not propose you go to war, but we want the great heart of the people to beat audibly, as we know it does silently, responsive to our southern sisters in the perilous hour of their sad calamity. We are opposed to coercion—we despise the necessity of revolution, we therefore invite you to meet with us and say that no hostile force whose aim shall be to the deprivation of the south, shall pollute the soil of Virginia with impunity. *Come one, come all!* We may under the providence of the God of armies make such a start that others may follow, or at least wipe out the stain and stigma of having been looked upon as coercionists and the minions of the bloody crew who are preparing to destroy our homes, and more than all else our liberties.

Pursuant to the above call, on April 26, 1861, a meeting was held at the courthouse at Clarksburg of those favorable to the state seceding from the Union, ex-Governor Joseph Johnson being chairmen. The preamble complained of the hostilities of the northern states towards the south and denounced in severe language the election of Abraham Lincoln as a sectional candidate, and as one who had no other claim to public notice, than his opposition to the southern states and his invention of the doctrine of an "irrepressible conflict" between the people of the north and those of the South. This meeting adopted a long series of resolutions, including these:

Resolved: That we thoroughly approve of the principles and action of the General Assembly that convened, and the convention and the governor as hereinafter set forth. We reprobate and detest the baneful principles and atrocious action of the despot at Washington who now exercises the power of a military emperor, and we solemnly pledge ourselves in this hour of trial and peril, by our countenance, our suffrages and our persons, devoted to the service to sustain our cherished state of Virginia in her determination to resist the concentration of despotism that threatens the free government and enlightened institutions of the southern states.

That we regard it our duty and we earnestly recommend that all loyal citizens of the commonwealth shall at once in the manner prescribed by the laws of the land, organize themselves into companies, procure arms, and prepare themselves and stand ready to fight the battles of Virginia against her hostile foes.

Resolved: That while we utterly condemn the preparation to divide the state, and in our utmost souls we loathe and abhor the diabolical manner in which it is proposed to effect it and the degradation connected therewith sought to be formed with a hostile state, and we would solemnly warn and fervently implore our fellow citizens to inform themselves on this and other subjects of importance and not allow themselves to be seduced by wicked and reckless men to their own infamy, the degradation of their families and destruction of their country.

In this connection may well be given a copy of a circular issued by the Union men of Clarksburg, calling a meeting for May 3, 1861:

Men and Countrymen: The convention at Richmond has betrayed the trust reposed by us in it. It has usurped our rights and transferred our citizens to the Southern Confederacy without our knowledge or consent, depriving us of the right to vote thereon. It has appointed members to the Montgomery Congress for the purpose of subjugating us entirely to a military despotism; men holding the cannon and bayonet are to be our masters. If we wish to preserve our liberty, let us assemble at Clarksburg on Friday, May 3rd, to deliberate upon our dearest interests.

Pursuant to the above call a large mass-meeting was held at the court house on the day appointed, which assembly was addressed by Francis H. Pierpont, and by resolution denounced the acts of the Richmond convention in adopting the constitution of the Southern Confederacy as "unauthorized, tyrannical, and done without the consent of the people of Virginia; that they were for the integrity of the Federal Union in all of its parts, and would stand by the Stars and Stripes as the flag of their country; that Western Virginia had patiently submitted to the oppression of East Virginia for half a century; that if secession is the only remedy offered by her for all our wrongs, the day is not far distant when West Virginia will rise in her strength and patriotism, repudiate her oppressors, and remain loyal under the flag the emblem of our national greatness."

SECESSION AND ITS RESULTS

The election of May 23, 1861, resulted in the ratification of the Ordinance of Secession by Virginia, as a whole. The counties now composing West Virginia cast 44,000 votes, of which 40,000 were for rejecting the Richmond Ordinance.

The Convention of Unionists met June 11, 1861. Arthur I. Boreman, of Wood county, was chosen permanent president of the convention and G. L. Cranmer, secretary. After two days' deliberation, the following declaration was adopted:

A DECLARATION OF THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA REPRESENTED IN CONVENTION AT THE CITY OF WHEELING, THURSDAY, JUNE 13, 1861.

The true purpose of all government is to promote the welfare and provide for the protection and security of the governed, and when any form or organization of government proves inadequate for, or subversive of this purpose, it is the right, it is the duty, of the latter to abolish it. The Bill of Rights of Virginia, framed in 1776, reaffirmed in 1830, and again in 1851, expressly reserves this right to a majority of her people. The act of the General Assembly calling the convention which assembled in Richmond in February last, without the previously expressed consent of such majority, was, therefore, a usurpation; and the convention thus called has not only abused the powers nominally intrusted to it, but, with the connivance and active aid of the executive, has usurped and exercised other powers, to the manifest injury of the people, which, if permitted, will inevitably subject them to a military despotism.

The convention, by its pretended ordinances, has required the people of Virginia to separate from and wage war against the government of the United States, with whom they have hitherto maintained friendly, social and business relations.

It has attempted to subvert the Union founded by Washington and his co-patriots in the purer days of the Republic, which has conferred unexampled prosperity upon every class of citizens and upon every section of the country.

It has attempted to transfer the allegiance of the people to an illegal confederacy of rebellious states, and required their submission to its pretended edicts and decrees.

It has attempted to place the whole military force and military operations of the commonwealth under the control and direction of such confederacy for offensive as well as defensive purposes.

It has, in conjunction with the state's executive, instituted wherever their usurped power extends a reign of terror intended to suppress the free expression of the will of the people, making elections a mockery and a fraud.

The same combination, even before the passage of the pretended Ordinance of Secession, instituted war by the seizure and appropriation of the property of the Federal Government, and by organizing and mobilizing armies, with the avowed purpose of capturing or destroying the capitol of the Union.

They have attempted to bring the allegiance of the people of the United States into direct conflict with their subordinate allegiance to the state, thereby making obedience to their pretended ordinances treason against the former.

We, therefore, the delegates here assembled in convention to devise such measures and take such action as the safety and welfare of the loyal citizens of Virginia may demand, have naturally considered the premises, and, viewing with great concern the deplorable condition to which this once happy commonwealth must be reduced unless some regular adequate measure is speedily adopted, and appealing to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe for the rectitude of pure intentions, do hereby, in the name and on behalf of the good people of Virginia, solemnly declare that the preservation of their dearest rights and liberties, and their security in person and property, imperatively demand the reorganization of the government of the commonwealth, and that all acts of said convention and executive, tending to separate this commonwealth from the United States, or to levy and carry on war against them, are without authority and void; and that the offices of all those who adhere to the said convention and executive or judicial are vacated.

On the 19th, the convention took up the work of reorganizing, or rather restoring, the government of Virginia, and it was during that day that a committee reported the subjoined Ordinance, which was adopted five days later, without a dissenting voice:

ORDINANCE FOR RESTORATION OF THE STATE GOVERNMENT

The people of Virginia, by their delegates assembled in convention at Wheeling, do ordain as follows:

1. A governor, lieutenant-governor and attorney-general for the state of Virginia shall be appointed by this convention to discharge the duties and exercise the powers which pertain to their respective offices by the existing laws of the state, and to continue in office for six months, or until their elected and qualified

successors be elected, and the General Assembly is required to provide by law for an election of governor and lieutenant-governor by the people as soon as in their judgment such election can be properly held.

2. A council to consist of five members shall be appointed by this convention to consult with and advise the governor respecting such matters pertaining to his official duties as he shall submit for their consideration, and to aid in the execution of his official orders. This term of office shall expire at the same time as that of governor.

3. The delegates elected to the General Assembly on the 23d day of May last, and the senators entitled under existing laws to seats in the next General Assembly, together with such delegates and senators as may be elected under the ordinance of this convention, or existing laws, to fill vacancies, who shall qualify themselves by taking the oath or affirmation hereinafter set forth, shall constitute the legislature of the state, to discharge the duties and exercise the powers pertaining to the General Assembly. They shall hold their offices from the passage of this ordinance until the end of the term for which they were respectively elected. They shall assemble in the city of Wheeling on the 1st day of July next and proceed to organize themselves as prescribed by existing laws, in their respective branches. A majority in each branch of the members qualified as aforesaid, shall constitute a quorum to do business. A majority of the members of each branch, thus qualified, voting affirmatively, shall be competent to pass any act specified in the twenty-seventh section of the fourth article of the state constitution.

4. The governor, lieutenant-governor, attorney-general, members of the legislature, and all officers now in the service of the state, or of any county, city or town thereof, or hereafter to be elected or appointed for such service, including the judges and clerks of the several courts, sheriffs and commissioners of the revenue, justices of the peace, officers of the city and municipal corporations and officers of the militia, and officers and privates of volunteer companies of the state not mustered into the service of the United States, shall take the following oath or affirmation before proceeding to the discharge of their several duties:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the constitution of the United States and the laws made in pursuance thereof, as the supreme law of the land, anything in the constitution and laws of Virginia, or the ordinances of the convention assembled at Richmond on the thirteenth day of February, eighteen hundred and sixty-one, to the contrary notwithstanding; and that I will uphold and defend the government of Virginia as vindicated and restored by the convention which assembled at Wheeling on the eleventh day of June, eighteen hundred and sixty-one."

5. If any elective officer, who is required by the preceding section to take such oath or affirmation, fail or refuse to do so, it shall be the duty of the governor, upon satisfactory evidence of that fact, to issue his writ declaring the office to be vacant, and providing for a special election to fill such vacancy at some convenient and early day to be designated in said writ; of which due publication shall be made for the information of the persons entitled to vote at such election and such writ may be directed, at the discretion of the governor to the sheriffs of the proper county, or counties, or to a special commissioner to be named by the governor for the purpose. If the officer who fails to or refuses to take such oath or affirmation be appointed by the governor, he shall fill the vacancy without writ, but if such officer to be appointed otherwise than by the governor, or by election, the writ shall be issued by the governor directed to the appointing power, requiring it to fill the vacancy.

ARTHUR I. BOREMAN, President.

G. L. CRANMER, Secretary.

The next day's proceedings—those of June 20, 1861—of the convention, was connected with the election of officers for the restored Virginia government. Francis H. Pierpont, of Marion county, was unanimously elected governor; Daniel Polsley, of Mason, lieutenant-governer, and James S. Wheat, of Ohio county, attorney-general. The following were appointed members of the governor's council, as provided in the ordinance: Peter C. Van Winkle of Wood; Daniel Lamb, of Ohio; William Lazier, of Monongalia; William A. Harrison, of Harrison, and J. T. Paxton, of Ohio county. James S. Wheat discharged the duties of adjutant general for a month, when H. J. Samuels, of Cabell county, was appointed and held that office until the formation of the new state. Another ordinance provided for the election, as soon as expedient, of an auditor of public accounts, a treasurer, and a secretary of the commonwealth.

Concerning the formation of a new state from out the counties west

of the mountains, the convention had not taken definite action, but had left the way clear for such a change, as will be seen by page 63 of the First West Virginia Reports, which reads as follows:

> Having recognized the government as reorganized (or restored), and elected a chief executive officer, and provided for the election of all other officers, civil and military, the labors of the convention were evidently drawing to a close. Nothing had been done that appeared to directly inaugurate the popular movement for the formation of a new state. In reality, however, the true theory had been adopted, and the only legitimate mode of arriving at the most desirable result had been conceived and acted upon by the convention. If the government thus restored, was acknowledged by the Federal authorities as the only government of Virginia, then the legislative branch of it could give its assent to the formation of a new state, as provided for by the constitution of the United States. Leaving the great question to be adjusted at a subsequent day, the convention adjourned on the 20th of June, to meet on the first Tuesday in August.

As provided in the ordinance passed June 19, 1861, the new General Assembly convened July 1st of that year, the members being made up of the men elected at the general election held May 23d that year. It convened at Wheeling, and held its session in the Custom House, where the officers of the restored state had been holding their offices. On first roll call thirty-one members responded. A speaker and clerk were chosen after which the governor's message was read. In that document he reviewed at length the action of the Richmond convention, the history of which movements led to the reorganization of the state government and his own election. He also informed the House that he had been in correspondence with President Lincoln, and informed him of the circumstances surrounding the loyal government of Virginia, and through the Secretary of War had received from the President assurances that all constitutional aid would be promptly rendered. The attention of the Assembly was called to the fact that President Lincoln had declared vacant the seats of all representatives from Virginia in the Congress of the United States by reason of their participation in the effort to overthrow the Federal government, and he recommended that the Assembly at once proceed to fill such vacancies by the election of members who should apply for seats in the National Congress as representatives of Virginia under the restored government.

An election was held in the General Assembly on July 9, 1861, in joint session, and elected Harrison Hagans, of Preston county, secretary of the commonwealth; Samuel Crane, of Randolph, auditor of public accounts; Campbell Tarr, of Brooke, treasurer. Next came the election of United States senators, which resulted in the election of John S. Carlile, of Harrison and W. T. Willey, of Monongalia county; these were to succeed Senators R. M. T. Hunter and James M. Mason, who had resigned their seats in that body. The newly elected senators, together with Representatives William G. Brown, Jacob B. Blair and Kellian V. Willey, from the three congressional districts west of the mountains in Virginia, who had been elected at the same time the members of the General Assembly were chosen, at once made haste to go forward to Washington, where they were admitted to seats in the respective branches of Congress from Virginia.

August 6, 1861, the convention reassembled at Wheeling, and on the 9th it adopted an ordinance declaring the proceedings of the Richmond convention of February, that year, illegal and void. The convention then went on with the important work for which they had really assembled that of forming a new state. On August 20th they adopted a resolution reciting that "it is represented to be the desire of the people inhabiting the counties hereinafter mentioned to be separated from the common-

wealth and to be erected into a separate state and admitted into the Union of States, and become a member of the United States;" and ordering that a new state to be called KANAWHA be formed and erected out of certain West Virginia territory, including the counties of: Logan, Wyoming, Raleigh, Fayette, Nicholas, Webster, Randolph, Tucker, Preston, Monongalia, Marion, Taylor, Barbour, Upshur, Harrison, Lewis, Braxton, Clay, Kanawha, Boone, Wayne, Cabell, Putnam, Mason, Jackson, Roane, Calhoun, Wirt, Gilmer, Ritchie, Wood, Pleasants, Tyler, Doddridge, Wetzel, Marshall, Ohio, Brooke and Hancock. It was also provided that these boundaries might be changed to include the counties of Greenbrier, Pocahontas, also the counties of Hampshire, Hardy, Morgan, Berkeley and Jefferson, providing any one or all of them by a majority vote should declare their wish to form part of the new state. It was further specified that an election should be held at the several voting places in the counties included in the above boundaries, on the fourth Thursday of the ensuing October, for the purpose of determining the sense of the people concerning the question of formation of the new state.

A separate poll was to be taken at the same time for the election of delegates whose duty it should be, in case the majority was in favor of a new state, to assemble at Wheeling on November 26, 1861, for the purpose of framing a constitution for the same. The election returns were to be made to the secretary of the commonwealth at Wheeling, when the governor, having ascertained the result to be in favor of the new state, was to make proclamation of the same, not later than November 15, and at the same time issue a call for delegates to convene for the purpose of forming a state constitution. This work all having been completed, the body adjourned August 21, 1861.

It may be added, in passing, that no other commonwealth in the entire Union of states in this republic presents so unique and striking position as the two state governments found trying to operate in the Eastern and Western portions of Virginia in the years 1861-62. The seat of one government was at Richmond, and that government was under control and in full sympathy with the Confederate States of America; while the government on the west side of the mountains, with headquarters at Wheeling, was operating in conjunction with and was ever loyal to the Federal government at Washington. Then there was that other element between the Alleghenies and the Ohio river who had for long years wanted to become independent of the eastern portion of Virginia.

At the election the result was 18,408 votes for new statehood, against 781 for not dividing the state. Delegates were then elected to the constitutional convention; all counties within what is now included in West Virginia were represented except Monroe, Webster, Berkeley, Jefferson, Greenbrier, Pocahontas and Calhoun.

It will be well to here record the names of the delegates who attended the second Wheeling convention, the deliberations of which body will ever be referred to by the people of the state as of much historic importance, and children's children will delight in telling of the ancestor of theirs, who had to do with this convention.

The convention was held in old Washington Hall, and the delegates were both elected, and others held seats, by reason of having been elected as members of the Virginia legislature before the opening of the Civil War, and who lived and represented that portion of the state lying to the west of the mountain range. The members were:

Barbour county—N. H. Taft, assemblyman; John H. Shuttleworth, Spencer Dayton.

Brooke county—Joseph Gist, senator; H. W. Crothers, assemblyman; John D. Nicholls, Campbell Tarr.

Cabell county—Albert Laidley, assemblyman.

Monongalia county—Leroy Kramer, Joseph Snyder, assemblymen; Ralph L. Berkshire, William Price, James Evans, D. B. Dorsey.

Ohio county—Thomas H. Logan, Andrew Wilson, assemblymen; Daniel Lamb, James W. Paxton, George Harrison and Chester D. Hubbard.

Pleasants and Ritchie counties—James W. Williamson, assemblyman; C. W. Smith, William Douglas.

Preston county—Charles Hooton, William B. Zinn, assemblymen; William B. Crane, John Howard, Harrison Hagans, J. J. Brown.

Randolph and Tucker counties—Solomon Parsons, Samuel Crane.

Roane county—T. A. Roberts.

Taylor county—Lemuel E. Davidson, assemblyman; John S. Burdett, Samuel B. Todd.

Upshur county—D. D. T. Farnsworth, assemblyman; John D. Smith, John Lane.

Wayne county—William Radcliffe, assemblyman; W. W. Brumfield, William Copley.

Wetzel county—James G. West, assemblyman; Reuben Martin, James P. Ferrell.

Wirt county—James A. Williamson, assemblyman; Henry Newman, E. T. Graham.

Wood county—J. W. Moss, assemblyman; Arthur I. Boreman, Peter C. Van Winkle.

Alexandria county—Henry S. Martin, James T. Close.

Fairfax county—John Hawxhurst, Eben E. Mason.

Hardy county—John Michael.

Hampshire county—James Carskadon, senator; Owen D. Downing, George W. Broski, James H. Trout, James J. Barracks.

Doddridge and Tyler counties—William I. Boreman, assemblyman; Daniel D. Johnson, James A. Folley.

Gilmer county—Henry H. Withers.

Hancock county—George C. McPorter, assemblyman; John J. Atkinson, William L. Crawford.

Harrison county—Chapman J. Stuart, senator; John J. Davis, John C. Vance, assemblymen; John S. Carlile, Solomon S. Fleming, Lot Bowen, Benjamin S. Shuttleworth.

Jackson county—Daniel Frost, assemblyman; James F. Scott, Andrew Flesher.

Kanawha county—Lewis Ruffner, assemblyman; Greenbury Slack.

Lewis county—P. M. Hale, J. A. Lightburn.

Marion county—Richard Fast, Fontain Smith, assemblymen; Francis A. Pierpont, John S. Barnes, A. F. Ritchie, James O. Watson.

Marshall county—Remembrance Swan, assemblyman; C. H. Caldwell, Robert Morris.

Mason county—Lewis Wetzel, assemblyman; Charles B. Waggener, Daniel Polsley.

CHAPTER XXII

THE CIVIL WAR IN WEST VIRGINIA

When the Civil War broke out, that portion of Virginia now within the limits of West Virginia, in common with the bordering states, was a scene of wild excitement and great confusion. Men and parties were taking sides either for the Union or for the Confederacy of the Southern States of America. In each case, men were loyal and true to their own convictions of the rights they sought to maintain, under the state or the United States constitution as they interpreted it. But this brought county against county, neighbor against neighbor, family against family, and in some cases, brothers who had been rocked in the same cradle in infancy, were seen taking up arms one against another in battle fierce and deadly. Thousands of men enlisted under the Stars and Stripes, while hundreds found their way over the rugged sides of the Blue Ridge mountains, where they enlisted under the flag of the Confederate States of America under "Stonewall" Jackson, or some other daring Southern leader. The one fought for the rights of the United States, while the other took up arms in defense of "State's Rights," especially for their own native state, for which they bravely drew their sword and freely shed their life's blood.

Destruction of Harper's Ferry—April 24, 1861, Lieutenant Jones, U. S. A., fired the factories and blew up the government arsenal at 10 o'clock at night and made his escape with his men. The post was in immediate danger, and he was directed to be prepared for any emergency. He learned an attack was to be made that night by the Confederate forces, then known to be en route from Winchester and other points. The garrison consisted of forty-eight or fifty men under Lieutenant Jones. They at once commenced the planning for the destruction of the place, by order of the government at Washington. With their own swords they cut kindling with which to fire the buildings. They emptied their bed mattresses and filled them with powder and then carried them into the arsenal, so that no suspicion was aroused among the residents of the town. Fifteen thousand stand of arms were then placed in the best possible position to be destroyed by an explosion. Splints of boards and straw were thrown up in different parts of the shops, so all could be destroyed at once. At 9 o'clock in the evening, Lieutenant Jones was advised that no less than 2,000 Confederates would be there by midnight, so he at once proceeded to destroy the government property. The windows and doors were thrown wide open in all the main buildings, so the flames would have free course; fires were lighted in the carpenter's shop; the trains leading to the powder were ignited, and the men marched out. The fire alarm aroused the citizens, and just as Lieutenant Jones and his men had entered the lodge to escape, an excited crowd gathered and pursued them, threatening vengeance upon them for destroying the works. He suddenly wheeled his men and declared that unless they retreated he would fire upon them. This dispersed the most of the crowd. As they fled, he with his men, took to the woods. Within fifteen minutes after he left he heard the first loud report of the explosion. By the light of the fire thus made, which illuminated the night, he was enabled to make his way out of the country to the north. All of his men escaped but four whom it is believed were

captured and killed. He made straight for Hagerstown, wading streams and swamps, reaching Hagerstown at 7 in the morning. There he secured omnibus transportation over to Chambersburg, in time to take a train for the east.

January 11, 1861, the 2d Kentucky infantry landed at Guyandotte. On the night of the 13th, four companies marched out on the road leading to Barboursville, in Cabell county, and in the early morning reached Mud river bridge, within a few hundred rods of the town. On the ridge, in the rear of the court house, were about 350 Confederates under Colonel James Ferguson, and a detachment of Border Rangers under Captain (later General) A. G. Jenkins. The Federals approached the bridge and received the first fire, which they answered and, crossing the bridge, carried the ridge and took possession of the town. The Federals lost five killed and eighteen wounded; the Confederates had one killed and one wounded, the former being James Reynolds, and the latter Absalom Ballinger.

On May 20, 1861, seventy soldiers of the state troops came into Clarksburg, for the purpose of recruiting for the Confederate army. They had come in from Romine's Mills, and marched up the main streets with rifles in hand. In a short time they were joined by another similar band from the surrounding country, commanded by N. M. Turner, Norvil Lewis, Hugh H. Lee and W. P. Cooper. The loyal citizens of Clarksburg were incensed at this act, and at 6 o'clock the bell of the court house rang out as a warning, and the two home military companies were soon in line. These were commanded by Captain A. C. Moore and Captain J. C. Vance. A column was at once formed, with flags unfurled and bands of music playing. This display frightened the "green" Confederate troops, who after a time asked if they might be allowed to leave in peace, when they were told that they could remain until morning providing they would stack their arms, which, after 8 o'clock, they concluded to do.

On May 6, 1861, General George B. McClellan took command of the Department of West Virginia, while General Garnett held a similar position in the Confederate army. The latter was at Beverly, Randolph county, and McClellan endeavored to force him to the east side of the mountains. He divided his troops into two wings; the one on the left began at Grafton to march, via Philippi, under the command of General Morris, while his right went by the way of Clarksburg and Buckhannon.

The first regiment of Federal troops organized in what is West Virginia was mustered in for three months, and rendezvoused on Wheeling Island, at the city of Wheeling, under command of Colonel B. F. Kelley, having been mustered May 15, 1861, as the First Virginia Federal Volunteer Infantry Regiment. This command was joined by the first Union troops to cross the Ohio river—an Ohio regiment commanded by Colonel Lander. About the same date a Confederate force was organized under Colonel Porterfield, near Grafton. The Federal troops went via the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, while the Confederates went back to Philippi, being followed up by the Federals, and on June 3, 1861, occurred the first engagement on West Virginia soil. The Confederates were compelled to retreat, but neither side lost many men. Colonel Kelley was wounded in the breast, but recovered, and later was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. This was the first military engagement west of the Allegheny mountains in the Civil War.

The oldest military organization in the famous Kanawha valley of Virginia when the Civil War came on, was the Kanawha Sharpshooters of Charleston, a company organized January 9, 1861, really in anticipa-

tion of a civil conflict. Subsequently, this company was a part of the Confederate army. The two armies—the one at the north and the one from the south, saw in the fertile valley of the Kanawha, with its grain and salt fields, valuable elements needed to maintain an army and carry on a successful warfare, and each lost no time in trying to secure and keep possession of the valley. In June, 1861, ex-Governor Henry A. Wise entered the valley with a force of Confederate soldiers estimated at 2,700 men, and established his headquarters at "Two Mile," just below Charleston. At Gallipolis, Ohio, a force of Federals was gathered for the same object. This command consisted of the 21st Ohio Infantry; the 2nd Kentucky; 1st Kentucky and Battery A, 1st Ohio Light Artillery. Colonel J. D. Cox was in command. By July 17th he had reached Scary creek, Putnam county, where he met a body of Confederates under Captain Barbee; the Kanawha Riflemen, Captain George S. Patten; Captain John S. Swann's rifle company; Major Sweeney, with a small body of infantry; Captain Thomas Jackson's battery of light artillery; and Captain J. M. Corn and Colonel A. G. Jenkins with cavalry forces.

The battle began, and Lieutenant Colonel Allen, of the 21st Ohio, fell mortally wounded, while Colonel Norton received a severe wound. Late in the day Colonel De Villiers, Colonel Woodruff and Lieutenant Colonel Neff rode upon the field, and mistaking a body of Confederates for their own men, entered their lines and were taken prisoners of war. Night came on and the Federals fell back to the mouth of the Pocataligo river, leaving 21 dead and 30 wounded. The Confederate loss was not so great. A few days later General Wise abandoned the valley and General Cox occupied Charleston. In passing, it may be added that General Cox was at the time the war broke out, a brigadier-general; was governor of Ohio in 1866-67; was secretary of the interior under President Grant's last administration, and wrote much valuable history concerning the civil conflict.

It was at this time that the following appeal to arms was addressed to the people:

> Brave sons of the Ancient Commonwealth! The foot of the invading tyrant is upon her soil, and his conduct is characterized by the barbarity and atrocities disgraceful to the civilized age in which we live he hath seized our kind and dutiful slaves and yoked them as beasts of burden; laid waste our crops; then ruthlessly violated female innocence (enough of itself to turn the blood of the patriot to currents of flame); he can, he must, he SHALL be expelled or annihilated! If a nation may be born in a day, then an army should be raised in an hour. I am sent forward in advance of the brave, chivalrous and indomitable General Henry A. Wise, to urge upon you to fly to arms without a minute's delay; gather everything in the shape of arms that may be had and converted into them, and paste the name of the persons upon them, those from whom they were taken, that they may be valuable; get the consent of the owners if possible, if not seize them (provided the owner will not march into line and fight with them)—"Shoot, Luke, or give up the gun," must be the word; bring all the powder, flints, percussion caps; all the lead in bars, in shot, in balls, in pipes or gutters; all heavy cotton cloth for tents; old gum shoes to make them waterproof, and everything else you can think of that will be of service. Let the country westward from Staunton to Charleston fly in squads to prominent points along the road and send in munitions of war and stores in the same way, and there await the general's arrival, which will be in a few days, and he will muster you into service. Men of the Far West, of my own native land —friends, acquaintances, neighbors, relatives, Gen. Wise has always been your friend, and now in the hour of your peril, he comes to place his bosom between you and danger, come down from your mountain homes and rally around his standard,
>
> "Come through the hether,
> Around him gather;
> Come Ronald, come Donald,
> Come all together."
>
> Let no stain of dishonor attach to the conduct of a Virginia soldier; follow

not the dreadful example of the enemy, but be brave and fear not. The God that made the mountains and chained the ocean in its bed, will be the God of your strength; His hand is still on high to shield the brave.

By order of General Wise and Gov. Letcher,

ENERMONT WARD.

Note: Bring as many of the articles named as possible: Two flannel overshirts, two woolen undershirts, two pairs of white cotton drawers, two pairs of woolen socks, two colored handkerchiefs, two pairs stout shoes, two towels, one blanket (hole in middle), one blanket for cover, one broad-brimmed hat, one pound castile soap, two pounds bar soap, one belt knife, some stout linen thread, large needles, thimble, bit of bees-wax, some buttons, a paper of pins, all in a stout cloth or buckskin sack. Also one overcoat, one painted canvas cloth seven feet four inches by five feet.

Destruction of Baltimore & Ohio Railroad—The Baltimore & Ohio line was closed to traffic from May, 1861, to April, 1862, during which time the company, under guard of Federal troops, was rebuilding bridges and replacing what had been destroyed by the Confederates. The soldiers were in command of General Kelley, and upon the completion of the work, April 2, 1862, one hundred guns were fired in celebration of the event of the first regular train that ran from Baltimore and safely arrived at Wheeling.

The Wheeling Intelligencer of July 1, 1861, said:

The actual loss of the railroad up to this date is about $2,000,000. In addition to the fine new locomotives destroyed at Martinsburg by the Confederates, there were 365 freight cars and five passenger coaches destroyed. The engines proved, upon examination, too badly sprung by the heat of the fire applied all about them, to be of any value. It will be cheaper to replace them with new ones than to try to rebuild the old ones. This, then, is the pay received by the company for refusing to transport Union soldiers and supplies for Federal soldiers from the north to the south, and when an attempt is being made to open the road up again, at the point of the bayonet by Federals, the rebels burned and destroyed everything they could for the company. This is their only ability. They cannot build up anything. It took northern brains and northern capital to organize and construct this road, and it was left for the south to destroy it.

The question of the government allowing mail service to be continued in the southern states was brought up in May, 1861, and an order was sent out by the Post Office Department at Washington: "All postal service in the seceding states will be suspended from the 21st instant. Mails sent to offices closed by this order will be sent to the Dead Letter office, except those in Western Virginia, which will be sent to Wheeling. It is not intended by this order to deprive the Union men of Western Virginia of their postal service." This was one of the first results of the vote against secession in West Virginia. The loyal men in the western part of the state were recognized speedily by the government at Washington.

In June, 1861, General Johnston concentrated a Confederate force of 15,000 men, at Harper's Ferry. General Robert Patterson lay on the Maryland side of the Potomac river with about an equal number of Union troops. On the 30th he moved as if to attack Johnston; but Johnston held his position, and on July 2nd, Patterson's advance crossed the Potomac at Williamsport and was fired upon by the Berkeley County Border Guards. With the whole army across and General Abercrombie's brigade in the advance, the march commenced by the pike roads to Martinsburg. Five miles distant from Williamsport, at Falling Waters, the Confederates had outposts. A mile further and the battle commenced in earnest. Abercrombie's brigade, made up of the 11th Pennsylvania and the 1st Wisconsin, McMullen's Rangers, a detachment of Philadelphia cavalry and Perkin's artillery of six guns, constituted the Federal force, while the Confederates had what was to become famous as the "Stonewall Brigade." The firing kept up two hours, with little loss to either

side. This was "Stonewall" Jackson's first battle. He withdrew to Harper's Ferry, and Patterson marched to Martinsburg. Johnston, having destroyed the public property at Harper's Ferry, marched up the valley and over the Blue Ridge, and then quietly stole away from Patterson and was present at the battle of Bull Run.

In August, 1861, 300 Confederates lying at Bethesda Church moved to Mud River Church (now Blue Sulphur Springs) in Cabell county, and when near Pore's Hill, (now Ona Station) five and a half miles from Barboursville, were fired upon by a body of 400 Federals, a detachment of the 5th West Virginia Infantry. The Confederates returned the fire, but retreated, losing one man killed and two prisoners taken, while the Federals returned to Barboursville without loss.

Early in September, 1861, General Floyd with a large force of Confederates advanced into Western Virginia, taking his stand near Carnifex Ferry on Gauley river, where on 10th of that month he was attacked by General W. S. Rosecrans with a Federal force made up largely of the 10th, 11th and 12th Ohio Infantry, with Snyder's and McMullen's batteries. The 10th Ohio led the advance, and the Confederates received the assault. The curtain of night covered the scene, and both armies rested on the field, but before daybreak, the Confederates had left, and the most important battle in Virginia, west of the mountains, was ended. The Federal loss was 225 killed and wounded, including Colonel Lowe, of the 12th Ohio Regiment. The Federals held possession of the valley more than a year, when they were compelled to abandon it, and Lightburn's retreat is well known as an historic event worth mentioning.

In the spring of 1862, General Cox marched eastward from Charleston and occupied a position at Flat Top mountain. In August he moved on to join General Shields in the Shenandoah valley, leaving General Lightburn in command, with headquarters at Gauley's Bridge, Fayette county. His eastern outpost was at Fayetteville, occupied by the 27th Ohio, Colonel Sibert. The Federal force in the valley was then 3500 men. About September 7, General Loring, with a Confederate force, was sent into the valley. On the morning of the 9th he attacked the Federals at Fayetteville, when Colonel Sibert hastily retreated. He was closely pursued, and, made a short stand at Cotton Hill, but was unable to maintain his position and retreated, finally joining General Lightburn at Gauley Bridge. From that point the entire force fell back to Camp Piatt, where at noon on the 11th a stand was made, but the Confederates came in force and at daybreak on the 12th the Federal advance reached Charleston, where in the next twenty-four hours the entire army of occupation was concentrated Early on the 13th the Confederates appeared in large numbers on Cox's Hill, from the opposite side of the Kanawha. A Federal council of war determined upon a retreat to the Ohio river. Accordingly, the government stores which could not be removed were burned, and the retreating columns, with a train of more than eleven hundred army wagons, crossed Elk river under heavy fire and burned the bridge behind them. The artillery fire continued until noon, when firing ceased, and the Federal forces were marching toward the Ohio. Fearing that the enemy's cavalry on the south side of the river might cut off the retreat toward Point Pleasant, when two miles out the column turned north to the Charleston and Ravenswood pike, and in three days had reached the Ohio. Transports conveyed the troops from Ravenswood to Point Pleasant, while the wagon train passed the river at Portland, moving thence by way of Chester and Pomeroy to the same place. At Point Pleasant, Milroy's brigade from Washington City was added to the Federal forces. General Cox with his brigade hurried on from the Shenandoah valley, via Harper's Ferry, to Point Pleasant, where the

army then had increased to 12,000 men. He then began the march up the Kanawha valley, but before he reached Charleston the Confederate army, which had been transferred to the command of General John Echols, abandoned the valley.

September 14, 1861, the Federals attacked the Confederates at Camp Barteau. The Federals were in command of Generals Rosecrans and Reynolds. Firing commenced early in the morning and continued till sundown, when the Federals withdrew to Rich Mountain, Randolph county. Their loss is not recorded, but that of the enemy was 36 killed. A few days later the Confederates fell back to Camp Allegheny, in east Pocahontas county, where they were re-enforced by two regiments and threw up fortifications on strong grounds, and on December 12th were again attacked by the Federals, who made the advance and fought all day, the engagement resulting as had the previous one. Both sides lost quite heavily. Captain J. C. Whitmer, of the Pocahontas Rifles, and Captain Anderson, of the Lynchburg artillery, were among the killed.

On September 27, 1861, the Federal troops under Captain Isaac Hill were attacked at High Log Run bridge, in Wirt county, by a body of Confederates in ambush. The Federals retreated with the loss of one man wounded.

Early in autumn of 1861, Major K. V. Whaley recruited a company at Guyandotte for the Ninth West Virginia Infantry, and its ranks were full by November 1st, and they were awaiting the arrival of proper officers to command them in the field in the United States army. On the evening of the 10th, the Eighth Virginia Confederate Cavalry rode into town and opened fire on the Federal position at the southern end of the suspension bridge. After an hour or more of sharp musketry firing, the Federals were all killed, wounded or captured save the few who made their escape by running through the lines in the confusion of battle. The Confederates lost two killed and a few wounded. At the commencement, Colonel Zeigler, with the 5th West Virginia Infantry, was stationed at Cerdo, eight miles below, and, learning of this attack, with a force of men went aboard the "Ohio" steamer, ascended the river, disembarked on the Ohio side at the mouth of the Indian Guyan, a mile below the scene of conflict. They then marched to Proctorsville, and at daylight on the 11th began crossing the river. As the Federals entered the town the Confederates were leaving. The Federals applied the torch to two-thirds of the buildings. A few days later a few men came from the Ohio side of the river and set fire to the extensive flouring mills of Dr. Thomas Buffington, and then went a mile up stream and fired the handsome residence of Robert E. Stewart.

First Thanksgiving Day in Virginia—Strange as it may seem, never had the commonwealth of Virginia kept Thanksgiving Day, as had most of the states in the Union, until the reorganized state government at Wheeling was set up by Governor Pierpont in 1861. That year he issued a proclamation to the citizens of his state to keep the day, as had been suggested by the President of the United States for many years. At Wheeling the day was kept sacred, and the churches were nearly all thrown open and religious services held, and many eloquent speeches delivered. The *Intelligencer* had an editorial paragraph reading thus:

"Various and threatening the dangers through which we have passed. In contrast is our position to that of our Southern brethren; we cannot but admit that we have much to be thankful for, and hence we assemble ourselves together to acknowledge our dependence on and gratitude to God. We are glad to see that our whole people have united, not only making the acknowledgment to the Giver of all good for His manifold mercies, but in praying also that peace and happiness might

be speedily restored to our country by the defeat and dispersion of the rebels and traitors in arms against us."

Lewisburg was occupied in May, 1862, by the Greenbrier Riflemen, under command of Captain B. F. Eakle, and Company E, under Captain William H. Heffner, of Edgar's Battalion. May 12th, the Federals with 800 cavalry and 120 infantry, commanded by Colonel Elliott, of Crook's brigade, reached Lewisburg, and the enemy fell back to the Greenbrier river. The Federals occupied the place, and a few days later, were reenforced by Colonel Gilbert with a large attachment of Crook's brigade. In the meantime, General Henry H. Heath's force of 2,500 men reached Lewisburg on the evening of the 22d, and at five o'clock the following morning opened fire on the Federals. The engagement lasted an hour, when the Federals secured a position from which they could pour an enfilading fire, and the Confederates fell back, leaving their enemies in full possession of the field. The loss to the Confederates was 60 killed, the Federals losing 25 men. The latter occupied the place until the 29th, and fell back to Meadow Bluff.

The Federals held possession of the Kanawha valley until September 6, 1862, the troops occupying Camp Piatt, at Charleston, opposite Brownstown, with their most eastern post at Fayetteville. Scouting parties operated south and east through this territory. One of the detachments from the 4th West Virginia infantry, under Major John T. Hall, August 6, 1861, fell in with a body of Confederate cavalry at Kennedy's Hill, or Beech Creek, Logan county. The Federals were routed with a loss of three killed and eight wounded, among the number being Major Hall, who was killed, he was the son of Hon. John Hall, who framed the first constitution of West Virginia.

The surrender of Harper's Ferry by the Federal General D. H. Miles to Stonewall Jackson, September 15th, 1862, was among the most important events in West Virginia. In August that year, General George B. McClellan ordered Miles to occupy the place until further orders. Meanwhile, General Robert E. Lee began the invasion of Maryland. September 8th a Confederate division consisting of the brigades of Generals Walker, Hill, Pender, Archer and McLaws, all commanded by Stonewall Jackson, appeared before the place. On the 11th a heavy artillery was opened upon the Federals, and the next day witnessed the surrender of the entire Federal forces, 18,583 men; 47 pieces of artillery; 13,000 stand of small arms, and other war material. The night before the surrender, the 8th New York Cavalry Regiment cut its way through the lines and escaped into Maryland. General Miles was mortally wounded by a bursting shell. General Jackson left the place in charge of General A. P. Hill, and hastened on to meet Lee on the eve of the battle of South Mountain.

Early in 1863 it was known to the Confederates that at Point Pleasant was a large amount of Federal army supplies, and a large number of horses. General Jenkins, commanding a cavalry brigade at Dublin Depot, on the line of the Virginia & Tennessee railroad, determined upon a raid across the mountains and down the Kanawha valley for the purpose of capture. On March 20th a detachment of eight hundred men, partly made up from the 8th and 16th Virginia cavalry regiments, commanded by General Jenkins in person, with Dr. Charles Timms, of Putman county, as surgeon, began the two hundred mile march over the mountains, despite bad roads and weather. March 27th the column reached Hurricane Bridge, Putnam county, where was stationed a Federal force, Company A, Captain Johnson; B, Captain Milton Stewart; D, Captain Simon Williams, of the 13th West Virginia Infantry, and Company G of the 11th West Virginia. Early in the morning of the 28th, Major James Nowling, of

the Confederate forces, under a flag of truce, reached the headquarters of Captain Stewart, the senior Federal officer, and demanded an unconditional surrender. Stewart refused to comply, and Major Nowling left, remarking that "within thirty minutes an attack will be made," and he made good his threat, and the sound of musketry was heard within that time. It was returned with much effectiveness, and for five hours the engagement continued. The Confederates then withdrew and resumed their march toward the mouth of the Kanawha. The loss to the Federals was several killed and wounded, including Ultmas Young and Jesse Hart, both killed. The day after the engagement, the Confederates reached Hall's Landing, on the Kanawha, just as the steamer "Victress," Captain Fred Ford, of Gallipolis, Ohio, in command, and having on board a United States paymaster with a considerable amount of government funds, was descending the river. At a point nearly opposite the landing, the boat was hailed from the bank by a man seemingly alone. The pilot recognized the signal and turned toward shore, when she was met by a storm of bullets. Captain Ford at once backed the steamer to the middle of the stream, but not until she had been riddled with shot. Luckily no one was injured, and she continued her voyage, arriving at Point Pleasant. From Hall's Landing the Confederates marched to Point Pleasant, where Captain Carter, with Company E of the 12th West Virginia Infantry, was camped between Main and Viand streets, two blocks from the court house, to which he took his men when firing began. For four hours they were closely besieged. The citizens fled to the opposite side of the river, and spread the news; and reinforcements soon arrived, including a battery of artillery. Preparations were made to bombard the town, in the belief that the Confederates, instead of the Federals, were the occupants of the court house, but before firing could begin, the error was corrected. The Confederates withdrew, crossed the Kanawha, and that night camped at the headwaters of Ohio Eighteen, in South Mason county, and the next day were at a point in Tazwell county, Virginia.

While this skirmish was in progress, one of the most shocking deeds of the Civil War was being enacted, in the outright killing of the venerable old Colonel Andrew Waggener, then almost eighty-four years of age, by a Confederate soldier. The published account runs thus:

> "The colonel had heard firing, and was leisurely riding his favorite saddle horse into the town, carrying with him his cane, a heavy stick which always accompanied him. He was on the Crooked Creek road when met by a soldier who halted him and demanded his horse. He refused to give the animal up, whereupon the soldier (not a brave one) sought to grasp the reins of the bridle, when the colonel struck at him with his cane, whereupon the soldier drew his gun and shot him, the old veteran falling from his horse; thus he who had faced shot and shell fifty years before, in the war of 1812-14, died on a battlefield and in an action in which he was not engaged. Colonel Waggener had won distinction at Carney's Island; his father was a major in Washington's army during the Revolution, and he with a brother were at Braddock's defeat, and stood high in military circles."

On April 19, 1863, at Tuckwiler's Hill, near Lewisburg, Edgar's battalion and a detachment of the 2nd West Virginia Cavalry, under Colonel Paxton, had an encounter, the latter retreating. Neither side met with much loss. Later the same month, General Jones with a body of Confederate cavalry, made a raid into West Virginia, going via Buckhannon, Weston and Harrisville, reaching Burning Springs, Wirt county, West Virginia, May 9th. That place was then the center of the coal oil district, and General Jones caused the burning at nighttime of 100,000 barrels of the oil, the illumination being plainly seen from Parkersburg, forty-two miles distant.

The battle of Dry Creek (White Sulphur Springs), two miles from White Sulphur, took place August 26, 1863, between General Averill, Federal, and General Echols, Confederate. On the Confederate side was Chapman's battery, and the Federals had Cottor's battery B of the Fifth Ohio Artillery. The battle began at 8 in the morning and lasted until night fall, the Federals losing 150 men and the enemy sixty men.

In what is the Union district, Lincoln county, West Virginia, in the fall of 1863, occurred an engagement at the headwaters of the Sandy Lick, a branch of the Sugar Tree creek between the Confederates under Captain Peter Carpenter, and Company G, Third West Virginia cavalry, in command of Major J. S. Witcher. The Confederates felled trees and brush in the roadways, and when the enemy approached, opened upon them a storm of shot and shell that forced them to retreat. John Insco and William Smith were killed, and three men were seriously wounded, while the Confederates escaped with the loss of one man killed and another wounded.

In September, 1863, between 150 and 200 rebels surrounded a company of militia at Centerville, capturing all save four who made good their escape. Captain Daniel Gould was among the prisoners taken. They were taken on in the direction of Pocahontas, where it was believed there was a larger rebel force awaiting them. There were sixty men taken and fifty-five good horses. Some of the rebels were known to the citizens. A band of guerillas made a dash into Troy, Gilmer county, about the same date; they robbed and captured three citizens of the place.

November 6, 1863, was fought the battle of Droop Mountain. The Federal forces consisted of the 14th Pennsylvania, the 23d and 28th Ohio Infantry, the 3d, 5th, 6th and 10th West Virginia Infantry regiments, and a West Virginia battery. The enemy was made up of the 22d Virginia Cavalry, Colonel George Patton; the 19th Virginia, Colonel W. P. Thompson; 20th Virginia, Colonel W. W. Arnott; 14th Virginia Cavalry, Colonel James Cochrane; Jackson's and Chapman's batteries, and Edgar's and Derrick's battalions, the whole in command of Major John Echols. The Confederates had marched from Meadow Bluffs, Greenbrier county, and the Federals from Beverly, Randolph county. They met at the extreme point of Droop Mountain, the Federals having formed on the Levels near Hillsboro. Firing commenced at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, and kept up till 4 in the afternoon, when the Confederates, finding themselves hemmed in, retreated to beyond Lewisburg. They were pursued several miles. The loss was heavy on both sides in both dead and wounded.

In April, 1863, the Confederates, having driven a small force of Federals from Beverly and Philippi back to Grafton, crossed the railroad at several points between Grafton and Rowlesburg, and went on to Kingwood, thence to Morgantown, which place they reached on Monday, the last week in April. The following day they went down the east bank of the river to within eight miles of Fairmont, where they were met by another body of troops, which later crossed the railroad. The whole force then went back to Morgantown, where they greatly alarmed the citizens, destroying property and plundering the place. They took every available horse they could find en route. They then marched on to Fairmont, where they were to concentrate Wednesday morning, crossing Buffalo creek, approaching the town of Barricksville on the Mannington pike. Their forces numbered about five thousand strong. In the meantime many weak-kneed citizens of Fairmont, fearing being taken prisoners and forced into the southern army, had left for Wheeling and points in Ohio and Pennsylvania. Two companies of militia came from Mannington and brought all the guns they could find. Not to exceed three hundred men could be counted upon in an assault—these were four companies of

the 106th New York Regiment; two companies of Virginia militia, consisting of 175 men; thirty-eight men from company A, Sixth Virginia, and a few from Company N, of the 6th Virginia Regiment, together with about forty or fifty citizens.

The Confederates were in command of General William E. Jones, who later declared his force consisted of seven regiments of cavalry, one of mounted infantry, three hundred mounted sharpshooters—in all about six thousand men, many of whom were of the famous Ashby's cavalry.

Wednesday morning dawned in a wet, foggy atmosphere. The Federal scouts came darting into the town, reporting that the enemy was out about three miles. One company of militia and most of the citizens around the place went out to meet them. Pickets commenced firing at each other about 8 o'clock. The Confederates, finding the Federals well protected, prepared to attack them as they came down Coal Run. This had the desired effect, and the Federals fell back. The men from the hillsides retreated, some to the main force near the railroad bridge, a mile above town, and some to the Palatine end of the bridge. The latter made a gallant stand and resisted the enemy crossing for nearly an hour. They took shelter in a foundry and fired from the windows upon the Confederates, who were mostly sharpshooters at that point. They dismounted and took their shelter in vacant buildings, stables and behind trees. A soldier from Bingamon was fatally wounded, and soon all but a dozen had straggled away. The remainder ceased firing, and each one took to looking after his own safety. Soon as the firing ceased a white flag was seen rising from a house. It had been set up by the Confederates, who sent a man with it to treat for a surrender, but to their utter astonishment they found no one there to receive it. The enemy then hastily replaced the planks on the bridge, over which a full thousand men soon crossed and pushed their way to get in rear of the Federals at the railroad bridge.

While the fight at the suspension bridge had been going on the Confederates had disposed their main force for attack at the upper bridge. The Federal force, 275 men, were at the bridge, and had taken position a half mile or so to the north, but within gunshot of the roadway leading to Pruntytown. As the Confederate cavalry dashed along the road to reach the bridge they were exposed to a raking fire, which unhorsed about a dozen. Having got across at the south bridge and occupied the heights at the eastern end of the railroad bridge and gained the river above, the Confederates had the Federals completely surrounded. General Jones, observing the situation, called out: "Why in hell don't you surrender?" The Federals sent back the yell to their own men to "Rally." Then began one of the most desperate unequal contests known in all the four years' warfare. The Federals were in open meadows, protected somewhat, however, by small ravines, but exposed to the Confederate sharpshooters behind rocks and trees on the bank of the river. Inch by inch they were forced back to within two hundred yards of the bridge, all the time coolly loading and firing at concealed Confederates. Finally they saw their case was hopeless, and just as the Confederate cavalry were ready for a charge which would have destroyed the Federals, a white flag was raised from one of the houses near by, and the firing ceased. Scarcely had the formality of capitulation been completed when two pieces of ordnance from Colonel Mulligan's command at Grafton opened upon them from the opposite side of the river. Then they double-quicked their prisoners to the courthouse, where they were kept until that evening, when they were paroled. The Confederates on the left bank of the river were soon shelled out of range, but those on the same side as the battery made a desperate effort to tear up the railroad, on which stood Mulligan's car with the battery upon it. They took up a few rails and piled several

cords of wood on the track, but after a short engagement they were driven off by eighty men of Company B, 106th New York Regiment, and a few rounds from the Federal cannon. While the train bearing this battery was behind the hill, protected from being cut off and captured, the Confederates completed the destruction of the railroad bridge, then said to be the finest in the United States, its cost being half a million dollars, and its length nine hundred feet. It was an iron structure supported by four piers of massive masonry. The iron work was supported by tubular columns of cast iron. In these columns kegs of powder, brought for the express purpose, were placed, and thus the noble bridge was hurled into the river below, causing the greatest single loss sustained by the Baltimore & Ohio road during the Civil War. This battle was fought Wednesday, April 29, 1863. The great odds in the contending forces, the time fighting was going on and the few Federals killed, was almost unheard-of in war —only one man killed and four wounded on the Federal side, while the enemy lost about sixty men killed and as many more wounded, as stated by General Jones himself soon after the engagement.

The Confederates pursued the retreating Federals and had a running fight for a dozen miles till they were in sight of Grafton. Having plundered and destroyed the bridge, the main object of the raid, the enemy left Fairmont and proceeded to Philippi and so on to Beverly, Randolph county.

Governor Pierpont telegraphed General Lightburn from Wheeling to Fairmont what the loss had been in the raid at Fairmont in May, 1863, and was answered as follows:

> Your public and private library was destroyed; eleven horses taken from Mr. Watson; John S. Barnes was wounded; young Coffman was killed; no property burned except your library and Coffman's saw mills. Money taken from N. S. Barnes, $500; Fleming, $400; A. Fleming, $300 in boots and shoes; Mrs. Sterling, $100; Jackson in flour and feed, loss great; Major Parrish lost all of his goods; every one who had good horses lost them; *National* newspaper office destroyed and type all in "pi"; United States property destroyed, $500; Monongahela river railroad bridge of the Baltimore & Ohio road, destroyed, piers only left standing, bridge in river. Coal Run, Buffalo and Barricksville bridges all destroyed. It was Lieutenant Zane of Wheeling who destroyed your library by burning it in front of your office.

April 18, 1863, Major Thomas Armsey and Lieutenant Daniel Davis, of the rebel army, were arrested near Clarksburg, and upon their persons were found papers authorizing them to recruit a company of soldiers for the Confederate army. They had formerly lived in Harrison county, near Clarksburg, and had served as spies. They were taken to Baltimore and on to Fort McHenry, tried, convicted and sentenced to fifteen years' hard labor at Fort Warren.

Perhaps the most important event in the Kanawha valley, as viewed by military men, was what is known as the Dublin raid and battle of Cloyd Mountain. The regiments engaged on both sides contained many men from the Kanawha region. General George Crook commanded the department. Early in the spring of 1864 he concentrated his forces at Fayetteville, and in May began his march through the mountains to Dublin Depot, Pulaski county. The weather and roads were both in bad condition, and men and train moved slowly. En route it camped at Loup Creek, Fayette county, and Mercer, Mercer county, also at Princeton, arriving at Rock Gap, Bland county, on May 7th, and at Shannon, Giles county, on the day following. The following morning, at Cloyd's mountain they encountered a Confederate force comprising the 8th, 16th, 28th, 45th and 60th Virginia Infantry, with Bryan's battery, the entire force being in command of Generals Jenkins and McCausland. Some 400 Confederates

and 600 Federals were killed and wounded. It terminated as a victory for the Union cause, the Confederates retiring, leaving General Jenkins on the field. He was taken to the house of David Cloyd, where a Federal surgeon amputated his arm at the shoulder, but he died under the operation.

Two engagements occurred in Lincoln county, one May 29th, 1864, on the Curry farm, a fourth of a mile from Hamlin, between the 3rd West Virginia Cavalry and a body of Confederates under Major John Chapman. One Federal was killed, Mathias Kayler, of Raleigh county. The other skirmish was in 1864, at the mouth of Coon Creek, between Captain Carpenter's Company K, 3d West Virginia Cavalry, and the enemy. The former retreated with the loss of Lieutenant Henry A. Wolf, who was shot at the first firing.

In the autumn of 1864, General John H. Oley, of the Federal forces, in command of the Kanawha district sent Captain John M. Reynolds with Company D, 7th West Virginia Cavalry, to occupy Winfield, for protection of river transportation on the Kanawha. There it constructed rifle-pits, traces of which were still visible in 1892, possibly at this date. Late in October that year Colonel John Witcher, of the Confederate service, had regiments along the Mud River country, and hearing that the Federals had fortified at Winfield, decided to attack them, which was done at night time with 400 men divided into two divisions, one commanded by Colonel Thurman, who reached the center of the works first, at Ferry and Front streets, when firing began at once Colonel Thurman received a mortal wound and was taken to the rear to die. The firing continued, and after capturing several horses, the Confederates withdrew to Mud River bridge, leaving the Federals in possession of the town.

Almost at the close of the war Generals Kelly, Major General Crook and Captain Thayer were captured by the Confederates, while in their sleeping rooms at hotels in Cumberland General Crook had a room at the Revere House and General Kelly at the St. Nicholas Hotel, as did Captain Melvin. There was only one company of Federals in the city, and at three o'clock in the morning the Confederates came into town and went direct to the rooms of the officers, not asking at the desk of the hotel, showing that they had been posted as to their location. General Crook's door was not locked, and the Confederates entered and took him while asleep, as they did the other two officers, without making any disturbance. They were only in the city a half hour. Before leaving, they destroyed the telegraph instruments so no word could be sent out. It was two hours before the Federal cavalry was out in pursuit, but without avail. Later, the prisoners were exchanged.

The surrender of a small Federal force at Beverly, in Randolph county, with that of the engagement of November 24th, 1864, between General Rosser, Confederate, and the Federal forces at New Creek, when several prisoners were captured and the railroad tracks badly damaged, put an end to active military operations in West Virginia.

War Incidents—The firms of Sweeney & Co. and the Quincy Foundry Company, both at Wheeling, were under contract to the Federal government to turn out all the shells they could produce, of the thirteen inch size. These shells weighed 220 pounds, and were cast over sand cores. Between forty and fifty were all they were able to make in a day's run. They cost the government about eight dollars each. Many of these shells were used by Commodore Foote's fleet on the Mississippi river.

The old Atheneum at Wheeling was converted into a war prison in which to keep the Confederates captured. It was a great contrast from the great political conventions recently held within its walls. In the autumn of 1861 there were already forty prisoners confined therein. The

sight of men and blankets strewn about over the bare floors of this historic old hall was indeed a reminder of the horrors of civil war. This place was called by the prisoners "Lincoln's Bastile." By November that year, eighty men were imprisoned there. Twenty were held as hostages, and the remainder were prisoners of war. There were men of influence, pride, wealth and of much former power in the Southland.

A great Sanitary Fair was held at Wheeling in June and July, 1864, by the patriotic ladies of West Virginia, and a large sum of money raised to aid in caring for the sick soldiers and prisoners. From June 28 to July 6 that year the receipts at this fair amounted to almost $16,000.

July 11, 1864, the Wheeling *Daily Register* was ordered seized and its doors closed till further orders. Its editors and proprietors, Lewis Baker and O. S. Long, were arrested and placed in Camp Chase military prison and held several months, by order of General Kelly, but about September 1st, General Sheridan released them. They had not been true to the Union cause in publishing articles not calculated to aid the government at Washington.

The reader will readily understand the situation of high-priced living during the Civil War, by the following market quotations, at various dates, and at points in the northern cities, contrasted with those of Confederate State cities:

March, 1863, the following prices obtained in the city of Richmond, seat of the Confederacy: Gold, $2.63 (that is one dollar in gold was worth $2.63 in paper money); butter, $2.75 per pound; beef (poor) $1 to $1.25 per pound; corn meal, $5 per bushel.

The same month and year, in Charleston, South Carolina, prices were: Coffee, $2.80 per pound (these prices were in Confederate money); Gunpowder tea, $6 to $7 per pound; castile soap, $1.70 per pound; yellow soap, $1; castor oil, $4 per bottle; soda, $2 per pound; oil of peppermint, $11.50 per pound; shoe brushes, $2; flannel, per yard, $2.40; white agate buttons, $15 a great gross; glazed army caps, $3 each; ladies' hoop-skirts, $8 each; Union tweed, per yard, $3; fancy prints, $2 per yard; broadcloth, English, $25 per yard; alpaca, $3 per yard; kid gloves, $6 per pair; ruled cap paper, $50 a ream.

The New York Post quoted prices in New York and Richmond in May, 1863, as follows:

	New York.	*Richmond.*
Flour	$7	$30
Corn Meal	$1.50	7 bushel
Bacon	.08 per pound	1.80 pound
Rice	.09	.25 "
Java Coffee	.37	5.30 "
Gingham	.20 per yard	3.05 yard
Cambric	.32	4.12 "
Print	.20	2.15 "
Irish Linen	.30	5 "
Flannels	.55	3.50 "
Printed handkerchiefs	.05 each	1.90 each
Pins	.40 paper	2.60 paper

Market quotations, New York City, May, 1864: Gold, $2.30; cotton, $1.50 per pound; flour, $9 a hundredweight; corn, $1.40; wheat, $1.60; oats, 89c.; crude oil, 49c.; pork, $28.50 (mess); old papers, 8c. per pound; paper rags, 12c.; calico, per yard, 38c.; brown sheeting, 65c.; bleached muslin, 68c.; bed ticking, 91c.; carpets (three ply), $2.10 per yard.

New York prices in August, 1864: Gold, $2.85 (the highest); cotton, $1.75 per pound; flour, per barrel, $10.50; wheat, $2.15 per bushel; corn, $1.56 per bushel; oats, 98c. per bushel; sugar, 23c. per pound; mess pork, per barrel, $40.

In December, 1864, prices (in Confederate money) at Richmond: Flour, $250 per barrel; pork, $4.50 per pound; beef, $1.50 per pound; coffee, $18 per pound; sugar, $13 per pound. These prices divided by about five gave the gold value in their markets at that period of the Civil War.

Presidential Election, 1864—There were no anti-Lincoln newspapers in West Virginia in the summer of 1864, when Lincoln was nominated the second time. The daily press in the state were as follows: Wellsburg Herald; Fairmont National; Monongalia Post; Ritchie Press; Grafton State Journal; Clarksburg Telegraph; Upshur County Republican; Parkersburg Gazette; Point Pleasant Register; Charleston Republican, and the Wheeling papers, all solid Union organs, and all supported Lincoln, not forgetting that the year before he had remembered this part of Virginia and allowed the State to become one of the Union, as they had so long desired.

The National Union Convention was held at Baltimore on June 8, 1864, for the purpose of nominating a president and vice-president. General Kramer, one of the delegates, cast the vote for West Virginia straight for Lincoln and Johnson, this commonwealth not forgetting Mr. Lincoln's regard for it when, only the year before, its people asked him to sign the bill admitting West Virginia into the Union. The new state had ten delegates in that convention. The vote was as follows:

County*	Lincoln	McClellan	County	Lincoln	McClellan
Barbour	593	298	McDowell	..	..
Boone	..	..	Mercer	..	..
Braxton	..	..	Monongalia	1,321	705
Brooke	464	401	Monroe	..	..
Berkeley	726	..	Morgan	205	..
Cabell	191	..	Nicholas	148	..
Calhoun	..	..	Ohio	2,188	2,008
Clay	73	..	Pendleton	211	..
Doddridge	..	..	Pleasants	267	215
Fayette	..	..	Pocahontas	..	..
Gilmer	224	..	Preston	1,612	569
Greenbrier	..	..	Putnam	388	109
Hancock	224	..	Raleigh	..	..
Hampshire	163	7	Randolph	177	50
Hardy	254	..	Ritchie	678	216
Harrison	1,323	863	Roane	275	31
Jackson	769	190	Taylor	56	36
Jefferson	174	91	Upshur	819	60
Kanawha	1,421	26	Wayne	76	..
Lewis	649	448	Wetzel	329	755
Logan	..	..	Webster	..	..
Marion	1,082	511	Wirt	262	209
Marshall	1,470	770	Wood	1,496	591
Mason	1,346	362	Wyoming	..	..
			Total	23,228	10,487

End of the Civil War—Both Unionists and Southern sympathizers alike in West Virginia, were rejoiced to see the long conflict at an end. The *Intelligencer* of Wheeling, the leading State paper, complete files of which are now in the State Library collection, carefully preserved in glass cases in the historical department, contains the following pointed sentences on the ending of the war. The date was May 2, 1865. It reads: "The war is ended. The Rebellion is overthrown. The country is saved. Sherman's army is marching home. Read its order this morning. Peace is at hand. Jeff Davis and a few other friends are fleeing for their lives—trying to escape their fate like Booth and Harrold. Who can realize the mighty change? The days to come are to be days worth seeing."

As would naturally be expected, at the close of a Civil conflict like the war between the States, it took some time to restore peace and quiet. The radicals on both sides still held bitter feelings one against the other.

*On account of the progress of the War, several counties made no returns, if indeed elections were held—hence the blanks above noted.

In nearly all the counties in the northern part of West Virginia, meetings were called and long sets of radical resolutions were adopted, concerning the return of Confederate soldiers. Before the legal reconstruction acts had gone into effect, the affairs, as in other border States, were in anything but a peaceful condition. These animosities had been made all the more bitter on account of the assassination of President Lincoln—this the loyal people could not forget. But, little by little, the matter was finally understood, and peace was again restored.

What occurred in the city of Wheeling upon the death of President Lincoln, was general throughout the state of West Virginia. An editorial in the *Intelligencer,* of the city just named, these words occur on a page heavily draped in mourning by the turning of all column rules:

"Yesterday this nation paid the last tribute of love to all that was mortal of Abraham Lincoln. Never was man more sincerely mourned, never was a people more grieved. Everywhere throughout the land goes up lamentation to his memory. For five days our city has worn the habiliments of mourning, and the expressions of sorrow and grief are as frequent and evident as on the first day of its terrible news. Yesterday being the day set apart for funeral obsequies, all business was suspended and the day was observed by solemn and impressive services in all the churches of the city. The day was beautiful, and the people all joined in its observance. We have never known the same degree of respect to be shown on any former occasion. All the calm and quiet of the Sabbath prevailed throughout the whole city, while the dark symbols of death which draped the public buildings and many others, added to the solemnity of the scene and impressed one with the deep sense of our great calamity. These days of sorrow will be remembered by the children of the present day, when those of mature years have passed away."

One of the speakers at a memorial service made use of the mournful apostrophe of Macbeth in Shakespeare, which passage had been recited to some friends by the President only a few days before his assassination, while on his trip to Richmond and City Point. It is said that he repeated it several times, and applied it to the fall of Richmond and the devastation wrought by the war there—the passage is this:

"Duncan is in his grave;
After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well;
Treason has done his worst; nor steel nor poison,
Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing,
Can touch him further."

Counting the Cost—Immediately after the adoption of the Ordinance of Secession, April 17, 1861, the enlistment of troops for the National, or Union army began at Wheeling, and speedily spread to all parts of the territory of the loyal sections of the state, then in sympathy with the "Restored Government of Virginia." Not less than 28,000 soldiers served in the Federal army from the territory known as West Virginia now. On the day that West Virginia was admitted into the Union as a state—June 20, 1863—12,000 men within the bounds of the state had entered the volunteer service of the Federal army, as shown by the adjutant-general's reports for 1863. The total enlistments in the Union army were about 28,000.

West Virginia did her full share in caring for her soldiery in way of liberal bounties and caring for the families of those in the army. General Pierpont, under direction of Governor Boreman, made inquiry concerning the amounts raised in all the counties, but the report of the adjutant-general shows that not all of the counties responded to the call for making up this list; from what counties did make the statements to the adjutant-general, it is known that more than $1,500,000 were sent for the above purpose—in fact, it is all but certain that the amount reached $2,000,000 in all the counties. The counties within West Virginia that made

report at the close of the war are given below, and the greater part was for soldiers' bounties:

Barbour county	$46,684	Wirt county	$27,975
Brooke county	85,155	Mason county	40,110
Doddridge county	71,355	Harrison county	258,438
Gilmer county	3,698	Ohio county	334,959
Jackson county	14,000	Preston county	135,700
Kanawha county	9,400	Upshur county	55,843
Lewis county	28,575	Wetzel county	65,478
Monongalia county	154,425	Hancock county	60,830
Marion county	103,075	Putnam county	12,630
Pleasants county	37,900	Wood county	187,791
Ritchie county	30,270	Cabell county	3,600
Tyler county	16,330		
		Total	$1,966,000

The following is the roster of West Virginia troops:

INFANTRY VOLUNTEERS

First Regiment, three months' service.—Organized at Wheeling, May, 1861, from volunteer companies from Hancock, Brooke, Ohio and Marshall counties at Camp Carlile, Wheeling Island; participated in battle of Philippi, June 3, 1861; mustered out of service at Wheeling, August 28, 1861.

First Regiment, three years' service.—Organized in the Northern Panhandle in the fall of 1861; served three years; non-veterans mustered out of service at Wheeling, November 26, 1864. The veterans, or re-enlisted men, were consolidated with the veteran volunteers of 4th Infantry, to form 2d Veteran Infantry regiment.

Second Regiment, three years' service.—Organized at Beverly, in August, 1861; consisted of companies from Wood, Taylor and other counties. Company G was transferred to 1st Regiment Light Artillery. By order of June 26, 1864, regiment was changed to Mounted Infantry, but is known thereafter as 5th Regiment Volunteer Cavalry, but never armed or equipped as such. The non-veterans were mustered out of service in August, 1863, and the re-enlisted, 200 in number, consolidated with veterans of 6th Mounted Infantry (then known as the 6th Regiment Volunteer Cavalry) to form 6th Veteran Cavalry.

Third regiment, three years' service.—Formed at Clarksburg, July, 1861. January 26, 1864, regiment was changed to mounted infantry, but henceforth known as 6th Regiment Volunteer Cavalry. The non-veterans were mustered out of service at Beverly, August, 1864, while the re-enlisted men were organized into six companies, consolidated with re-enlisted men of 5th Regiment Cavalry—the mounted infantry of the 2nd Regiment—and thus formed the 6th Regiment Veteran Cavalry, which should have been designated in the military establishment as the 1st Regiment Veteran Cavalry.

Fourth Regiment, three years' service.—Organized at Point Pleasant, June to September, 1861. Non-veterans mustered out of service when time expired in summer of 1864; re-enlisted men consolidated with re-enlisted men of the 1st Regiment Volunteer Infantry, to form 2d Regiment Veteran Infantry.

Fifth Regiment, three years' service.—Organized at Ceredo, July and August, 1861. Non-veterans mustered out of service at the expiration of term of service, summer of 1864; re-enlisted men consolidated with re-enlisted men of 9th Regiment Infantry, to form 1st Regiment Veteran Infantry.

Sixth Regiment, three years' service.—Organized in August, 1861, and by special authority recruited to fifteen companies. Non-veterans mustered out at the end of their term; while the re-enlisted men, together with a large number of recruits, preserved the regimental organization until June 10, 1865, when it was mustered out at Wheeling.

Seventh Regiment, three years' service.—Organized at Wheeling and Grafton, in July, August, September, and October, 1861. No other regiment from West Virginia saw harder service. The non-veterans were mustered out at the end of their term of service, but the re-enlisted men, together with recruits, continued the regiment in the field until it was mustered out of service at Munson's Hill, Virginia, July 1, 1865.

Eighth Regiment, three years' service.—Organized in Great Kanawha Valley in autumn of 1861. June 13, 1863, by order of War department, mounted and drilled as mounted infantry. By a second order the 8th Mounted Infantry was changed to 7th Regiment Cavalry. The non-veterans were discharged, but nearly 400 re-enlisted as veterans, and with about 250 recruits, preserved the regimental organization until mustered out of service in 1865.

Ninth Regiment, three years' service.—Organized at Guyandotte, February 28, 1862, of companies from Cabell, Wood, Jackson, Mason and Roane; the men in this regiment represented twenty-four counties. In 1864 the non-veterans were discharged, term of service expired, and 357 men re-enlisted, and with the veterans of the 5th Regiment were consolidated and formed the 1st Veteran Infantry Regiment.

Tenth Regiment, three years' service.—Organization begun in March, 1862; mustered out of service at Richmond, Virginia, August 9, 1865.

Eleventh Regiment, three years' service.—Organization begun in December, 1861, but not completed until September, 1862; mustered out of service at Richmond, Virginia, June 17, 1865.

Twelfth Regiment, three years' service.—Organized at Camp Wiley, Wheeling Island, November 30, 1862, composed of companies recruited from Hancock, Brooke, Ohio, Marshall, Marion, Taylor and Harrison counties; mustered out of service at Richmond, Virginia, June 16, 1865.

Thirteenth Regiment three years' service.—Organized with eight companies at Point Pleasant, October 10, 1862; mustered out at Wheeling, June 22, 1865.

Fourteenth Regiment, three years' service.—Organized at Camp Wiley, Wheeling Island, August and September, 1862; mustered out at Cumberland, Maryland, June 27, 1865.

Fifteenth Regiment, three years' service.—Organized with nine companies at Wheeling, and ordered to field October 16, 1862; the tenth company was organized in February, 1864. Mustered out of service at Richmond, Virginia, June 14, 1865.

Sixteenth Regiment.—This regiment has a unique history. It was organized at the old town of Alexandria, on the Potomac river, nine miles below Washington City, and was the only regiment in the Federal service from that part of Virginia, east of the Blue Ridge. It was largely composed of men from the counties of Alexandria, Fairfax, Fauquier and Prince William, with quite a number from the vicinity of Norfolk. The recorded history of this regiment is very incomplete, hence nothing appears in connected form concerning it in the adjutant-general's reports.

Seventeenth Regiment, one year's service.—Organized at Wheeling in August and September, 1864; nearly all the men enlisted for one year; mustered out of service at Wheeling, June 30, 1865.

First Regiment Veteran Infantry.—Regiment was formed by consolidation of re-enlisted men of 5th and 9th Regiments Infantry; mustered out of service at Cumberland, Maryland, July 21, 1865.

Second Regiment Veteran Infantry.—Formed by consolidation of re-enlisted men of 1st and 4th Regiments Infantry; mustered out of service at Clarksburg, July 16, 1865.

CAVALRY

First Regiment, three years' service.—Organized in summer of 1861; non-veterans mustered out when term expired, summer of 1864; re-enlisted men, with 232 recruits, preserved regimental organization until July 8, 1865, when it was mustered out of service at Wheeling.

Second Regiment, three years' service.—Recruited in summer of 1861; mustered into service with ten full companies, November 8th; mustered out, June 30, 1865.

Third Regiment, three years' service.—Enlisted in summer of 1864, composed of companies brought together but which had been privately recruited to other commands. Company A was mustered at Wheeling, December 23, 1861, Company C was organized at Brandonville, October 1, 1861, and the two constituted a battalion; Companies B and D were mustered at Wheeling, October 21, 1862; Company H was organized at Parkersburg, November 2, 1862; Company I was mustered into service at Bridgeport, May 16, 1863; Company M was mustered at Buckhannon, April 4, 1864; and Company G was recruited and mustered into service at Point Pleasant. The re-enlisted men, with 115 recruits, kept the regiment in the field until June 30, 1865, when it was mustered out.

Fourth Regiment.—Enlisted in autumn of 1863 for six months, composed of companies from northern part of the State, in which were men from Doddridge, Tyler, Wetzel, Marshall, Ohio, Marion, Monongalia, Harrison, Wood, and other counties. It was mustered out of service March 15, 1864.

Fifth Regiment, three years' service.—(See 2d Regiment Infantry Volunteers). Organized in July, 1861, as 2d Regiment Infantry Volunteers, and served as such until January 26, 1864, when it was mounted and designated as 5th Cavalry. However, it was never armed or fully equipped as cavalry, but continued to serve as mounted infantry. December 1, 1864, it was consolidated with the re-enlisted men of the 6th Cavalry (mounted infantry) to form the 6th Veteran Cavalry, while the non-veterans were mustered out, as their terms of enlistment expired.

Sixth Regiment, three years' service.—(See 3d Regiment Infantry Volunteers).

—This regiment was organized at Clarksburg, in July, 1861, as 3d Regiment Infantry Volunteers, and served as such until January 26th, 1864, when it was mounted and designation changed to 6th Regiment Cavalry, but still continued to serve as mounted infantry. It was never equipped as cavalry. Its non-veterans were mustered out September 7, 1864, and its re-enlisted men were consolidated with the re-enlisted men of 5th Regiment Veteran cavalry.

Seventh Regiment, three years' service.—(See 8th Regiment Infantry Volunteers). Organized in Great Kanawha Valley, fall of 1861, as 8th Regiment Infantry Volunteers, and served as such to June 13, 1863, when it was ordered to Bridgeport, where it was mounted and drilled as mounted infantry. As such it was known until January 27, 1864, when it was changed to 7th Regiment Cavalry. Its non-veterans were mustered out in 1864; but its re-enlisted men, nearly 400, together with 250 recruits, continued the regimental organization until it was mustered out at Charleston, August 1, 1865.

Sixth Regiment Veteran Cavalry.—This regiment, which should have been known as the 1st Regiment Veteran Cavalry, was formed by consolidation of 200 re-enlisted men of the 5th Regiment Cavalry (or originally 2d Regiment Infantry) and the re-enlisted men of 6th Regiment Cavalry (originally 3d Regiment Infantry). Without doubt this regiment had the most interesting history of any from West Virginia, and retained its place until after the war closed, which no other regiment from this State did. It organized at North Branch Bridge, West Virginia, September 7, 1864, whence it removed to New Creek, now Keyser, West Virginia. January and February, 1865, were spent at Camp Remount, Pleasant Valley Maryland; and in March it was ordered to Washington City, where it was engaged in doing provost duty until June 16, when it was ordered to Louisville, Kentucky; thence to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and thence across the plains into Colorado and Dakota. Its headquarters in the winter of 1865-66, was Fort Laramie. The regiment was several times engaged with the Indians, and was highly complimented for its gallantry. May 22, 1866, it was mustered out of service at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and arrived at Wheeling the 25th, where on the 29th the men received their final pay and were discharged.

ARTILLERY VOLUNTEERS

First Regiment Light Artillery Volunteers, three years' service.—This was the only artillery regiment in the service of the United States from West Virginia. It consisted of eight batteries, as follows: Battery A, the first battery organized under the "Restored Government" of Virginia. Its non-veterans were mustered out of service August 8, 1864, its re-enlisted men being added to Battery F. Battery B was mustered out October 23, 1864; its re-enlisted men were added to Battery E. Batteries C and D continued in service till the war closed. Battery E was recruited at Buckhannon, in August, 1862. Battery F was organized in 1861 as Company C of the 6th Regiment Infantry; and was transferred to the artillery regiment. It was mustered out of service September 14, 1864; its re-enlisted men, with those previously transferred from Battery A now reorganized a veteran battery designated Battery A. Battery G was organized in 1861 as Company G of the 2d Regiment Infantry Volunteers, but was transferred to the artillery regiment; it was mustered out of service August 8, 1864. Battery H remained in service unchanged to the end of the war. The regiment was mustered out at Wheeling.

The Wheeling Independent Exempt Infantry was a body of Infantry consisting of two organizations styled Company A and Company B, which had no regimental connection. They were made up of men enlisted in the Northern Panhandle, who were stationed at Wheeling throughout the war as city guards, or, more strictly speaking, Capitol Guards, for Wheeling was not only the seat of the Restored Government, but the capital of West Virginia after the admission of the state into the Union. These two companies were on duty during the entire Civil War period, and were not required to perform other military service.

The following officers from West Virginia were in Libby Prison at Richmond, Christmas Day, 1863: Colonel Powell, 2d Cavalry; Lieutenant Colonel Northcott, 12th Infantry; Lieutenant Colonel Price, 139th Militia; Major Phelps, 5th Infantry; Captain Rowland, 1st Cavalry; Captain White, 3rd Cavalry; Captains Reed and White, 1st Infantry; Captain Hyer, 10th Infantry; Lieutenants Carlyle, Christopher and Oug, 2nd Cavalry; Lieutenants Helms, McKee, Hall, Steel and Baird, 1st Infantry; Lieutenants Poole, Chandler, Livingstone and Conn, 1st Cavalry, with Lieutenant Aushute, of the 12th Infantry.

During the years of the Civil War there were 212 colored soldiers en-

listed from West Virginia in the Federal army, but there being no regular organization for colored troops from the State, these enlisted men were assigned to the 45th Regiment United States Colored Troops, in which they were mustered to the credit of West Virginia.

More than 3,000 men laid down their lives in the service of their country from 1861 to 1865, from the territory now known as West Virginia. Of this number, 820 were killed in battle; 108 accidentally killed; 2,296 died of wounds or diseases; making a total of 3,224 deaths among the Federal troops.

There were forty-five companies of State Guards organized for the protection of the various counties. They were paid by the state. Many of them were in service nearly two years, and some a much longer period.

The question of how many men served in the Confederate army from the territory now comprising West Virginia, will, in all probability, never be known; only approximate figures can be had. There was, indeed, a strange scene during the enlistment days of the civil strife, when it was no uncommon thing to see one set of men recruiting in a neighborhood for the Federal army, and at the same time and place another set equally bent upon getting men for the service of the Confederate States of America. This was especially true all along the northern border line and in the Panhandle district of Virginia.

However, most of the Federal soldiers were enlisted from the northern portion, while most of the regiments represented in the Confederate cause were from the New River region, in the Greenbrier valley, and the lower Shenandoah valley, where the population was largely secessionists. For example, Mason county, on the Ohio line, sent more than one thousand men into the Union army, while only sixty-one men enlisted in the Confederate army from that county. About the same was true of Hampshire county, as to numbers, only the cause for which they fought was reversed—more than a thousand brave men went into the Southern army, while but seventy-three were in the Federal army from that county. The Northern Panhandle sent its thousands to the Federal cause, while the Eastern Panhandle sent its thousands into the Southern army.

There were twelve companies of West Virginians in the famous Stonewall Brigade in the Confederate army—four from Jefferson county, two from Berkeley county, two from Greenbrier county, one each from Hampshire, Hardy, Monroe and Ohio counties. The entire Twenty-second regiment was composed of West Virginia companies; nine companies of the Twenty-first Regiment Light Infantry were from West Virginia, as were six companies in the Thirty-sixth Regiment Virginia infantry; while the remaining companies enumerated above were widely distributed for service in various regiments. It has been stated by historians that more men from Mercer county entered the Confederate service than there were voters in that county. Pendleton county sent to the Confederate army over seven hundred soldiers. More than five thousand Confederates returned to their homes in the Kanawha Military District. It is believed from all that can be learned, that there were approximately seven thousand men from West Virginia in the Southern army.

The population of what is now West Virginia when the war broke out, was placed at 360,000, and allowing that 28,000 men enlisted in the Federal cause, as has been seen above, and 7,000 in the Confederate army, making a total of 35,000 soldiers in both armies, this was equal to nine and two-thirds per cent. of the entire population, men, women and children.

Again, it has been shown that 3,200 men lost their lives as soldiers in the Federal service from West Virginia, or eleven and three-sevenths per cent. of the whole number of enlistments. And now, assuming that the

loss was as heavy (it was doubtless more) in the Southern army from West Virginia, the total number of men who sacrificed their lives on the altar of their country—the Blue and the Grey—there must have been 4,-024 men lost in the combined forces of the Federal and Confederate armies from West Virginia. The average age of these men was under twenty-one years—the very prime and flower of the manhood of the State.

The well chosen words of Professor Virgil A. Lewis, of the State Library, in writing on the soldiery of this State, may be here quoted:

"So reads the long death rolls and records of battle-scarred veterans of the Kanawha Valley, some wore the Blue and some the Grey, but the dead and the living died and suffered alike for what they believed to be right. They were soldiers in the full meaning of the term, and were descended from a pioneer ancestry of whom it was said: 'They are farmers today, statesmen tomorrow but Soldiers always.' And the performances of the men in the late war lend honor to their ancestral heritage, and maintain the reputation of the soldiers of this State. With the return of peace these men came home, laid by the military trappings, donned the citizen's garb and united in an effort to secure the intellectual and industrial development of the State."

CHAPTER XXIII

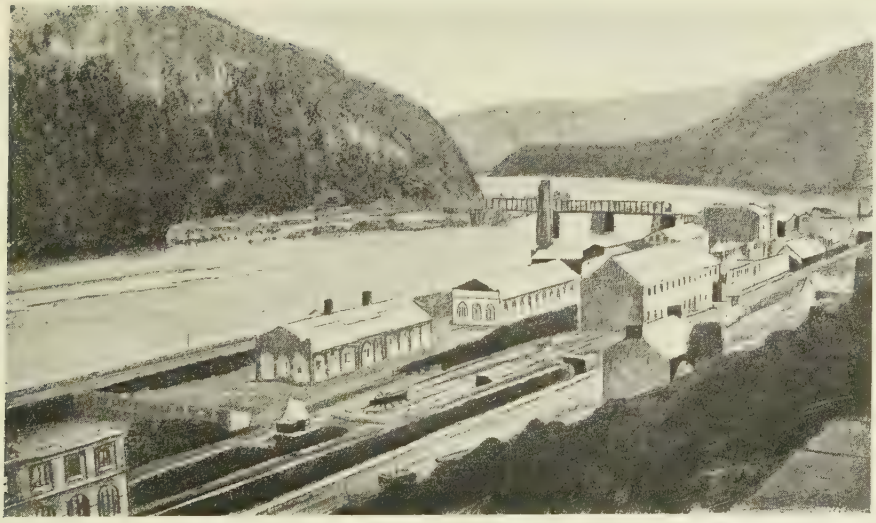
STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA

Upon taking his seat as governor of the Restored Government of Virginia, at Wheeling (see ante), Governor Pierpont found the office without money or furniture. He had his executive offices in the custom-house. Some thoughtful person brought him a pen and bottle of ink, with a quire of writing paper. Soon after the meeting of the assembly the report became current that for lack of funds it would be compelled to adjourn. This, however, must not come to pass, else all was lost. The morning after the proposed adjournment was reported to the governor, he resolved to borrow $10,000 on his own credit, and asked Peter C. Van Winkle if he would endorse his note. He replied that he would, and the two gentlemen went to the Merchants and Mechanics' Bank of Wheeling and informed the cashier, Mr. Brady, that they wished to see him, with Mr. Lamb, cashier of the Northwestern Bank, together. They were soon assembled, when the governor made his business known to the bankers, and informed them that he did not want to borrow on the account of the state, but that *he* wanted to borrow $10,000—$5,000 from each bank, saying, "a government cannot run without money—without it, it is of no account." He said that he would give his personal obligation, signed by Mr. Van Winkle. He added, "if our government succeeds, you will get your money in sixty or ninety days; if it goes down, your money is not worth a cent." To this Mr. Brady replied, "Governor, you are a good negotiator; you shall have the money." In a day or two there was placed to his credit in the two banks the sum asked for. Thus the two banks of Wheeling aided the governor in tiding over the finances of the state, and hope and new assurance were in full view.

At the call of Governor Pierpont, delegates to the constitutional convention met November 26, 1861, at Wheeling. The permanent organization was effected by the election of John Hall of Mason county, as president; Ellery R. Hall, of Taylor county, as secretary; and James C. Orr, of Ohio county, as sergeant-at-arms. The following named represented the various counties, and had to do with the framing of the constitution of West Virginia:

Braxton—G. F. Taylor.
Brooke—James Harvey.
Boone—Robert Hager.
Barbour—Emmet J. O'Brien.
Clay—Benjamin F. Stephenson.
Cabell—Granville Parker.
Doddridge—Chapman J. Stuart.
Fayette—James S. Cassady.
Gilmer—William W. Warder.
Harrison—Thomas W. Harrison, John M. Powell.
Hancock—Joseph H. Pomeroy.
Hampshire — James R. Carskadon, George W. Sheets.
Hardy—Abijah Dolly.
Jackson—E. S. Mahon.
Kanawha—Lewis Ruffner, James H. Brown.
Lewis—Robert Irvine.
Logan—Benjamin H. Smith.
Mason—John Hall.
Monongalia—Waitman T. Willey, Henry Dering.
Marion—E. B. Hall, Hiram Haymond.
Marshall — E. H. Caldwell, T. H. Trainer.
Mercer—R. M. Cook.
McDowell—J. P. Hoback.
Nicholas—J. R. McCutchen.
Ohio—J. W. Paxton, Daniel Lamb, Gordon Battelle.
Pleasants—Joseph Hubbs.
Putnam—Dudley S. Montague.
Preston—John J. Brown, John A. Dille.
Raleigh—Stephen M. Hansley.
Ritchie—A. J. Wilson.
Randolph—Josiah Simmons.
Roane—H. D. Chapman.
Tyler—Abraham D. Soper.
Tucker—James W. Parsons.

JOHN BROWN'S FORT, HARPER'S FERRY.



U. S. ARMORY BUILDINGS, HARPER'S FERRY.

Taylor—Harmon Sinsel.
Upshur—Richard L. Brooks.
Wetzel—R. W. Lauck.
Wayne—W. W. Brumfield.
Wood—P. G. Van Winkle, William E. Stephenson.
Wirt—Benjamin F. Stewart.
Wyoming—William Walker.

The real work of framing a constitution for the state to be called "Kanawha" commenced December 3, 1861. The first section of the first article of the document read as follows: "The State of Kanawha shall be and remain one of the United States of America." Delegate Sinsel, of Taylor county, moved to strike out the word "Kanawha." A lengthy debate was had, but the motion finally was adopted, yeas thirty, nays fourteen. Then on motion of Daniel Lamb the convention proceeded to fill the blank; the roll was called and the vote stood: For "West Virginia," thirty; for "Kanawha," nine; for "Western Virginia," two; for "Allegheny," two; for "Augusta," one. So it came about that the blank was filled in the document "West Virginia." While willing to be separated from the Old Dominion of Virginia, by reason of the past history and love of the name, they preferred to have the word as a part of that of the newly formed commonwealth.

The next question was the all-absorbing one of slavery—what should the constitution say regarding the question? The members of the convention were about equally divided. Some favored keeping the matter out of the document altogether arguing that it would best suit the President, his cabinet and Congress, while the other side claimed that it would be impossible to get the state admitted to the Union unless gradual, or total abolition of slavery, was to be a part of the organic law. These argued—probably wisely, too—that Congress at that time would not favor making two slave states out of one, thus giving two more United States senators pledged to the institution, instead of the two from old Virginia.

December 14, Gordon Battelle, of Ohio county, offered the following resolution, since generally referred to as the "Battelle Resolution":

> Resolved, That at the same time when the constitution is submitted to the qualified voters of the proposed new state, to be voted for or against, an additional section to Article XI, in the words following: 1. No slave shall be brought, or free person of color come within this state for permanent residence, after the Constitution goes into operation. 2. That all children born of slave mothers after 1870 shall be free, the males at the age of twenty-eight and the females at the age of eighteen years. And the children of such females shall be free at birth;—shall be separately submitted to the qualified voters of the new state for their adoption or rejection.

On the same day this resolution was tabled without day by a vote of twenty-four yeas and twenty-three nays. Thus the matter remained until February 12, 1862, when John A. Dille, of Preston county, reported the following, which was adopted by a vote of forty-eight yeas to one nay: "No slave shall be brought or free person of color come into the state for permanent residence after this constitution goes into operation." Thus the question of slavery in West Virginia's constitution was covered, no further reference being made to it.

The vote on the adoption of the constitution was taken the third Thursday in April, 1862, and resulted in a total vote of 19,376, of which 18,862 votes were cast for its adoption, and 514 against.

The friends of the "Battelle Resolution," were not a little disappointed in not having their resolution inserted in the state constitution, but later it was submitted to the people at the April election in several of the counties, receiving over 6,000 votes favorable. While it was informal, it gave its backers much hope for the cause. Granville Parker, of Cabell county, was at the head of this, and ably managed the proposition touching the troublesome question of slavery.

The first constitution of the new state, while differing widely in many of its provisions from that of Old Virginia, was yet similar to it. Under its provisions the governor was elected for a term of two years, as were also the other state officers. The office of secretary of state, was elective. Members of the senate were chosen for two years, and those of the house of delegates for one year. The legislative branch of its government was called the legislature, instead of general assembly, as in Virginia, and the enacting clause was changed to comply therewith.

President Hall reconvened the convention which had formed the new state constitution; it met at Wheeling, February 12, 1863, A. D. Soper presiding, in the absence of Mr. Hall. The constitution was somewhat changed on the slavery question, to meet the approval of Congress, and had yet to be ratified by the people, which was by an election held March 26, 1863. The vote was taken in thirty-eight counties (the remainder being at that time tied up in Civil War) and stood; 20,622 for the amended constitution, and 440 against its adoption. The soldiers vote taken in West Virginia stood; 6,007 for, and 94 against adoption. The soldiers vote outside of West Virginia, by West Virginians, stood: 1,689 for, and 38 against adoption. The whole number of votes cast, as shown by returns, was 28,321 for adoption, and 472 votes against. It was an overwhelming victory for the amended constitution. The result, together with copies of the amended document as ratified by the people was certified April 16th to President Lincoln by Hon. Abraham D. Soper, president of the convention, and Daniel Lamb, James W. Paxton, Peter G. Van Winkle, Ephraim B. Hall and Elbert H. Caldwell, the committee of that body as named in the schedule and on April 20th he issued a proclamation declaring that sixty days thereafter—June 20, 1863—the State of West Virginia should be admitted into the Union on equal footing with the other states.

The Senatorial districts which, with slight changes, continued until 1872, were as follows: First district—Hancock, Brooke, Ohio and Marshall; Second district—Monongalia, Preston, Tucker, Taylor; Third district—Marion, Harrison, Barbour; Fourth district—Wetzel, Tyler, Pleasants, Ritchie, Doddridge, Gilmer; Fifth district—Randolph, Upshur, Lewis, Braxton, Webster, Nicholas; Sixth district—Wood, Wirt, Calhoun, Roane, Jackson, Clay; Seventh district—Kanawha, Mason, Putnam, Fayette; Eighth district—Cabell, Wayne, Boone, Logan, Wyoming, Raleigh; Ninth district—Pocahontas, Greenbrier, Monroe, Mercer, McDowell; Tenth district—Pendleton, Hardy, Hampshire, Morgan; Eleventh district, Berkeley and Jefferson counties.

May 6th, 1863, forty-one days before the final admission into the Union, an unconditional union state convention assembled at Parkersburg. On the same day General Jones, at the head of the Confederate forces, was only about forty miles from Parkersburg, and one member made a motion that the convention adjourn to Marietta, Ohio, but this motion had no supporters—West Virginia soil was good enough for West Virginians!

The convention proceeded to nominations, resulting as follows: For governor, Arthur I. Boreman, of Wood county; auditor, Samuel Crane, of Randolph county; state treasurer, Campbell Tarr, of Brooke county; secretary of state, J. Edgar Boyer, of Tyler county; judges of supreme court of appeals: Ralph L. Berkshire, of Monongalia county; William A. Harrison, of Harrison county; and James H. Brown, of Kanawha county. Of these Boreman, Berkshire and Harrison had been Whigs, and Boyer, Crane, Tarr and Brown had been Democrats. On the fourth Thursday of that month, all were elected without opposition; also the judges of the circuit courts, as well as all county officials. Elections being held in all

counties except those occupied by the Confederate forces, on June 20, 1863, the machinery of the new state was set in motion.

Of the "Restored Government of Virginia," it may be stated that Governor Pierpont, who had held his seat by virtue of appointment, was on the fourth Thursday of May, 1863, elected governor of Virginia for a term of three years beginning January 1st, 1864, and as such continued in office as the head of the restored government in Virginia until long after the expiration of his three year term. After the organization of the West Virginia government he removed his headquarters to Alexandria, on the Potomac, where he continued until the close of the civil war, May 25th, 1865, when he removed the effects of his office to Richmond. From that date on, the Restored Government of Virginia was known as the authorized government in the Old State of Virginia, the Confederate States government having ceased to exist when the last act of the war had taken place. Let it be ever remembered that Governor Pierpont was a fair-minded and broad minded man, who used every possible effort to aid those who had lost their fortunes in the war. He appointed men to various public positions regardless of their party connections and past political record, considering only their fitness for such public places. Men came from all over the state and poured into his ears their woes and their losses and their grievances, and whenever possible he aided them. The General Assembly had placed at his disposal quite a sum of money with which he speedily relieved the distress of the inmates of the Deaf, Dumb and Blind Institute, as well as the Lunatic Asylum. He served until April 16, 1868, when he was succeeded by Henry H. Wells. It was the province of Governor Pierpont to materially aid in the healing of many a bitter animosity that had grown up as a result of the civil war.

Jefferson and Berkeley counties were not included in the original counties of West Virginia at the time the constitution was ratified. The Assembly under the restored government passed an act January 31, 1863, to have Berkeley county admitted, and a similar act for Jefferson county, which acts provided that an election should be had the following May in these two counties, at which the legal voters thereof might express their desire as to coming within the new state or not. If they so voted by a majority, then the governor was to certify the same to the governor of West Virginia. Such an election was held, and all went well. This was the situation up to the autumn of 1865, when the returned Confederate soldiers desired to be counted in Old Virginia, and not in the new state. Preparations were made in the two counties in question to hold an election at which this question should be settled. Governor Boreman, hearing of this, issued a proclamation warning all persons against engaging in such an election. General W. H. Emory, in command of the District of West Virginia, was also asked to assist in the execution of the laws in those counties. This ended the proposed submittal of the question.

But the end had not yet been reached. In December, 1865, the General Assembly of Virginia, at Richmond, repealed the act of 1863 by which the counties in question were transferred to West Virginia. The authorities of the new state then appealed to the Thirty-ninth Congress, and that body on March 2, 1866, passed an act declaring the counties of Berkeley and Jefferson to be a part of West Virginia, the same as though they had originally been a part of the proposed territory. Then the state of Virginia brought suit against the state of West Virginia before the United States Supreme Court for the recovery of the two counties. The case was heard in December, 1866; no decision was rendered, and the case was again called up in December, 1870, when a decision was rendered in favor of the state of West Virginia. (See XI. Wallace, U. S. Reports, pp. 38-39). The same decision carried with it the boundaries of the new

state. Many changes had been asked for, including the embracing of the counties of Accomack and Northampton, and, on the Eastern Shore, Garrett and Alleghany, the two western counties of Maryland, but all such projects failed. The original territory of West Virginia embraced forty-eight counties taken from old Virginia, and then Berkeley and Jefferson were added as above shown, making an even fifty counties in the state. But in 1866 two more were organized—Mineral and Grant; in 1867 Lincoln county was created; and in 1871, Summers county, making fifty-four in all.

Admission of West Virginia to the Union—The General Assembly met in extra session at the call of Governor Pierpont in Wheeling, May 6, 1862, and six days later an act was passed giving its consent to the formation and erection of a new State within the jurisdiction of Virginia.

The scene of final action, however, was to be enacted in the national capital, where it was hoped by the friends of the movement to have the new commonwealth admitted before the adjournment of the Thirty-seventh Congress, but it failed at the hands of its supposed friends. Hon. Waitman T. Willey, United States Senator, and his colleague, Hon. John S. Carlile, with Congressman Kellian V. Whaley, William G. Brown and Jacob B. Blair, of Virginia, under the reorganized government, were each relied upon as firm friends of the measure—but among the number were some unfriendly to the movement. The committee appointed to bring the matter before Congress was: John Hall, of Mason county; James Paxton, of Ohio, county; Elbert H. Caldwell, of Marshall county; Peter G. Van Winkle, of Wood county; and Ephraim B. Hall, of Marion county. They were armed with the necessary documents, and appeared in Washington City on May 22d, 1862, accompanied by several citizens who paid their own expenses and wrought much good by their presence. Among the number was Lieutenant Governor Daniel Polsley, of Mason county. The party was introduced to senators and representatives from Ohio by Hon. Ralph Leete and John Campbell.

May 25th the matter was presented to the United States Senate by Senator Willey and the same was immediately referred to the Committee on Territories, of which Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, was chairman, and John S. Carlile, of Virginia, the other United States Senator, from Virginia, was also a member. To the last named gentleman was assigned the task of preparing the bill for admission of the State. In 1861 Mr. Carlile had been foremost in the measure of having a new State created, but his views had materially changed, and through him the measure was greatly delayed in Congress, and nothing more was heard of the bill until the 23rd of June, when it came from the committee, and it was then to be seen that he was opposed to its passage. It was styled Senate Bill No. 365 and will be found on page 2942 of the *Congressional Globe* for 1862. The promoters of the measure were thunder-struck. All that had been done in good faith had been undone, it seemed to them. Provisions had now been ingeniously worked into the bill so that fifteen other counties were to be made a part of the new State, instead of the counties named in the previous plan. These counties were: Berkeley, Jefferson, Clarke, Frederick, Page, Shenandoah, Rockingham, Augusta, Highland, Bath, Rockbridge, Botetourt, Craig, Alleghany and Warren. A second provision was that when an "Enabling Act" should be passed, these counties, as well as the others to the west of the mountains, should elect members to a convention to be held, and should then have power to frame a constitution to be submitted to the people of the several counties for ratification, and if by them ratified, and the Assembly of Virginia pass an act assenting to the formation of the state of West Virginia, then the governor of Virginia should certify the same to the President of the

United States, who should by proclamation announce the fact, and West Virginia should become one of the United States without further action upon the part of Congress; but in all this there appeared the fatal clause which provided that "all children born of slave parents within the new State after July 4, 1863, should be free." When the bill was drawn, it was certainly known to Mr. Carlile that the fifteen valley counties he proposed to add to the list already agreed upon, that the people of such counties were hostile towards such an act, and would never allow it to become a law, as it really looked toward the gradual emancipation of the slaves. It may be said that it "was a trick of the trade." It was designed to defeat the whole measure for a new State.

That "peculiar institution"—slavery—was greatly in evidence in this whole matter of new Statehood. On June 26, 1862, Hon. B. F. Wade, of Ohio, in the Senate, called the bill up, whereupon Hon. Charles Sumner, then in the Senate, arose in his seat and protested against the gradual emancipation clause, and proposed that the exact wording of the Ordinance of 1787, providing for the organization of the Northwestern Territory, which reads as follows, should be inserted instead: "Within the State there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude other than punishment of crimes whereof the party is convicted." This, it was believed by many would not be sanctioned by the voters within the territory proposed to become the new State. Its friends were dismayed. Mr. Carlile now had come to openly denounce the measure. Senator Willey stood firm, but the members of the house, Brown, Blair and Whaley, were forced to believe that the lower house would not vote for it. But Senator Willey put forth another heroic effort, and on July 1st called up the bill. A heated debate ensued in which Senators Wade, Hale, Collmar and Willey took part. Willey closed his speech with what later was styled the "Willey Amendment," which was in reality a substitute for the Carlile Bill. It omitted the fifteen counties sought to be added to the former list, and also contained Senator Wade's amendment, "that all slaves under twenty-one years July 4th, 1863, shall be free on arriving at that age."

Senator Carlile then delivered a speech favoring the postponement of the matter until the first Monday in December following. This was replied to in eloquent well-timed speeches by Senators Wade and Ten Eyck. The vote was taken, and resulted in twenty-three for and seventeen against the bill, giving a majority of six.

The following is the complete text of the Bill as it came up for final action in the United States Senate:

Whereas, the people inhabiting that portion of Virginia known as West Virginia, did by convention assembled in the city of Wheeling, on November 26, 1861, frame for themselves a constitution with a view of becoming a separate independent state; and, whereas, at a general election held in the counties comprising the territory aforesaid, on the 3d day of May last, the said constitution was approved and adopted by the qualified voters of the proposed state; and, whereas, the legislature of Virginia, by an act passed on the 13th day of May, 1862, did give consent for the formation of a new state within the jurisdiction of the said state of Virginia, to be known as West Virginia, and to embrace the following named counties, to wit: Hancock, Brook, Ohio, Marshall, Wetzel, Marion, Monongalia, Preston, Taylor, Tyler, Pleasants, Ritchie, Doddridge, Harrison, Wood, Jackson, Wirt, Calhoun, Roane, Gilmer, Barbour, Mason, Putnam, Kanawha, Clay, Nicholas, Cabell, Wayne, Boone, Logan, Wyoming, Mercer, McDowell, Webster, Pocahontas, Fayette, Raleigh, Greenbrier, Monroe, Pendleton, Hardy, Hampshire and Morgan. And, whereas, both the legislature and the constitution aforesaid have requested the new state shall be added to the Union, and the constitution aforesaid, being republican in form of government, Congress doth hereby consent that the said forty-eight counties may be formed into a separate and independent state. Therefore, Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled: That the state of West Virginia be and is hereby declared to be one of the United States of America and added into the

Union on an equal footing with the original states in all respects whatsoever, and until the next general census shall be entitled to three members in the House of Representatives of the United States; Provided, always, that this act shall not take effect until after the proclamation of the president of the United States hereinafter provided for.

It being represented to Congress that since the convention of the 26th of November, 1861, that framed and prepared the constitution of the said state of West Virginia, the people thereof have expressed a wish to change the seventh section of the eleventh article of the said constitution by striking out the same, and inserting the following in its place, namely: "The children of slaves born within the limits of this state, after the fourth day of July, 1863, shall be free; and that all slaves within the said state who shall at the time aforesaid be under the age of ten years shall be free when they arrive at the age of twenty-one years; and all slaves over ten and under twenty-one years shall be free when they arrive at the age of twenty-five years. And that no slave shall be permitted to come into the state for permanent residence therein." Therefore,

Section 2. Be it further enacted, That whenever the people of West Virginia shall, through their said convention, and by a vote to be taken at an election held within the limits of said state, at such times as the convention may provide, make and ratify this change aforesaid, and properly certify the same under the hand of the president of the convention, it shall be lawful for the president of the United States to issue his proclamation stating the fact and thereupon this act shall take effect and be in force from and after sixty days from the date of said proclamation.

The vote in the Senate stood on the final passage—twenty-three to seventeen, in favor of admitting the new State.

The earnest workers and advocates for this bill in the United States Senate were: Hons. Willey, of Virginia; Wade, of Ohio; Hale, of New Hampshire; Fessendon, of Maine; Ten Eyck, of New Jersey, Pomeroy and Lane, of Kansas; Wilkinson, of Minnesota. The opposition was head by leaders: Carlile, of Virginia; Bayard, of Delaware; Trumbull and Wilson, of Missouri, and Sumner, of Massachusetts.

On July 16, six days after the passage of the bill, the senate reported it to the house. An adjournment was near at hand, and it was postponed until the second Tuesday in December by a vote of 63 to 33, but the friends of the measure were not disheartened—it had already passed the senate, and they had faith in the complexion of the house. December 9, 1862, the General Assembly of Virginia, in session at Wheeling, passed a joint resolution "That feeling the greatest anxiety and interest in the successful issue of the movement for a new State in West Virginia, we earnestly request the House of Representatives of the United States to take up and pass, without alteration or amendment, the bill which passed the United States Senate on the 10th of July last." This resolution was telegraphed to Washington that night and in the morning following it was called up by Congressman William G. Brown, in the house, it having been placed in charge of Hon. John A. Bingham, of Ohio. The bill was debated all that day and far into the night hours, when a vote was had resulting in 96 votes for and 55 against.

It is related that when the bill was finally passed and sent to the President for his signature, he requested the opinion of the members of his Cabinet in writing as to their opinion in the new State matter. Harlan, of Iowa, was absent, and Seward, Chase and Stanton wrote out their approval while Blair, Wells and Bates disapproved of the measure, whereupon Mr. Lincoln remarked that it only illustrated what he had long since believed —"that a President was as well off without a Cabinet as he was with one."

Congressman Jacob B. Blair, who had been untiring in his efforts to have the bill become a law, went to Mr. Lincoln on the evening of December 31, 1862, and told him his great desire, and was told by the good President that he should call the following morning—New Year's—and that he would have a "New Year's gift" ready for him. Full of interest

in the long delayed matter, Mr. Blair went to the White House at a very early hour, before the doors of the mansion had been unlocked to the public. The President saw him coming, and met him at a window, and, exhibiting the bill with his signature affixed, remarked: "Here is the New Year's gift I promised you."

All was over now, save the submission of the required changes above named in the Constitution, to the people, concerning slavery. This having later been accomplished and the fact certified to the President, he only then had to make proclamation of the fact, and within sixty days West Virginia would become a state. The convention was called together at Wheeling by President Hall, February 12, 1863, but, Mr. Hall not being present, the convention elected A. D. Soper, of Tyler county, to act in his place. The constitution was changed as ordered by the congressional act, and the day of election at which the people would have opportunity to ratify or reject its provisions, was set for March 26, 1863; it was held, and resulted in a vote of great numbers, and on the final count it was shown that there was a majority of 17,000 for the new state. The soldiers voted in the field wherever it was possible. At Vicksburg, in the trenches, an improvised ballot box was provided, and soldiers with arms in hand, watching the enemy, cast their vote for the measure.

On account of his conduct against the bill that he had once favored, United States Senator Carlile was asked to resign his seat in the senate, but this he refused to do, and it was now his turn to thwart every plan looking toward an immediate admission of West Virginia, by delay and cunning tactics. On February 14th he presented a resolution setting aside the original bill until such times as the counties of Boone, Logan, Wyoming, Mercer, McDowell, Pocahontas, Raleigh, Greenbrier, Monroe, Pendleton, Fayette, Nicholas and Clay, then in possession of the Confedate States and over which the restored government of the State of Virginia had not been extended, should vote and ratify the constitution. His resolution, however, was lost by a vote of twenty-eight to twelve.

The result of the amended constitution vote was certified to the President of the United States, who on April 20th issued his proclamation declaring that after sixty days the state should be admitted into the Union, which made the final date June 20, 1863.

State Seal—On the third day of the session of the legislature of the New State Government, convened at Wheeling in the old Institute building, June 20, 1863, a committee on State Seals was appointed, those on the part of the senate being Farnsworth, Maxwell and Slack. On the 26th of September it made the following report, which was adopted:

The disk of the Great Seal to be two and one-half inches in diameter. The obverse to bear the legend, "State of West Virginia," the Constitutional designation of our republic, which, with the motto *"Montani semper liberi"*—Mountaineers always free—is to be inserted in the circumference. In the centre a rock with ivy, emblematic of stability and continuance, and on the face of the rock the inscription, "June 20, 1863," the date of our foundation, as if "graved with a pen of iron in the rock forever." On the right of the rock a farmer clothed in the traditional hunting-shirt, peculiar to this region, his right arm resting on the plow handle, and his left supporting a woodman's axe, indicating that while our territory is partly cultivated, it is still in process of being cleared of the original forest. At his right, a sheaf of wheat and a cornstalk. On the left of the rock, a miner, indicated by a pick-axe on his shoulder, with barrels and lumps of mineral at his feet. On his left an anvil, partly seen, on which rests a sledge hammer, typical of the mechanic arts, the whole indicating the principal pursuits and resources of the State. In front of the rock and the figures, as if just laid down by the latter and ready to be resumed at a moment's notice, two hunter's rifles, crossed, and surmounted at the place of contact by the Phrygian cap, or cap of liberty, indicating that our freedom and independence were won and will be defended and maintained by arms.

The above to be also the legend, motto and device of the less seal, the disk of which has a dimension of an inch and a half.

The reverse of the Great Seal to be encircled by a wreath composed of laurel and oak leaves, emblematic of valor and strength, with fruits and cereals, productions of the State. For device a landscape. In the distance, on the left of the disk, a wooded mountain, and on the right, a cultivated slope with the log farm-house peculiar to this region. On the side of the mountain a representation of the viaduct on the line of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, in Preston county, one of the great engineering triumphs of the age, with a train of cars about to pass over it. Near the centre a factory, in front of which a river with boats; on the bank and to the right of it, nearer the foreground, a derrick and a shed, appertaining to the production of salt and petroleum. In the foreground a meadow with cattle and sheep feeding and reposing, the whole indicating the leading characteristics, productions and pursuits of the State at this time. Above the mountains, etc., the sun emerging from the clouds, indicating that former obstacles to our prosperity are now disappearing. In the rays of the sun the motto *"Libertas et Fidelitate"*—Liberty and Loyalty—indicating that our freedom and independence are the result of faithfulness to the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the National Constitution.

New State Government—The 1908 issue of Virgil A. Lewis' report to the State as Librarian and Archivist, refers to the beginning of this new State government as follows:

June 20th, 1863, was a remarkable one in the history of West Virginia. In Wheeling, a vast multitude thronged the streets; thousands of flags fluttered in the breeze. The display of bunting was the most attractive ever seen in this "Western Metropolis." It threatened rain—June showers; now all the beauties of a clear sunlight were shown, then a cloud chased all away. There were June showers—little ones—not enough to drive the people from the streets. A procession marched through the principal streets and then halted in front of the Linsly Institute. It was filled with people; the streets were filled with men, women and children; the yards, windows and roofs were filled with eager faces. A large platform had been erected in front of the Institute, and thither the officers—officials of the two governments—were conducted as they arrived. Hon. Chester D. Hubbard called the multitude to order. Thirty-five tastily attired little girls, representing the thirty-five States of the American Union, sang the "Star Spangled Banner;" Rev. J. T. McClure addressed the Throne of Grace. Then came two governors—Francis H. Pierpont, the head of the "Restored Government," and Arthur I. Boreman, chief executive of a State just then beginning to be. The first delivered a valedictory, the second an inaugural address. The sovereignty of the Restored Government of Virginia was terminated on the soil of West Virginia. Governor Pierpont retired with the Restored Government to Alexandria. Three cheers were given for West Virginia; the little girls then sang "E Pluribus Unum;" the band played the "Star Spangled Banner," and thus terminated the ceremonies of the inauguration of West Virginia as a Free and Independent State.

"Restored Government" Moved to Alexandria—At high noon on June 20, 1863, West Virginia began her legal existence, and at once set in motion the wheels of government which have ever since been revolving for the good of the masses.

It had been exactly two years since Governor Pierpont had taken his oath of office and entered upon his duties. Now the seat of government—the capital of the Restored Government—must needs be removed beyond the limits of West Virginia. On February 5th, 1863, it was provided that whenever the governor should deem it expedient for the public good that the offices of auditor and treasurer should be kept at the city of Alexandria, or in any other place in the commonwealth outside of the city of Wheeling, he should make proclamation thereof; and he was authorized to convene the General Assembly at such place as he should select for the seat of government. He chose Alexandria, making proclamation accordingly. Alexandria was that old city on the banks of the Potomac river, nine miles below Washington City. It had been Washington's military headquarters in 1754, when he was a colonel; it was also the scene of the landing of Braddock's ill-fated army in colonial days. At

the date of Governor Pierpont's removal there it was being governed by a mayor and common council of sixteen members, and had been incorporated since 1784. It was now to be graced with what there was left of the "Restored Government" of Virginia.

Remarkable, indeed, was this change of governmental base. Daniel Polsley, its lieutenant-governor; Henry J. Samuels, its adjutant-general; Samuel Crane, its auditor of public accounts; Campbell Tarr, its treasurer, and James S. Wheat its attorney-general—all resigned when the time for removal came, and Governor Pierpont left with but two members of his official family—Lucian A. Hagans, secretary of the commonwealth, and Lewis W. Webb, who had been appointed auditor—proceeded to Alexandria. There he occupied a brick building with his Restored Government, and there he filled vacancies by appointment. Leopold C. P. Cowper was made lieutenant-governor, and Mr. Smith, treasurer of the commonwealth. May 23d preceding, Governor Pierpont had been re-elected for the full term of four years beginning January 4, 1864. At the same time members of the General Assembly were chosen in that part of Virginia outside of West Virginia which gave adherence to the Restored Government, or rather that part which was under control of the Federal armies. These members thus chosen constituted the Second General Assembly under the Restored Government. The regular session of the assembly just mentioned went into session December 7, 1863, and closed its labors February 6, 1864. It was made up as follows: Senators —From Accomac and Northampton, James H. Kellam and Samuel W. Powell, who contested his seat; Alexandria and Fairfax, Thomas P. Brown; Loudoun, W. F. Mercier; Norfolk City, C. W. Whitehurst; Hampton District, T. S. Tennis; Norfolk and Princess Anne counties, F. W. Lemosy.

The delegates were: William H. Gibbons, Thomas H. Kellam, John R. Birch, James W. Brownley, Enoch Haislip, Richard E. Nash, Allen C. Harmon, Reuben Johnston, Andrew L. Hill, J. Madison Downey, J. J. Henshaw, Robert B. Wood and Job J. Hawxhurst.

Both houses received the message of Governor Pierpont, in which was briefly reviewed the history of the "Restored Government" while its capital was at Wheeling. He especially urged in this message the calling of a convention to frame a new state constitution. This was accepted and acted upon, and a bill passed for calling such convention.

On February 5, 1864, a joint session of the two houses was held for the election of state officers. Samuel W. Powell nominated Lucian A. Hagans, the present incumbent, for secretary of state. The total vote was sixteen—six in the senate and ten in the house. Hagans received all of the votes, and was declared elected. C. W. Whitehurst nominated Lewis W. Webb for auditor of public accounts, and he was elected without opposition. T. S. Tennis nominated W. F. Mercier for treasurer, and another candidate was John J. Henshaw, who was elected.

Constitutional Convention at Alexandria—The convention for framing a new constitution met at Alexandria, February 13, and lasted until April, 1864. LeRoy G. Edwards was president and W. G. Cowing was secretary. The document was framed and its twenty-seventh section had an article (No. 4) which read as follows:

"The General Assembly shall provide by law for the adjusting with the state of Virginia the proportion of the public debt of Virginia proper to be borne by the states of Virginia and West Virginia respectively; and may authorize, in conjunction with the state of West Virginia, the sale of all lands and property of every description, including all stocks and other interests owned and held by the state of Virginia in banks, works of internal improvements and other companies, at the time of the formation of the state of West Virginia. It shall not provide for the

payment of any debt or obligation created in the name of the state of Virginia by the usurped and pretended state authorities at Richmond."

The small number of delegates attending this constitutional convention was owing to the fact that most of the territory in old Virginia was still within the Confederate lines, and the Civil War was progressing in her domain

This constitution was adopted April 7, 1864, but was never submitted to the people or ratified by them. In later years Governor Pierpont wrote concerning this matter:

"Objection has been made to the proceedings of the constitutional convention of Virginia under the Restored Government, on two grounds—

"1st.—That the number constituting the convention was too small.

"2d.—That the convention did not submit its action to the people for ratification or rejection. The answer to the first is that all were represented which were in the Federal lines. More than one-tenth of the state was represented. The answer to the second is that it was wholly useless to submit the constitution thus amended to the people for ratification or rejection. Suppose there was only one-eighth of the state represented; the adoption of the constitution by that eighth would be no expression of opinion of the other seven-eighths. No person is so silly as to maintain that the adoption or rejection of the constitution by one-eighth thus made by the convention would have been an expression of the public sentiment in the state."

Second General Assembly at Alexandria—The second General Assembly convened at Alexandria, December 5, 1864, and adjoined March 7, 1865. The same organization perfected in the previous session was continued in force. Governor Pierpont delivered his message to the members, and in it he remarked: "The condition of the commonwealth, as far as I can learn, is deplorable, indeed. The fires of the Civil War have lighted nearly every neighborhood in three-fourths of it." He then went on to detail the difficulties of recognizing the counties then under Federal control, because of the hostility of General Benjamin F. Butler, commandant of the Military District of Virginia and North Carolina.

December 8, 1864, the assembly elected, in joint session, a United States senator to succeed Senator Lemuel J. Bowden, deceased; and another to succeed Hon. John S. Carlile, whose term was to expire March 4, 1865. Sixteen votes were cast. Joseph Segar, of Elizabeth City, was elected to succeed Bowden, and John C. Underwood to succeed Carlile, but neither was ever admitted to his seat in the United States senate.

Another year had passed away, and the assembly proceeded to elect an auditor of public accounts and a treasurer of the commonwealth. For the first-named office John W. Kelley received two votes and Lewis W. Webb thirteen votes, and was declared elected. For treasurer James P. Barlow received five votes and Warren W. Wing received eleven votes and was declared duly elected. This was the last of the Restored Government of Virginia at Alexandria.

The Restored Government at Richmond—While still in session at Alexandria the General Assembly had passed the following resolution on February 25, 1865:

Resolved, by the senate and house of delegates of Virginia: That the governor of this commonwealth be and is hereby authorized to change the seat of government of this state to Norfolk, or any other convenient place in this state, whenever in his opinion the interests of the state would be promoted by such removal. Provided, however, that nothing in this resolution shall be (so) construed as to authorize the location or detention of the seat of government, at any other place than the city of Richmond when the city of Richmond can be safely occupied as the seat of government of the state.

Under the above provisions Governor Pierpont, on May 25, 1865, removed the capital of the Restored Government to Richmond, the recent capital of Virginia and of the late Confederate government. He was at once waited upon by representative men from all parts of the state, who told him of their trials and losses occasioned by the devastation of war. He learned of many that but few in any of the counties, and none in some of the counties, could hold office because of the disqualifications imposed upon them by the Alexandria constitution for participancy in the Confederate cause as against the Federal cause. With the removal of the seat of state government to Richmond, the personnel of the Restored Government was again almost entirely changed. Lucian A. Hagans, secretary of state, had resigned, and was succeeded by Charles H. Lewis. The auditor of public accounts, Lewis W. Webb, had been followed by William F. Taylor, and Francis J. Smith was made treasurer of the commonwealth instead of Warren J. Wing. The new adjutant-general was David H. Strother, of Martinsburg, West Virginia, the "Porte Crayon" of *Harper's Weekly*, who had risen to the rank of brigadier-general in the Federal army. He was immediately sent by Governor Pierpont to every county that had representatives in the General Assembly at Alexandria, summoning them to Richmond, in 1865, their legal terms ending July 1st ensuing. When they were gathered before the governor, he informed them that without the repeal of the disfranchisement laws he could not reconstruct the state, as there were no persons to vote; that they had no power to remove this disability, and, with their consent, he would call them in extra session, and to this they all agreed. The extra session was called, and the third session of the second assembly convened at Richmond. It was opened Monday, June 19, 1865, and ended Friday, June 23—five days of deliberation. Its historic character entitles it to show the transcript of its roll of membership and officers, which is as follows:

Senators: Accomac and Northampton, Samuel W. Powell; Loudoun, F. W. Mercier; Norfolk City, C. H. Whitehurst; Norfolk and Princess Anne counties, F. W. Lemosy; Hampton Senatorial District, T. S. Tennis. Leopold C. P. Cowper, lieutenant-governor, president; R. F. Walker, Richmond City, clerk; F. V. Sutton, sergeant-at-arms; Miles C. Eggleston, Henrico county, doorkeeper; Alfred Thornton, custodian of senate chamber.

Delegates: Accomac county, William H. Gibbons and Thomas H. Kellam; Alexandria, Allen C. Harmon and Reuben Johnston; Northampton, John R. Birch; Prince William county, Enoch Haislip; Norfolk, Andrew L. Hill; Loudoun, J. Madison Downey and John J. Henshaw; Elizabeth City, Robert Wood; Fairfax, Job J. Hawxhurst. J. Madison Downey, speaker; P. H. Gibbon, Richmond City, vice George Tucker, resigned, clerk; Thomas L. Kendall, Northampton county, sergeant-at-arms; Robert Somerville, page; Alfred Thornton, custodian, hall of delegates.

In five days this body, hastily called together, removed the disability to vote, and by resolution the next General Assembly was given authority to remove the disqualification to hold office. With the fund in the treasury of the Alexandria government, appropriated by the assembly, Governor Pierpont rehabilitated the Western Lunatic Asylum and the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and Blind at Staunton; also the Eastern Asylum at Williamsburg, all of which institutions were destitute of supplies.

Governor Pierpont, as said elsewhere, continued in office beyond the time for his term to expire, and even until April 16, 1868, when he was succeeded by General Henry H. Wells, appointed provisional governor by General John M. Scofield, commandant of the Military Department of Virginia. He left a balance in the treasury (at least, it was that amount October 1, 1865) of $98,083, after carrying on the state and aiding the public institutions of the same. For his ability and genuine goodness as a man and citizen, who saw both sides of all perplexing problems, he had no

equal as a state official in the two Virginias, and will ever be cherished by his people and admired by the reader of United States history. Dr. Brock the Virginia historian, wrote in 1882 of him:

> He also found, upon his arrival at Richmond, the United States marshal busy looking after the property of the late Confederates for confiscation. A few days afterward President Johnson issued a proclamation confiscating the estates of certain classes unless pardoned. It was stipulated that all petitions should be recommended by the governor. He soon perceived that the president was temporizing, and was led to apprehend that the "Pardon Mill" was a farce. He accordingly determined to investigate all petitions offered him. He next protested to the attorney-general against the further iniquity of libeling property which was never designed to be confiscated, and which only entailed grievous expense on its owners. His protest was effective. He next interposed for the suppression of the classes of pardon-broker harpies, who obstructed the due course of the executive clemency as provided. He refused to recommend any petition which would pass into the hands of a broker, and this threw this species of thieves out of business. He next interposed for the relief of citizens who were under civil indictment for offenses which were within the province of military authority, and recommended leniency and conciliation to the courts.

Governor Pierpont's Statue—The first suggestion that a statue of Governor Pierpont should be one of West Virginia's contributions to the National Hall of Fame, was contained in a resolution adopted by the Society of the Army of West Virginia at its meeting in Fairmont, in 1900. At the ensuing session of the legislature that body passed Senate Bill No. 96. The sum of $5,000 was appropriated for carrying out the provisions of the bill. Later, when a clay bust had been made, the deceased governor's relatives and friends added to the amount $3,000, that the work might be done in pure marble. The work was executed in Rome, Italy, by Franklin Simmons. His work was completed in the autumn of 1903. Congress had become much interested in the matter by that date and for various reasons—the matter of inscription, etc.—the final work was delayed until March 8, 1910.

The unveiling exercises took place April 30, 1910. Many from all over West Virginia as well as other states were present. The Hall of Fame was thronged. A granddaughter of Governor Pierpont, Miss Frances Pierpont Siviter, cut the cords and recited an original poem. The closing stanza reads:

> "In the shout and din of battle she was born—the brave Free State.
> Humble men stood sponser for her, but their very deed was great.
> West Virginia, child of Freedom! many a brave man's life was given
> 'Ere the chains with which foul slavery sought to hold you could be riven.
> But it must be up in Heaven that the holy angels know
> Of the struggles and the triumphs of those toiling here below;
> And men's hearts were moved to action; so they placed you, Statesman, there,
> That the world might know and feel it, what is wrought by work and prayer."

Nine years rolled away and it was demonstrated that the first constitution had filled well the purpose for which it had been framed by the founders of the new statehood, but now a change in the organic law of the commonwealth was demanded for numerous reasons. February 23, 1871, the legislature passed an act providing for obtaining an expression of the people regarding the measure. August 4, that year, an election was held which resulted in favor of said call. Delegates equal in number to that of the senators and delegates composing the legislature were chosen at the October election, and the governor made proclamation of the result December 26th. January 16, 1872, the convention assembled in the old Methodist Episcopal Church at Charleston, Kanawha county, and there entered upon the work of framing a new constitution. The convention was in session two months and twenty-three days, adjourning April

9, 1872, having framed the present constitution. It was submitted to the people and by them ratified at an election held August 4th that year, at which date its provisions went into immediate effect. Many changes were made by the new constitution, for the general betterment of the commonwealth. The terms of all state officers were increased from two to four years. The office of secretary of state was made appointive, while that of state superintendent of schools was made elective. The regular sessions of the legislature were changed from annual to biennial, and the terms of delegates increased from one to two years, while that of senators was extended from two to four years, and the number of senatorial districts increased from eleven to twelve.

The Virginia Debt Case—When the state of West Virginia was set off from the Mother State there was a debt hanging over the old commonwealth, and it was but just that a portion of it should be paid by the new state. Many offers for settlement were made, which the old state refused and it was thrown into the Supreme Court of the United States. It has been a long drawn-out litigation, expensive to both states. The old state debt for internal improvements, railroads, canals and highways, ran to the approximate sum of $33,000,000, and Virginia claimed that one-third should be paid by West Virginia. Now, forty-five years since the civil war ended, is handed down a decision by the United States Supreme Court demanding that West Virginia pay $7,182,000 of the debt. Yet it does not appear that there is any public property in West Virginia that can be lawfully seized to pay it, and there is at this date (1912) being put forth an effort to have the Federal government assume the debt, at least in part. How this will terminate, will be for the future historian to record. To give the various positions taken by the two states, a portion of the annual message of Ex-Governor Dawson to the legislature of this state, is here epitomized as a fair historical account of the matter.

At the October term, 1905, Virginia filed a bill in the Supreme Court of the United States against West Virginia to recover a large sum of money as its share of the public debt of Virginia, existing on January 1, 1861. Attorneys were employed to assist the attorney-general in this litigation on behalf of West Virginia. These attorneys were Hon. John G. Carlisle, Hon. John C. Spooner, Prof. Charles E. Hogg and Messrs. Mollahan, M. Clintic and Mathews. At the October term, 1906, of the Federal Supreme Court, the attorneys filed a demurrer to Virginia's bill, and the questions arising were argued by briefs and orally by the attorneys of both States. May 22, 1907, the Supreme Court of the United States, through its chief justice handed down an opinion overruling the demurrer "without prejudice to any question." The main points were raised by the demurrer as follows:

That Virginia had no suitable interest in the controversy, as under her contract with the "certificate holders" she was not liable for any part of the debt that she had not already assumed and funded; (2) that the court had no jurisdiction of a suit of this nature, in which one state seeks to make another state liable for a mere money demand.

At the October, 1907, term the state filed an answer to the bill of Virginia. This bill answered the assertion that this state never took any action to settle her liability with Virginia; and also shows that Virginia brought the suit in the Supreme Court under agreement with the certificate holders that she was not to be liable for any costs or expense thereby, even to court costs; and that this suit was not brought until Virginia had several times adjusted the part of the debt she voluntarily assumed and was released of any further liability. The phase of the controversy now before the Supreme Court is the motion of Virginia for an order appointing a referee to state the account between the two states.

The convention of the Restored Government of Virginia in August, 1861 (composed of delegates from those counties of Virginia which refused to follow Virginia into the Southern Confederacy) in authorizing the formation of a new state, stipulated that the proposed new state should pay a just proportion of the public debt of Virginia existing January 1, 1861, and prescribed the mode whereby that portion was to be ascertained. This was done in section 9 of that ordinance, as follows: "The new state shall take upon itself a just proportion of the public debt of the commonwealth of Virginia prior to January 1st, 1861, to be ascertained by charging to it all state expenditures within the limits thereof, and a just proportion of the ordinary expenses of the state government since any part of said debt was contracted; and deducting therefrom the moneys paid into the treasury of the commonwealth from the counties included within the said new state during the same period. All private rights and interests in lands within the proposed state, derived from the laws of Virginia prior to such separation, shall remain valid and secure under the laws of the proposed state, and shall be determined by the laws now existing in the state of Virginia." The first convention of West Virginia, adopted in November, 1861 provided in conformity to the above section, that "an equitable proportion of the public debt of the commonwealth of Virginia, prior to January 1st, 1861, shall be assumed by this state; and the legislature shall ascertain the same and provide for the liquidation thereof by a sinking fund sufficient to pay off the accruing interest and redeem the principal within thirty-four years." The legislature of Virginia gave its consent to the formation of West Virginia under the constitution by an act passed May 13, 1862, and petitioned Congress to admit this state into the Union under the constitution containing this section (section 8 of article 8) above referred to, whereby the legislature of West Virginia was agreed upon as the tribunal to ascertain the amount of the debt.

Nothing, of course, could be done until the close of the Civil War. Soon after that, Virginia brought suit against West Virginia in the Supreme Court of the United States to recover jurisdiction of Berkeley and Jefferson counties. While this suit was pending no settlement could be made, because until the boundary of the new state was fixed no statement of this account could be made, nor could any settlement be made on the contention of Virginia, which was that West Virginia's share should be ascertained according to the population and territory of West Virginia compared to that of Virginia. It is evident that the respective territory and population of the two states could not be known until this suit in the Supreme Court was ended. This suit was not ended until March, 1871, when it was decided in favor of West Virginia. As soon as the suit was ended, Governor Jacob, of West Virginia (being empowered by the joint resolution of the legislature) appointed a commission of eminent citizens of this state, who were charged with the duty in conjuction with the authorities of Virginia, to state the account and report to the legislaure of West Virginia the amount, if any, that West Virginia might owe.

This Commission, known as the "Debt Commission of 1871," consisted of Hon. Jonathan M. Bennett, former auditor of Virginia, and confessedly one of the most capable auditors the old commonwealth ever had; and General John J. Jackson, (father of the late Federal judge, John J. Jackson and of the late Judge Monroe Jackson, of the late Jacob Beeson Jackson, the sixth governor of West Virginia.) The third member was Hon. Archibald W. Campbell, also now deceased, nephew of the famous Alexander Campbell, founded of the Christian ("Campbellite") church, and, who like his noted uncle, was a man of great strength of intellect and a publicist of high order.

Soon after, this commission notified the governor of Virginia (Walker)

of their appointment and authority and repaired to Richmond. Governor Walker refused to recognize them; and a few days later in his message to the Virginia General Assembly, proceeded to "arraign the good faith of the state of West Virginia." The Commission not only failed to obtain recognition of Governor Walker, but the second auditor of Virginia refused to furnish them with information from the records of his office. The commission reported to the West Virginia legislature that West Virginia owed a little less than $1,000,000 to Virginia, but admitted that the figures were only approximate.

The Virginia Assembly then proceeded in 1871 to find out the amount of the debt with the interest twice compounded (once in 1866 and again in 1871), and funded two-thirds of the amount, so ascertained in her bonds, and for the other one-third issued the so-called "West Virginia Certificates," whereby for that amount of her debt Virginia was not to be liable until she had a "settlement with West Virginia." Hence, it was to her interest to never have a settlement.

Naturally, the refusal of Governor Walker and other officers of Virginia to receive the debt commissioners, Governor Walker's "aspersion of the good faith" of West Virginia, and the arbitrary setting aside of one-third of the debt as it existed in 1871 (and not 1861), as West Virginia's share of the issuance of the so-called "West Virginia Certificates", did not strike West Virginia favorably; indeed they caused strained relations between the two states. Virginia set aside one-third of the debt to West Virginia, because she said West Virginia got one-third of her population and territory. West Virginia claimed that in so doing, Virginia repudiated the ordinance of the Virginia Convention of August, 1861, and the act of her General Assembly of May 13, 1862, giving consent to the formation of West Virginia by which she agreed to the provision of the Constitution of West Virginia. In fact, Virginia has repeatedly repudiated that ordinance and has never recognized its binding force.

December 22, 1873, the finance committee of West Virginia's state senate made a report in which they say that, stating the debt according to the ordinances above quoted, West Virginia had overpaid Virginia to the amount of $525,000. This report was significant because the chairman of the committee and the author of the report were the same Jonathan M. Bennett who had been the first auditor of Virginia and a member of the West Virginia Debt Commission of 1871. Thus it is that many have been of the belief that West Virginia is not indebted to Virginia.

West Virginia holds that there is a contract or compact between the two states touching this matter, expressed in section 9 of the ordinance of August, 1861 (above quoted) and in section 8 of article 8, (above quoted) of the first constitution of West Virginia; that stating this debt on population and territory as Virginia did, was a repudiation of the compact. West Virginia has always been ready to settle according to that compact, but refused and refuses still to settle on any other. It is submitted that this contention of West Virginia is unanswerable. Governor Dawson continued:

> There is no spirit of repudiation among the people of West Virginia. Neither the state nor any political subdivision of it has ever repudiated an obligation, directly or indirectly. I do not believe they ever will. Our people are not so inclined; besides, they know that this would be bad business policy, for we are a young state and growing; we need capital from abroad to develop our great resources; we invite it to come; we have always treated it liberally, and perhaps have as little restriction on capital as any other state in the Union. We simply ask capital to be fair with us and the state will be fair with capital. We have never repudiated, scaled down or readjusted any debt, and never will. Much has been said about the "dismemberment" of Virginia and her loss by the Civil War. None of the blame of these can be imputed to West Virginia or her people. Virginia's seces-

sion from the Union and its adhesion to the Confederate States was the result of acts of coercion and mob-rule, whereby sane public sentiment was thrown off its balance until the fateful act was beyond retraction. A very large majority of the people of West Virginia did all in their power, as loyal citizens, to prevent Virginia's ill-considered act. The men of '61 living in the present confines of this state refused to secede from the Union and remained loyal to the flag of Washington and Jefferson. Virginia left her children here without government, law, or protection. She sent her soldiers among their homes to make war upon them. Necessity forced the fathers of West Virginia to restore the government of Virginia. This they did, and thereby rendered mighty service and aid to the Union in its darkest days; and they bore the expense of this "restored government" not only for themselves but for the portion of the territory now in Virginia, so far as the benefit of this government would be received. West Virginia made no war on Virginia, except so far as loyalty to the Union and their own self-defense against the aggressors of Virginia made it necessary. Virginia suffered by the war; so did West Virginia. It cost West Virginia much money to raise and provision troops; it delayed her growth and development; her loss of thousands of lives of her strong men by the terrible war was the greatest loss of all. These things, as well as others, are the cause of the belief among our people that in equity and justice we do not owe Virginia anything, and we do not; but these things cannot be taken into account. West Virginia is proud of her parentage and the manner of her birth into statehood. The people of Virginia west of the Blue Ridge long desired to become a separate state; they were, however, hewers of wood and drawers of water for many years for Virginians east of the mountains; they were unjustly and grievously discriminated against in the matter of representation in the General Assembly, in the matter of taxation, and in the matter of public improvements; they were opposed to slavery, and they were democratic and not aristocratic. The double opportunity to render a signal service to the Union and to realize their hope of years, by the outbreak of the war which they had done all they could to avert, was eagerly seized upon by our fathers of those heroic days. Thus West Virginia, her right thereto approved by one of the sanest, gentlest, ablest and greatest of all statesmen, Abraham Lincoln, became a soverign state. Her cause was righteous and her birth was glorious.

STATE CAPITALS AND THEIR BUILDINGS

Wheeling, on the Ohio river, in the extreme northwestern portion of the state, was the capital of the Restored Government of Virginia, although never declared such. The first and second conventions of Northwestern Virginia assembled, the former on May 13, 1861, and the latter June 11 ensuing, in Washington Hall, in that city. The General Assembly under that government held four sessions—one regular and three extra sessions. Of these, the first and fourth sat in the United States court room in the custom house; while the second and third sessions were held in the Linsly Institute building. Around the last named structure cluster many recollections of those Civil War years that tried men's souls and their patriotism to the fullest. Within the walls of that building was the seat of government for West Virginia from June 20, 1863, to April 1, 1870. It derived its name from Noah Linsly, and owed its existence to him. He was an early attorney of Wheeling, emigrating from Connecticut. His family was of English origin, the American ancestor, John Linsly, coming from England in 1664, settling near New Haven. Noah Linsly came to Morgantown, Virginia, in 1797, spent two years, and removed to Wheeling, where he practiced law several years, a portion of the time as commonwealth attorney. He died unmarried in 1814, having provided in his will that there should be established and maintained a school on what was known as the "Lancasterian System." Samuel Sprigg and Noah Zane were named as executors of the will, and they applied to the Virginia Assembly for an act of incorporation for the Trustees of the Wheeling Lancasterian Academy, which was passed November 29, 1814, and the names of the numerous trustees were inserted. A lot on the line of the alley between Market and Chapline streets was purchased, and upon it was erected a three-story building which was in use until 1858, when the property was sold and a lot bought on the corner of Eoff and

FIRST STATE CAPITOL BUILDING, WHEELING (LINSLY INSTITUTE), ERECTED IN 1858.

SECOND STATE CAPITOL BUILDING, AT CHARLESTON-ON-KANAWHA, 1870-71.

Fifteenth streets, where another building was erected, ever after known as the Linsly Institute. In this building the new state of West Virginia found its first capitol home—its first state house.

In his inaugural address on June 20, 1863, Governor Boreman recommended speedy action for the establishment of a permanent seat of government, and appropriations for public buildings. The legislature did not act favorably on this suggestion, but by joint-resolution authorized the governor to secure the Linsly Institute building for a state capitol. This Governor Boreman seems to have carried out, for the legislature continued to hold its sessions and make annual appropriations from 1863 to 1870, paying rent on this building.

At last, the legislature fell in with the patient governor's various recommendations, and in 1869 a bill was passed making Charleston the permanent seat of government.

As might well be expected, the rejoicing at Charleston was great. Public meetings were held and various plans were suggested as to the best method of providing accommodations for the offices and records of the State. On May 27, 1869, a number of enterprising citizens resolved to form a stock company for the erection of a building to answer temporary purposes. Stock was subscribed to the amount of $16,500, with one-tenth of it paid in. The company was incorporated under the name of The State House Company, under charter dated August 25, 1869, and was to expire June 1, 1889. The capital stock might be increased to $100,000. The company was made up of twenty-seven share-holders, and had officers as follows: Benjamin H. Smith, president; Alexander T. Laidley, secretary; John Slack Sr., treasurer; with George Jeffries, William A. Quarrier, Greenbury Slack, S. S. Comstock, Thomas B. Swann, Edward B. Knight, Henry C. McWhorter and John Slack Sr., directors. Cincinnati architects furnished plans, and the contract was let by bids to Dr. John P. Hale, of Charleston. On September 20th the ground was laid off, and the next day excavation commenced for the foundation, the first stone being laid under direction of Master Workman Phillips. On November 3d the corner-stone was laid by the Masonic fraternity. The building was supposed to be ready for occupancy by April 1, 1870, but the work dragged along, and other arrangements had to be made to receive the state officials with their office effects, as that was the date fixed in the bill to move from Wheeling to Charleston. But Charleston was equal to such an emergency and chartered the steamer "Mountain Boy," a popular Kanawha river packet, to convey the executive officers with the archives of the state government from Wheeling. At 5 o'clock, Monday, March 28th, 1870, the "Mountain Boy" arrived at the wharf at Wheeling, having on board a reception committee appointed by the people of Charleston, to escort the state officials to that place. It was composed of Albert E. Summers and Dr. Spicer Patrick, of Charleston; Colonel Jerome T. Bowyer, of Winfield; and Colonel Hiram R. Howard and John M. Phelps, of Point Pleasant. The day was spent in transferring to the steamer the books, papers, records and office fixtures. It was midnight when the steamer, buried in a mass of flags and bunting, cast off her mooring and steamed down the Ohio river. The first stop was at Parkersburg, where many citizens visited the floating capitol of the youngest state admitted into the Union at that date, east of the Mississippi. Early on the morning of March 30th the "Kanawha Belle" went down from Charleston to meet the party, having on board the Charleston brass band. Ten o'clock came and with it the shrill whistle of the "Mountain Boy" was heard approaching Charleston. An hour later she landed, while the United States artillery, then stationed at Charleston, fired a salute from the wharf.

The mayor of Charleston made an address of welcome. The state-

house not being completed, the citizens provided such rooms as they could for the various offices. The Bank of the West gave their entire building up to the use of the state; the Merchants Bank of Charleston gave several rooms; the State Library found quarters in St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church; and others gave rooms. December 20, 1870, the local building company turned over the structure to the governor, and it was immediately occupied. Its total cost was $79,000.

All went well for a time at Charleston, as the seat of state government, but a change was impending; January 18, 1875, five days after the legislative session began, Senator Jonathan M. Bennett, from the Ninth district, introduced a bill to remove the seat of government temporarily to Wheeling. On February 13th this passed the senate by a vote of thirteen to eleven. It was reported to the House the same day, and five days later passed that body by a vote of thirty-eight to twenty. Governor Jacob did not approve the bill, and on February 20th it was passed over his head and became a law without his signature. The act recited that Henry K. List, Michael Reilly, John McClure, George W. Franzheim and Simon Horkheimer, citizens of Wheeling, had agreed to furnish the state, without cost, suitable accommodations in said city for the legislative and judicial departments of the State, including the state library, should the seat of government of the state be removed temporarily to said city.

The citizens of Wheeling put forth great effort for erecting a suitable place for the state government. A capitol committee was appointed, with John McClure as chairman. March 17 following, the city council provided for an issuance of bonds, the proceeds to be used for the erection of a building. Bids were made for them, and all were sold above par on July 19th, the purchasers being: John J. Brown, of Morgantown, $20,000; Exchange Bank of Wheeling, $60,000; Bank of Wheeling, $15,000; Kingwood National Bank, Kingwood, $5,000. Total, $100,000.

Architect J. S. Fairfax was employed and his plans were accepted by the city. The estimated cost of the structure was placed at $90,000. July 19, 1875, the contract was awarded to A. R. Sheppard, of Meadville, Pennsylvania, his bid being $82,940. September 4th the foundation was completed, the corner stone being laid September 18th, by Masonic rites.

The people of Charleston resolved to test the constitutionality of the act providing for the removal of the capital. On March 30th, John Slack Sr., John T. Cotton, Edward C. Stolle, John C. Ruby, John T. White, Alexander H. Wilson, and Gustave Stolle, representing the interests of the city of Charleston, applied to Evermont Ward, judge of the Ninth judicial district, for an injunction restraining the state officials from removing the state archives and public property from Charleston to Wheeling or elsewhere. These gentlemen entered into bonds amounting to $5,000. The injunction was granted, and then began what proved to be one of the most remarkable instances of litigation in the state's history. May 18th, John L. Cole, state librarian, appeared in the circuit court of Kanawha county and asked that the injunction be dissolved. James H. Ferguson and William A. Quarrier made able arguments in favor of its perpetuation, but Joseph Smith, the presiding judge, ordered the injunction dissolved. He, however, suspended his decree as to the dissolution until the 27th, that the plaintiffs might apply to the supreme court. This they did, and it was granted by Judge Charles P. T. Moore, at Point Pleasant, May 20th. The time allowed by Judge Smith (from May 18 to May 27th) extended beyond the date (May 21st) on which the removal was to have been made as fixed by law.

In the meantime, April 24th, Governor John J. Jacob issued a notice to the auditor and all department heads to have the archives and fixtures of their offices made ready for shipment to Wheeling on May 21st. He

THIRD STATE CAPITOL BUILDING. ERECTED BY CITY OF WHEELING, 1875-76.

employed carpenters to make boxes for packing the archives, and draymen to convey them to the wharf. These were arrested and taken into court, where they were held to answer the charge of violating the terms of the injunction. Writs were served on all state officials, all of whom made answer but Governor Jacob, who paid no attention to the matter and was never arrested. May 12th the city council of Wheeling appropriated $1,500 to pay the expense of moving the effects of the state to Wheeling. The steamer "Emma Graham" was chartered at a cost of $1,000 to transport the officials and state property from Charleston. She arrived at the landing at Charleston on May 21st, 1875, at 10 o'clock a. m. and tied up to the wharf. Captain John McClure, chairman of the Wheeling committee, was on board, and hastened to notify the government of the steamer's presence and its object in coming. The state officials all went on board, and at noon the steamer went down the Great Kanawha river with the capital of the State aboard! The property of the state was left behind in charge of Judge Smith, who accepted it as one of more responsibility than he cared to have. At Parkersburg the passengers were transferred to the steamer "Chesapeake," bound for Wheeling. They were met at Sistersville by a party from Wheeling, coming as an escort, and numbering about twenty men. The boat arrived at Wheeling on Sunday morning, May 23d. The erection of the new state buildings had not been commenced, and on Monday morning the state officials established themselves in quarters in the Linsly Institute building, before used for capitol purposes. The governor and state superintendent of schools had offices on the first floor; the auditor, treasurer, secretary of state were housed on the second floor. It will be observed that the state officers were in Wheeling, while the books and records of the state were still in Charleston. Nothing could be done until the supreme court of appeals handed down their decision in the case. The three judges then on the bench were: Alpheus F. Haymond, John S. Hoffman and Charles P. T. Moore. The arguments in the case were submitted August 23d by E. Willis Wilson, William A. Quarrier and James H. Ferguson, for Charleston's interests; and by W. W. Arnett, Daniel Lamb and Henry Mason Mathews, the latter the attorney-general of the state, for Wheeling. The decision of the court dissolving the injunction was handed down September 13th. It was an exhaustive document, written by Judge Haymond. Soon after, Edward A. Bennett, the auditor, and Benjamin Daley, private secretary to the governor, left Wheeling to superintend the shipping of the state property from Charleston. The goods were received in the Linsly building on September 27th, and on the 28th Governor Jacob issued a proclamation declaring the Linsly Institute building to be the temporary capitol of West Virginia, and the city of Wheeling to be known as the capital of the state. The legislature met in November in Washington Hall, so famous in the political history of the state, and as sacred to West Virginians as Old Independence Hall is to all Pennsylvanians. The new capitol building was not ready for occupancy until December 4th, 1876, and on that day the governor made proclamation thereof to the citizens of the commonwealth. It must be remembered that Wheeling was still only known as the temporary seat of state government, and it had no permanent capitol building of its own. The one it occupied was but the gift of the people of Wheeling, who hoped to secure and hold the seat of government permanently.

The people of the state had now become weary of having its capital moving around from place to place, and this dissatisfaction was made known by no uncertain sound, by the time the legislature of 1877 assembled. This body sought to remedy the long existing evil. January 16, 1877, Peregrine Hays, member of the house of delegates from Gilmer

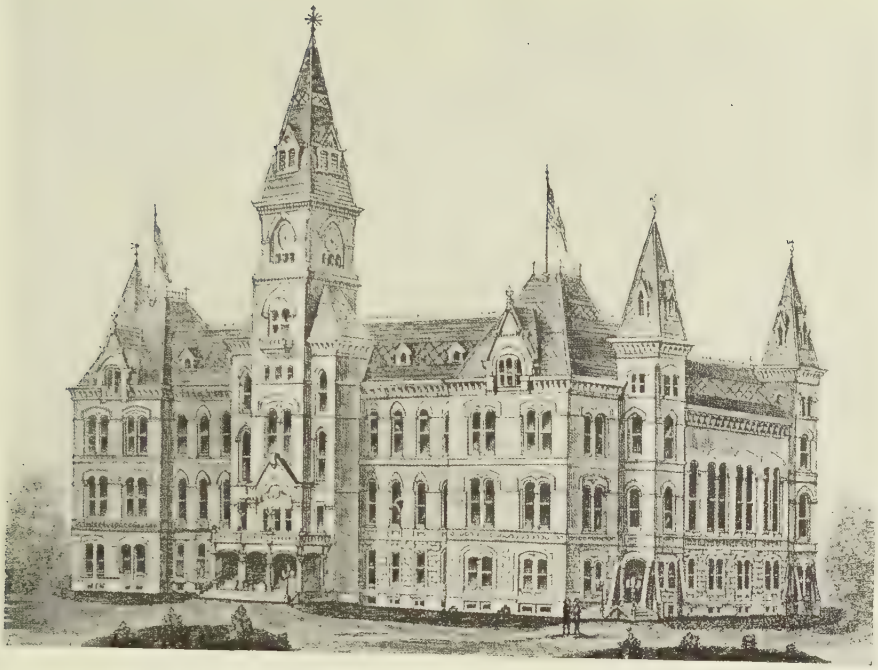
county submitted a bill providing for the location of a permanent seat of government for the state, and the erection thereat of the necessary public buildings for the use of the state. This passed the house February 5th by a vote of forty yeas to sixteen nays; and on the 19th it passed the senate yeas twelve, nays nine. The bill provided that the question should be left to the people at an election to be held the first Tuesday in August, 1877. The cities to be voted upon were Charleston, Kanawha county; Martinsburg, Berkeley county; and Clarksburg, Harrison county. The one receiving the majority of votes cast was to be the permanent capital of the state after May 1, 1885—eight years thereafter. The contest was full of interest and no little excitement obtained in the state over the matter. All wanted a permanent seat of government, but each of the given localities thought their place was the best of the three points at which to locate. The vote stood: For Charleston, 41,243; for Clarksburg, 29,942; for Martinsburg, 8,046. Charleston having received a majority of the votes cast, the governor made a proclamation of the result, and declared Charleston to have been selected as the permanent seat of government, after the expiration of eight years, as provided in the bill.

It was stipulated in the legislative act that, when the people had decided the location question, the board of public works should select and procure a suitable site on which to erect the necessary buildings; and it was authorized to receive such donations in land and money or both, as should be tendered. To carry out the provisions of the act, the sum of $50,000 was appropriated, this amount with such donations as might be received, to be expended in the erection of a new capitol building, or for any building which might be upon the site acquired, so far as might be deemed necessary to fit the same for occupancy by the several departments of the state government.

It should be said in this connection that the State House Company at Charleston still owned the capitol building which it had erected for the state in 1870. This property was conveyed to the board of public works by deed August 13, 1878; thus the state came into possession of land for which the State House Company had paid $8,000, and in a building thereon which cost to erect $71,000, the total cost of land and building aggregating $79,000. This building had to be virtually demolished and a new one erected in its place. May 27, 1880, the contract was let to A. H. Sheppard, of Meadville, Pennsylvania, the contractor who had erected the state capitol at Wheeling, his bid being $183,245. In order to meet this expense, to be added to the $50,000 appropriated by the legislature in 1881, $34,000 were appropriated in 1882, and $50,247 in 1883. Mr. Sheppard failed to complete his contract, and in June, 1884, the board of public works engaged S. W. Howard as architect and superintendent, and let the contract for the building's completion to Henry D. Ruffner and James Grady, of Charleston, West Virginia, whose bid was $61,500. When it was formally accepted by the board, July 7, 1888, it had cost the State $389,923.58.

Subsequently it was found necessary to erect an "Annex," which is located opposite the capitol, to the south. This is a massive, modern, splendidly constructed building, completed in 1902, at a cost of $225,000, and is now the home of the State Department of Archives and History; also the state auditor and treasurer have offices on its first floor at this time (1912). This makes an expenditure of almost $615,000 for the public buildings, proper, at Charleston.

For days prior to the time fixed by law for the removal from Wheeling to Charleston of the offices of the State (May 1, 1885) the officials were busy packing the public archives and having them carted to the river front. The effects were placed on board the model barge "Nick Crawley."



FOURTH STATE CAPITOL BUILDING, AS IT APPEARED WHEN OCCUPIED BY STATE GOVERNMENT IN 1885.

CAPITOL ANNEX, HOME OF STATE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY. ERECTED IN 1902.

Two steamers, the "Chesapeake," Captain William Prince, and the "Belle Prince," Captain Kugler, were chartered, and early in the morning of May 2, 1885, the former having on board the state officers and the effects, and the latter having the barge in tow, left the Wheeling wharf and started down the Ohio. Large banners decorated the sides of the barge and steamers, and legends thereon told the onlookers en route that West Virginia's capital was again on the move. At 7.30 p. m., Sunday, May 3d, the steamers were in sight of Charleston. A cannon on the dock of the "Belle Prince" was fired every few seconds, and all the steamboats in the river kept up an incessant whistle. Thus Charleston became the state capital, and the law creating it as such said "shall never be removed, except by vote of a majority of the qualified voters of the state cast at an election held for that purpose, in pursuance of an act of the legislature."

The capital was at Wheeling from June 20, 1863, to April 1, 1870—6 years, 7 months 11 days. At Charleston from April 1, 1870, to May 21, 1875—5 years, 1 month 20 days. At Wheeling from May 21, 1875, to May 1, 1885—9 years, 11 months, 11 days. At Charleston, from May 1, 1885, to the present date, 1912—time located at Charleston (last time) 28 years.

STATE INSTITUTIONS

The government buildings consist of the State House, the Capitol Annex, and the Governor's Executive Mansion, the latter costing the state $34,000.

Asylums—The hospital for the insane is the oldest of all the state institutions in West Virginia. Before the division of the state, Virginia for many years had two asylums for the insane—one at Williamsburg and the other at Staunton. When there came a demand for a third asylum, on March 22, 1858, the General Assembly passed an act for the establishment of the Trans-Allegheny Lunatic Asylum. Three places sought it—Weston, Sutton and Braxton, and Governor Henry A. Wise appointed a committee to determine the location: Thomas Wallace, of Petersburg City; Dr. Clement A. Harris, of Culpeper county, and Samuel T. Walker, of Rockingham county. In June ensuing the committee visited the three sites and reported in favor of Weston, in Lewis county. The act carried with it an appropriation of $25,000 for the purchase of lands not exceeding 300 acres. In 1860 the Assembly appropriated $50,000 for buildings, and in 1861 a similar sum for the same purpose and $10,000 for the support of the asylum. Work progressed but a difference arose between the eastern and western sections of Virginia, and by an ordinance of the Virginia Convention in secret session at Richmond, June 28, 1861, it was ordered that all work on the Northwestern Lunatic Asylum be suspended, and that no further monies be drawn from the treasury on that account; and that any surplus of money hitherto drawn, after paying for work done, be turned in to the treasury. At this time there had been expended $98,000 for lands, tools, and work on the buildings, and there were $27,000 of the appropriation in bank at Weston. The reorganized government began its existence at Wheeling, July 1, 1861, and the next day Governor Pierpont sent John List to Weston under an escort of cavalry from Clarksburg, and he removed the money to Wheeling, where it was placed in bank and afterward used in the completion of the asylum. The legislature of West Virginia passed an act November 12, 1863, changing the name to that of the West Virginia Hospital for the Insane. In 1866 Governor Boreman sent an agent to the Williamsburg and Staunton asylums for the purpose of making settlement with those institutions for inmates kept there, who belonged to what is now West Virginia, and

found the amount due to be $23,700, which sum was paid, and the inmates were taken to the new institution at Weston. There have been about 6,000 patients cared for at Weston, there now being about 1,000 there.

The Second Hospital for the Insane is situated at Spencer, Roane county. By 1885 it was found that twice as many inmates were at the Weston Asylum as the place was originally intended to care for, and more room had to be provided by the State. About two years were consumed by committees and finally a second asylum was located at Spencer, by act of the legislature, May 7, 1887. $10,000 was appropriated to be expended by the board of public works when the court of Roane county should execute deeds to the state for certain lands. March 14, 1891, an act was passed appropriating $48,393.70 and $45,000 out of the revenues for the ensuing year. Thus the state established her Second Hospital for Insane which now has within its care over 500 patients. The land is 160 acres, and the length of the main structure is 940 feet, while its height to top of tallest steeple is 110 feet. The building cost $300,000. On an adjacent hill stands a water reservoir holding 2,400,000 gallons. Other improvements have since been added.

The West Virginia Asylum established as the West Virginia Asylum for Incurables at Huntington, Cabell county, was by act of legislature February 17, 1897. This supplied a place for the humane keeping of the unfortunate incurables of the state's insane persons. Almost $400,000 have been expended for the construction of this institution. The name was changed by act of legislature in 1903 to the West Virginia Asylum.

The vast coal mining and railroad service of West Virginia has demanded numerous hospitals for the care of those injured by accidents liable to occur in the best regulated service of these branches of industry, for which this state is so noted. An act of the legislature February 24, 1899, declared that: "There shall be established and maintained at the expense of the state, three hospitals to be known as Miners' Hospitals, and located as follows: One in the Flat-Top coal region, to be known as Miners' Hospital No. 1; one in the New River coal region, to be called Miners' Hospital No. 2; and one in the Fairmont coal region, to be designated as Miners' Hospital No. 3. These were located, the first at Welch, McDowell county; the second at McKendree, Fayette county; and the third at Fairmont, Marion county. It is made the duty of the directors to admit into them and treat free of charge any person injured as a passenger on, or an employe of a railroad or otherwise injured by a railroad train, or injured or hurt in a coal mine or in the coal business; and it may, when there is sufficient room, treat any other person who has been injured or hurt, at the actual cost of treatment. The work performed for the treatment of the injured has been wonderful, and speaks volumes for the humane and Christianlike spirit of the tax-payers of the State. Far beyond a thousand persons have received aid and comfort at state expense in these three institutions.

The Penitentiary—Without a penitentiary, West Virginia began her existence in 1863, and six months later she paid a bill of $1,500 for caring for her prisoners in various county jails. By an act of the West Virginia legislature passed in 1864, the governor was directed to have all persons convicted of felony confined in the jail in Ohio county, until otherwise provided for. A board of directors and a superintendent, the latter receiving $1,000 per annum for his services, were appointed. In February, 1865, the governor was authorized to expend $500 for iron bedsteads for that part of the jail at Wheeling used by the state. Two guards were also paid for by the state, at $1,000 each. February 19, 1866, just after

the close of the Civil War, the board of public works was directed to select a site for a penitentiary, at or near Moundsville, in Marshall county; to there buy land, not less than ten acres; to appoint a board of directors which in time would appoint a superintendent who was to enclose the grounds and make preparation to put the convicts, then confined in the Ohio county jail, at work on the building, under proper guards. This act carried with it an appropriation for $50,000 with which to begin the work of construction. The building was finished and up to this time has been well cared for and good discipline kept. The institution has a library of over 7,000 volumes, and no prisoner is expected to leave the walls of the institution unable to at least read and write. The night schools are a great feature of this institution. The highest rate ever kept there is one person as a convict, for every 1,618 of the State's population.

The Reform School—The West Virginia Reform School was established by an act passed by the legislature February 11, 1889. The locating committee, after visiting many towns within the State, finally selected Pruntytown, Taylor county, which donated its old courthouse and other buildings, and the citizens gave $5,000. One hundred and twenty-seven acres of land were purchased, and the first inmate was admitted June 21, 1891. Boys under sixteen years of age are received at the instance of any justice of the peace within the state. The courts also may send boys to the place. The administration building is said to be among the finest in the entire state. Here the erring youth are cared for and taught from books and in practical methods to become useful men.

Industrial Home for Girls—This institution was created by an act of the legislature, dated February 18, 1897. It is situated on a high, commanding eminence at Salem, Harrison county, the people of that town having donated the grounds. It is along the line of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, and local trains all stop at The Industrial Home Station. Girls are here sent under the same provisions, practically, as are the boys who are sent for correction and punishment to the Reform School above mentioned. The discipline is gentle and homelike, and it is in no sense a prison-house. The windows are not screened, save in a few instances in the back wing of the building. Regular hours are given for both work and recreation. Blue calico dresses are provided for uniforms, while ribbons and ties are given to suit the taste of the girls sent there for correction and reformation.

County Poor Farms—These county farms are owned and conducted by order of the various county courts within West Virginia. Here those who are unable to care for themselves are provided for by the county. These institutions are not a heavy burden upon the more fortunate citizens of the state, and the taxpayer cheerfully pays his due proportion for this expense.

State University—The West Virginia State University, at Morgantown, stands at the forefront of all other educational institutions in the Mountain State. Congress by an act passed July 2, 1862, donated public lands in the several states and territories that would provide colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts. The quantity was to be equal to 30,000 acres for each senator and representative in congress. In states where no public lands were left, land scrip representing these at $1.25 per acre was given. This was to be sold and the proceeds be used for the founding of the institutions already named. West Virginia, four months after she was admitted to the Union (June 20, 1863), accepted the proposition made by congress, and January 30, 1864, the legislature requested her senators and representatives in congress to procure legislation requisite to secure to West Virginia an equal participation in the benefits of this act. In this they succeeded. On April 19, 1864, the

land scrip given the state was sold and converted into government bonds to the amount of $80,000, the par value of which in 1867 was $90,000, neither interest nor principal of which could ever be used for the purchase, erection or repair of buildings.

January 9, 1866, the trustees of the Monongalia Academy tendered to the state the buildings, property and funds of said academy including the Woodburn Female Seminary, the combined and total value of which was $51,000, to be held and used by the state of West Virginia on the express condition that the contemplated Agricultural College be located permanently at Morgantown. The legislature after considering the claims and advantages of numerous locations, on January 31, 1867, by a vote of seventeen to five, located the institution at Morgantown. The Agricultural College was established April, 1867, and changed in name and scope by the act of the legislature December 4, 1868, to that of the West Virginia University.

University Preparatory Schools—The state has two state university schools, one at Montgomery, Fayette county, established by act of the legislature February 15, 1895. The school was opened in January, 1897. The other preparatory school, located at Keyser, Mineral county, was established by act of legislature dated 1901. It is located on historic old "Fort Hill," upon which stood the Union fortifications in Civil War days.

State Normal School and Branches—After the introduction of the free school system, there arose a demand for teachers qualified to train the pupils in a more superior manner than had been the custom in the private and subscription school plan, where little else than the rudiments were taught. The lack of trained instructors was felt in Virginia and West Virginia territory. Much agitation was had, and attempts at making provisions for a training school within West Virginia, but nothing resulted in a real start until General Thomas M. Harris, of Ritchie county, February 4, 1867, introduced House Bill No. 76, "A Bill for the Establishment of a State Normal School." On the 27th of February ensuing, the bill became a law and the location was fixed at the site of Marshall College, in Cabell county, "for the instruction and practice of teachers of common schools in the science of education and the art of teaching."

Schools for the Deaf and Blind—There was a time in the history of this state when there was no provision for the unfortunate blind and deaf. November 16, 1863, when the legislature was still using rented rooms in Wheeling, without a real home of its own, the governor was directed to communicate with the superintendent of the Asylum for the Blind in Ohio, for the purpose of learning whether that state would receive and educate the unfortunate ones from this state until such times as the state could provide a place themselves. After little delay the governor was directed to contract with some humane institution outside the state for the care and education of such children, whose parents were unable to do it for them. For seven years Ohio and Virginia assisted in this matter for West Virginia. March 3, 1870, the legislature passed an act establishing the West Virginia School for the Deaf and Blind. Perhaps no other one man had more to do with the bringing about of the establishing of this school than Professor Howard W. Johnson, one of the remarkable men of his state and time, himself totally blind. In June, 1870, the trustees of Romney Classical Institute transferred to West Virginia all its property including fifteen acres of land, the whole estimated at $20,000, for the use of this school. It was given in consideration that the institution should be permanently located at Romney. Since then the state has expended much money in the improvement of the school, which has educated and brightened the lives of hundreds of chil-

dren who were born blind. They attend this school its full term and are then permitted to remain at home during vacation.

The Colored Institute—Besides the colored institution at Harper's Ferry, which is the direct successor of Storer's College for colored people, West Virginia has another, a state institution, at a point known now as Institute, eight miles down the Great Kanawha river from Charleston. It was established by the legislature in 1891, which directed that the "Cabell Settlement" should be its site. Under the act of Congress in 1862 which gave to the states and territories lands for college and educational purposes, it was explicitly understood that provision should be made for the colored children as well as for white persons. Hence, in order to profit by this, the state had to establish such a colored institution. Twenty-one acres of land were purchased for $2,500, a building was erected at a cost of $9,546, and the school was opened to students May 3, 1892, since which date several buildings have been erected, the total value of which is $100,000. Here by a complete college course, a normal course, and a department of mechanical industries, are educated the sons and daughters of former slaves.

Bluefield Colored Institute—This institution was established as a result of an act of the legislature in 1895, entitled "An act to establish a high-grade school at Bluefield, Mercer county, for the Colored Youth of the State." It was provided that there should be taught in this institution such branches as are taught in the University Preparatory Schools of the State, as well as in the State Normal Schools. $8,000 was appropriated for grounds and the erection of a building. The institution now has three buildings and over eight acres of land surrounding them. The site is ideal, elevated on the beautiful heights above the town of Bluefield, with an altitude of 2,700 feet above sea level. Forest-covered mountains add to the enchanting scene on every hand.

State Board of Agriculture—March 13, 1891, the legislature passed an act creating a State Board of Agriculture, consisting of one member from each congressional district, to be appointed by the governor. An organization was effected at Charleston, the state capital, in May, 1891. Professor T. C. Atkeson, of Putnam, was the first president. Among the advantages this board has been to the farmers of the state, is the publication of a Farm Review, now appearing monthly. The state makes an annual appropriation for this board, and its publication is distributed free to the agriculturists of the state.

Humane Society—With all that the state has done toward relieving her unfortunate citizens, whether children or aged ones, whether black or white she has also not forgotten that man is ruler over, and should be the protector of the dumb animals around him. In this particular case, to women must be given the greatest praise in the original organization of this society, which has come to be a state institution of wonderful and far-reaching significance.

A number of ladies at Wheeling discussed the matter several years, but not until May 18, 1896, at a gathering on Market street, that city, did they finally organize what has since been known as the West Virginia Humane Society. Dr. Harriet B. Jones was elected president, and Captain Charles J. Rawlings secretary. The society was incorporated, the charter being issued September 22, 1896. It is really under the sanction of the state authorities. Its motto is "Prevention, not Punishment." It has authority to take into its care children who are abused or neglected, or are being brought up under immoral or degrading circumstances; to find homes for the aged; and protect the brute creatures from the abuses of cruel owners. Among the items appearing in a rather recent report to the governor, is found this: "Number of aged sent to homes, 16; num-

ber of children relieved from cruelty and distress, 874; number of horses relieved from cruel usage, 1,173." The society is clothed with power to prosecute and bring to justice all who violate the laws of humanity. The state makes its annual appropriation for its use.

Berkeley Springs Property—The oldest springs known in West Virginia, are situated in Morgan county, three miles from the Potomac river, at the mouth of St. John's run, so named from Sir John Sinclair, quartermaster for Braddock's army, who here stored his supplies, while it advanced up the Potomac on its march to the fatal field of Monongahela, in 1755. These famous springs are known as Berkeley Springs. Archivist Lewis, in his state report, speaks of these springs as follows:

On Friday, March 18, 1747, George Washington and party, then engaged in surveying lands for Lord Fairfax, were in the Vicinity and in his journal he says: "This day called to see Famed Warm Springs." These springs, thus *famed* in 1747, were first called "the Warm Springs," then known as "Bath Springs," and are now "Berkeley Springs." They have been deservedly popular from the date of their discovery. Lord Fairfax vested the title to them in the colony of Virginia, that the water might be forever free to the public. A settlement grew up around them, and in 1776, the Virginia House of Burgesses established there a town known as "Warm Springs." This act required all persons purchasing lots therein to build within twelve months after the day of sale, on each lot, "a dwelling house twelve feet square, fit for habitation." In 1785, it was shown that some of the purchasers had not erected these "fit places for habitation," and they were granted an extension of two years in which to comply with the law.

George Washington, after the Revolution, bought lots, erected a cabin and a stable, and with his family passed part of the summers here. His half brother Lawrence spent nearly a year at these springs in search of health, before going to England and afterward seeking the Barbadoes. Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, Major-General Horatio Gates and General Adam Stephen, of the Revolution, and others of distinction, made this their summer homes. In 1820 Berkeley Springs was made the seat of justice of Morgan county, which that year was created from Berkeley county territory. Virginia controlled the property until after the division of the state, since which time the title has been vested in West Virginia, and it is now controlled by a board of trustees appointed by the governor.

The volume and unceasing supply of water is for copiousness a curiosity among similar resorts on either side of the Atlantic. It is discharged from five principal sources at the rate of two thousand gallons per minutes. It is clear and crystaline, tasteless, and of a uniform temperature of seventy degrees. Its component parts are carbonate of lime, crenate, iron, chloride of sodium, calcium, sulphate of magnesium, and silicate of lime. There are stone swimming pools and many private baths for ladies and gentlemen. A branch of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad extends from the main line to the springs.

The decades and scores of years came and went, after these wonderful springs were first discovered by white men. Virginia was divided and West Virginia established, the Civil War had ended, and in February, 1866, by joint resolution, the legislature directed the judge of the Tenth Judicial Circuit to appoint twenty trustees for the Berkeley Springs property. This he did as follows: From Morgan county—General David H. Strother, Hon. Aaron Bechtel, Henry Willard, Uberto Mendenhall and John Siler; from Jefferson county—L. P. W. Balch, J. A. Chapline, John Quigley, Henry Berry and John F. Schley; from Berkeley county—Dr. John S. Wilson, Dr. E. Boyd Pendleton and D. Darby, Esq.; from the state at large—Governor Arthur I. Boreman, General Thomas Maley Harris, J. B. Ford, Nathan Goff Jr., and Hon. James Carskadon. July 4th this board of trustees met at Berkeley Springs and organized by electing David H. Strother secretary, and Henry Willard treasurer, while the president was the judge of the Tenth Circuit, as provided in the bill. The property is still in possession of this commonwealth, hence the desire of the original designer in donating these splendid waters to the general public is kept sacred and doubtless ever will so remain.

Battle Monument at Point Pleasant—The chief event of Lord Dunmore's war of 1774, in fact the most important battle of all colonial history, was fought on West Virginia soil, on the site of the present town of Point Pleasant, Mason county. This engagement was between troops under General Andrew Lewis, on the one side, and the warriors of the confederated Indian nations of what was then the Ohio Wilderness, on

THE POINT PLEASANT BATTLE MONUMENT.

It is twenty-two feet square at the base and eighty-two feet in height. The plinths and obelisk are constructed of Balfour Granite from quarries near Salisbury, North Carolina; the statue thereon being made of Westerly Granite from Rhode Island.

the other. This march was in reality, more painful to the army and more difficult than that of Hannibal over the Alps. It is amply written of elsewhere.

The dead were buried at Point Pleasant without military pomp. But there came a time when this field was to be remembered by a lasting and suitable memorial pile. April 1, 1860, the General Assembly of Virginia passed "An Act to incorporate the Point Pleasant Monument Association." This provided that Mrs. John S. Lewis, Miss Ellen Steenbergen, Miss L. D. Smith, and others, be made a body politic and corporate with authority to purchase land and erect a monument on the battlefield of Point Pleasant. But action was soon stayed. The Civil War was close at hand, and after it had ended, a new state had been born which inherited the old Indian battlefield, with much of the glory clustering about it. War had desolated the land, and neither north nor south—the old state or the new—had much interest in battlefields aside from those of the great civil conflict. But these noblehearted women had enlisted in a cause which they would not let go down. By 1909 they had accumulated, with accruing interest, a sum of $2,107.84, which came to be known as the "Monument Fund." To aid this project, interest had been given it by the Centennial Celebration of 1874, the hundredth anniversary of the battle, at which time many thousands gathered at Point Pleasant from this and adjoining states. Many of the descendants of the men who had fought there a hundred years before were on the ground, with flags and banners. In 1875 West Virginia made an appropriation of $3,500 to aid in the purchase of land and the erection of a suitable monument in commemoration of the battle. The states of Virginia, Kentucky and Ohio were officially requested to aid in the matter. Twenty-two years rolled into oblivion and no response. By joint resolution of the West Virginia legislature in 1897, the then governor of this state was authorized to appoint three trustees to carry into effect the resolution and act of legislature passed in 1875. Then it was that Governor Atkinson appointed John W. English, Dr. Andrew R. Barbee and Judge F. A. Guthrie, all of Point Pleasant, as said trustees. They found their hands tied from the fact that the money formerly appropriated had been invested and could not then be realized on for immediate use. Four years more passed away, and February 7, 1901, the legislature adopted a joint resolution declaring it to be the duty of the legislature to carry into effect the appropriation of 1875, and for the appointment of three trustees for the purpose. Governor A. B. White appointed on March 29, 1901, as such trustees, Virgil A. Lewis, of Mason City, Charles C. Bowyer, of Point Pleasant, and John P. Austin, of Redmond, all residing in Mason county. These gentlemen gave a bond in the sum of $10,000 to secure the performance of carrying out the provisions of the legislative act. The trustees met and on May 25, 1901, elected John P. Austin, president, Virgil A. Lewis, secretary, and Charles C. Bowyer, treasurer. They then received the sum of $3,500 appropriated in 1875, together with interest for twenty-six years, amounting to $4,288.33, making a total of $7,788.33. Two and one-half acres of land were purchased at the Point, at the confluence of the Great Kanawha and Ohio rivers, where the battle was fought, and where the dead were buried; this cost $8,000. About a hundred dollars was realized by the sale of the old buildings on the grounds. The Ladies' Monument Association, formed in 1860, placed in the hands of the trustees $2,007.84, and West Virginia had appropriated another sum of $5,000 in 1875. After much labor by the members of congress from this state, congress granted $10,000 toward the enterprise. This was not brought about, however, until the trustees went in person to Washington City, and presented the matter to congress in February, 1902,

and it was laid before the Secretary of War. Again, in August, 1908, the trustees went to Washington and interviewed Hon. Luke E. Wright, Secretary of War, who wanted maps of the grounds, etc., which were furnished, and finally the contracts were let, and after one hundred and thirty-five years from the date of the battle the spot was appropriately marked by the joint efforts of the state of West Virginia and the federal government. Work commenced May 11, 1909, on the foundation. The granite came from the town of Salisbury, North Carolina. The capstone was set on Monday, August 22, 1909, when the structure was completed. It is twenty-two feet square at the base, eighty-two feet high, and contains one hundred and fifty-two granite blocks. The statue, facing the east, stands eight feet high, weighs two tons, and is cut from Westerly granite, of Rhode Island. The bronze panels and bas-relievos were cast in Massachusetts. The historical data thereon was compiled by Virgil A. Lewis, State Historian and Archivist. The unveiling took place October 9, 1909, and afforded the greatest occasion ever seen in Point Pleasant. The ceremony was elaborate and well planned. The assemblage was immense and interest unbounded. The Masonic fraternity dedicated it according to their impressive ritual, large numbers of the brethren being present from various states. The throng of people present was fairly fixed at more than fifteen thousand persons. The oration was by ex-Governor (then United States Court of Claims judge) Hon. George W. Atkinson. A memorial service was held on Sunday, October 10th, the real anniversary of the battle. Judge Atkinson delivered the address, which was masterful. Thus has been commemorated the spot where the savage power was broken at the mouth of the Great Kanawha river one hundred and thirty-eight years ago.

Union Soldiers Monument—The latest monument of the state, of public character, is the one authorized by the legislature, to be placed in the state capitol grounds at Charleston in memory of the fallen heroes of the federal army, who gave their lives in defense of the Union between 1861 and 1865. In proportion to her population, no state in the Union gave more soldiers as a sacrifice to liberty's altar than did West Virginia. This monument is justly due to their memory, and will stand opposite the Confederate General "Stonewall" Jackson's monument—the one for the Blue, the other for the Grey.

West Virginia National Guard—This had its origin in the provisions of the act of legislature approved February 25, 1889, which re-enacted the militia law of the state so as to comply with the requirements of congress providing for the formation of the National Guard of the several states. A brigade organization was effected June 27, 1890, with Colonel Baldwin D. Spillman as commandant, with the rank of brigadier-general. By 1904 the Guard of the state consisted of a general staff, one brigade of two regiments of infantry, a medical department and a signal corps. The headquarters of the First Regiment composed of three battalions is at Fairmont; that of the First battalion at Martinsburg; that of the Second battalion at Wellsburg; and that of the Third battalion at Wheeling.

The Second Infantry Regiment, located at Parkersburg, had three battalions—those of the First and Second battalions at Huntington; that of the Third battalion, at Parkersburg.

The Guardsmen are provided with the best of uniforms, arms, tents, and camp equipment, and are well drilled. It was from the ranks of these two regiments that Spanish-American soldiers from West Virginia were largely filled.

The Spanish-American War—April 23, 1898, the Congress of the United States declared war against Spain, and immediately President William McKinley called upon Governor George W. Atkinson, of West

Virginia, for a regiment of infantry to be formed as far as possible from out the National Guard of the State. On May 2d that year he ordered the brigade under Brigadier-General B. D. Spillman to mobilize at Kanawha City, on the south side of the Great Kanawha river, about one mile above where the steel bridge spans that river, at the city of Charleston. This was readily responded to, and within a few days the eighteen companies composing the two regiments of the brigade were at the designated rendezvous, and had spread their tents at Camp Lee.

The State responded promptly to every call of the president and governor, and the patriotism of her citizens. Not only did she fill her quota at once, but also tendered the adjutant-general two thousand additional men, should they be needed to conquer Spain the nation that had, as it was believed, sunk our warship the "Maine," in Havanna harbor, which gave this country an opportunity to intervene in behalf of the oppressed people of the Island of Cuba, who had been held in an iron grip by the Spaniards for two hundred years and more. It was stated at the time that had ten thousand men been called for from West Virginia, they would have been forthcoming.

The total number of troops furnished by this State for that war was as follows: First Regiment West Virginia Volunteer infantry, 1,385; Second Regiment, 1,322; Companies E and G, Fourth United States Infantry, 152; Companies L and M, Eighth United States Infantry, 145. A total of 3,004.

The First Regiment West Virginia Infantry was formed from able bodied men who had composed the old original National Guard of the State, who were willing to be transferred to the service outside the state. The regimental organization was as follows: B. D. Spillman, colonel; Clarence L. Smith, lieutenant-colonel; W. H. Banks, major; Phil A. Shaffer, major; H. Bryan Baguley, surgeon; Cassius C. Hogg, assistant surgeon; Charles T. Nesbitt, assistant surgeon; Rev. S. K. Arbuthnot, chaplain. May 20th W. H. Lyons was commissioned by the governor as major. On that day the regiment left Camp Lee for Chickamauga, Tennessee, where it arrived in the dusk of the evening the next day, and bivouacked on the old battlefield of the Civil War. On the 28th it entered Camp George A. Thomas. After spending several months at that place the regiment was ordered to Camp Poland, at Knoxville, Tennessee. From there it proceeded to Camp Conrad, Columbus, Georgia, where it was mustered out of service, February 7, 1899.

President McKinley, May 25, 1898, requested Governor Atkinson to send forward a second regiment of infantry, and at once he issued a call for more men, to report at Camp Atkinson, on the north bank of the Great Kanawha, about a half mile below the mouth of Elk river, at a point about five blocks above the present ax factory at Charleston. Here the Second Regiment was organized, the officers being as follows: D. T. E. Casteel, colonel; O'Brien Moore, lieutenant-colonel; Howard Atkinson, major; Charles D. Elliott, major; William F. Henshaw, surgeon; Zadock T. Kalbaugh, assistant surgeon; William F. Bailey, assistant surgeon; Rev. Albert S. Kelly, chaplain. The companies were mustered into service by Captain J. M. Burns, of the 17th United States Infantry. The regiment left Camp Atkinson and moved to Middletown, Pennsylvania, where it entered Camp Meade. After several months spent there it was removed to Camp Wetherill, at Greenville, South Carolina, where it was mustered out of service, March, 1899.

Besides the above two regiments from this state, there were men from West Virginia who served as follows: Company E, Fourth U. S. Volunteer infantry, Captain W. H. Monroe, mustered into service at Parkersburg, with sixty-four men; Company G, Fourth U. S. Volunteer

Infantry, Captain Albert A. Franzheim, mustered into service at Wheeling, with eighty-two men; company L, Eighth U. S. Colored Volunteer Infantry, Captain E. E. Hood, mustered into service at Charleston, with eighty men; Company M, Eighth U. S. Colored Volunteer Infantry, Captain William T. Bishop, mustered into service at Parkersburg with forty-eight men, a sufficient number of men having been enlisted and sent forward to raise the aggregate of this company to the required number.

The State in the World's Fairs—Perhaps no state has profited more by the various expositions known as "World's Fairs" than has West Virginia; for by these the great outside world has been advised of the vast resources this commonwealth possesses.

The first great Exposition in the United Sates after the formation of West Virginia was the Centennial, in 1876, held in Philadelphia, when West Virginia was but thirteen years old as a separate commonwealth. In the autumn of 1875, President Grant appointed Alexander R. Boteler, of Jefferson county, and Andrew J. Sweeney, of Ohio county, as the West Virginia members of the national board of Exposition managers. December 14th, the legislature of this state appointed a state board of five members and appropriated $20,000 to defray the expenses of the state's exhibit. The following is the account given of the carrying out of the State's plans, by Virgil A. Lewis, in his 1904 "Hand Book of West Virginia:

> December 28, 1875, Governor Jacob named as members of the board O. C. Dewey and G. W. Franzheim, of Ohio county; E. H. Beall, of Brooke county, Thomas Maslin, of Hardy county, and John P. Hale, of Kanawha county. The two national commissioners acted with those of the state, and in the organization, Andrew J. Sweeney was elected president, and O. C. Dewey secretary. Professor M. F. Maury, of Charleston, was entrusted with the classification and arrangement of all exhibits; and with Professor William M. Fontaine, of the West Virginia University, who was detailed by the board of regents of that institution for the purpose, directed to prepare for publication all the information collected by the board relating to the resources of the state. Four gentlemen—Messrs. A. R. Guorard, J. W. C. Davis, St. George Bryan, and Major R. J. Echols—were appointed to collect the exhibit. The board resolved to erect a West Virginia building at Philadelphia, and a site was selected on the eastern slope of George's Hill, in Fairmont Park, the Exposition grounds. C. C. Kemble, an architect of Wheeling, drew the plans and specifications, and contracts were made with Henry S. White, of Marshall county, for its erection at a cost of $10,000. He built it entirely of hard woods—eighteen varieties—of that county, using in its construction 65,000 feet of lumber finished in natural colors. The exhibit was placed in a temporary structure erected in the rear of "Headquarters," while large blocks and masses of bituminous coal stood here, there, and everywhere, on the plot of ground surrounding the building. Some of them had been hauled fifty miles or more from the mines or seams, by ox-teams, to a railroad station for transportation to Philadelphia. One of these was from a vein fourteen feet in thickness, on Roaring creek, in Randolph county. The exhibit attracted the attention of visitors from every part of the world, to all of whom the riches of West Virginia had been unknown hitherto. Within the building were specimens of petroleum in various stages from the crude to the refined; blocks of timber of the many varieties of the hard woods, cut in many forms, sections, and quarters, that the grain and its susceptibliity to finish and polish might be seen. Then there were specimens of iron, wines, grains, limestone, building stone, marble, wood work, crockery, potter's clay, black flint, yellow ochre and millstone rock. The work of the school children was also displayed, and consisted of drawing, class-work, composition, etc. A shield made by George B. Crawford, of Wellsburg, exhibited every variety of wood grown in Brooke county; and Professor Howard H. Johnson, principal of the West Virginia Schools for the Deaf and the Blind, had on exhibition large maps prepared for the instruction of blind pupils. That $20,000 expended, paid back to the state millions in invested capital.

Great development had come to the state of West Virginia by 1893, the date for holding the World's Fair at Chicago, known as the World's

Columbian Exposition, held four hundred years after the landing of Christopher Columbus. Seventeen years had intervened between the Centennial at Philadelphia. In May, 1890, Governor A. B. Fleming nominated J. W. St. Clair of Fayette county, and J. D. Butts of Jefferson county, to be appointed by the President of the United States as representatives on the national board of World's Fair managers. In 1891 the governor appointed a board of managers for this state, composed of Messrs. William N. Chancellor, of Wood county; Robert S. Carr, of Kanawha county; John S. Naylor, of Ohio county; George M. Bowers, of Berkeley county; and Sydney Haymond, of Harrison county. Mr. Chancellor was elected president; M. C. McKay, of Jackson county, secretary; and George M. Bowers, treasurer. West Virginia appropriated $40,000 "for the purpose of exhibiting the resources, products, and general development of the state," and for the erection of a state building on the World's Fair grounds in Jackson Park, Chicago, not to cost more than $20,000. Thomas J. Miller, of Parkersburg, was awarded the building contract. Subsequently the legislature appropriated $20,000 additional, making $60,000 in all. The style of the building was strictly of the old colonial type, recalling numerous old historic homes of the Potomac and James rivers. Broad verandas made almost a complete circuit of the structure. Two colonial fire-places were built on each floor. Nearly all of the material used was from West Virginia soil. The state's exhibit here was in the several exhibit buildings—forestry, mines, metallurgy, education, etc. All were highly creditable to the state, whose resources were made widely known to the world through manifold means employed.

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904 was the greatest World's Fair the world has ever seen. The state of West Virginia took advantage of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, held at St. Louis, in 1904, in commemoration of that great tract of land becoming the property of the United States one hundred years before. Governor A. B. White appointed as members of the West Virginia commission: Hon. N. E. Whittaker, of Ohio county; Colonel A. H. Winchester, of Upshur county; Hon. C. E. Gerwig, of Wood county; Hon. John T. McGraw, of Taylor county; Colonel Fred Paul Grosscup, of Kanawha county; Hon. F. S. Landstreet, of Tucker county; and Colonel Ely Ensign, of Cabell county. The last named died January 27, 1902, and Colonel D. E. Abbott, of Cabell county, was appointed to fill vacancy made. A year later Mr. Landstreet resigned, and the governor appointed Hon. Frank Cox, of Monongalia county. Mr. Whittaker was elected president of the board; Mr. Grosscup, vice-president; Mr. Winchester, secretary; and Mr. Abbott, treasurer. At a meeting at Parkersburg, July 22d ensuing, Mr. Virgil A. Lewis was selected as historian and statistician to compile a "Hand Book of West Virginia" for distribution at the World's Fair. This work contained 390 pages and was replete with all that tended to show the vast resources and present development of the state. The rivers, mountains, timber, springs, soil, minerals, etc.,—all were in this hand-book, treated in an intellectual, fair minded and scientific manner by Mr. Lewis, who is now the State Historian and Archivist, in charge of the State Library and collection of records archives and relics in the "Annex" opposite the State House. He was ably assisted by men in various departments, such as geology, mining, etc. Hon. A. E. Kenny was appointed in connection with the oil and gas industries. The lumbermen were also ably represented. The State Building was seventy-six feet square, and cost $20,000, was colonial in style, with classic Greek domes on the corners, with a large dome in the center. It was surrounded by forty-seven forest trees, suggestive of the native woods so common in the state. There West Virginia vied in competition with the world. There she exhibited her

coal, coke, oil, hard and soft woods; her products from farm, garden and dairy; the handiwork from her factories and shops; her stone, slate sands, minerals, clay and ores. Her people were there, too, in great multitudes. In this gathering from all lands and climes, of every kindred and tribe and tongue in which all were so wonderously alike and yet so unlike, West Virginia did not suffer by comparison.

West Virginia made an exhibit of state history at the Jamestown Exposition in 1907, at Hampton Roads, Virginia. This was at the request of the commission. These exhibits consisted of thousands of historic articles, and items in books, leaflet, parchment, manuscript and photographs. Relics of a very interesting nature filled the large space allotted the state within what was known as the Palace of History. The finest archaeological collection there on exhibition was from this state; it occupied the second floor of the Palace, and attracted wide attention. In the same department, from West Virginia, were to be seen rare old implements, such as the spinning wheel, plow with wooden mould-board; lanterns, lamps and candlesticks, and other once useful articles. The space allowed this state was 840 square feet of floor space, and 1,312 square feet of wall space, every foot of which was occupied. All of this exhibit was of historical material. It was prepared and cared for by the State Department of Archives under the State Historian and Archivist, who had constructed ten large show cases which held the smaller and more valuable articles in the collection. These cases were returned, and now do good service in the "Annex" building, where they are well filled.

Besides this historic display, there was a large array of the natural products and resources. That the state was well represented in all that goes to make up a fine collection, the reader is only referred to the following list of names of men composing the West Virginia commission at that Exposition: Senator Stephen B. Elkins, of Elkins; ex-Governor A. B. Fleming, of Fairmont; ex-Governor G. W. Atkinson, of Charleston; Hon. Virgil A. Lewis, of Charleston; Hon. Newton Ogdin, of St. Marys; and Hon. E. L. Boggs, of Charleston.

Perhaps the greatest of all Expositions ever held within or for the interests of West Virginia, will be the proposed semi-centennial of the state, at Wheeling, in 1913. Great preparations are being made, and its magnitude will necessarily be left for the future historian to record, this work being completed before that event will transpire.

The State Flower—The subject of an official State Flower in this state had long been discussed, especially by teachers and true lovers of nature, touched with a tender sympathy, and full of praiseworthy sentiment. No definite action was taken in the matter until 1901, when Governor Atkinson, in his annual message, recommended the adoption of a State Flower, and at the same time suggested the great laurel (Rhododendron maximum) as being the most appropriate. Then Hon. Thomas C. Miller, State Superintendent of Schools, became much interested (says Virgil A. Lewis in his account of the matter in his 1904 "State Handbook"), and under his direction, the school children of the State, November 26, 1902, voted on the question of selection. There were 35,834 votes cast, of which 19,131 were for the great laurel; 3,663 for the honeysuckle; 3,387 for the wild rose; 3,162 for the goldenrod (the national flower); and the remainder for other flowers. Governor White then referred to his predecessor's recommendation, and the action of the children, both of which he approved of, and on January 8, 1903, the legislature adopted joint-resolution No. 8, as follows: "Resolved by the legislature of West Virginia, That the Rhododendron, or Big Laurel, be and is hereby designated as the official flower, to be used as such at all proper times and places."

The following is a list of the persons who have served either in West

zens of West Virginia have served in the Cabinet at Washington. The first of these was General Nathan Goff, of Harrison county, who was appointed by President Rutherford B. Hayes, January 6, 1880, as Secretary of the Navy. In December, 1891, President Benjamin Harrison appointed Stephen B. Elkins, of Randolph county, Secretary of War. On May 1, 1895, William Lyne Wilson, of Jefferson county, received the commission of Postmaster General, appointed by President Grover Cleveland.

UNITED STATES SENATORS

1863-65—Waitman T. Willey, Peter G. Van Winkle.
1865-67—Waitman T. Willey, Peter G. Van Winkle.
1867-69—Waitman T. Willey, Peter G. Van Winkle.
1869-71—Arthur Ingram Boreman, Waitman T. Willey.
1871-73—Henry Gassaway Davis, Arthur Ingram Boreman.
1873-75—Arthur Ingram Boreman, Henry Gassaway Davis.
1875-77—Allen T. Caperton (died 1876), Samuel Price (for vacancy), Frank Hereford (regular).
1877-79—Henry Gassaway Davis, Frank Hereford.
1879-81—Frank Hereford, Henry Gassway Davis.
1881-83—Johnson N. Camden, Henry Gassaway Davis.
1883-85—Johnson N. Camden, John Edward Kenna.
1885-87—Johnson N. Camden, John Edward Kenna.
1887-89—Charles James Faulkner, John Edward Kenna.
1889-91—Charles James Faulkner, John Edward Kenna.
1891-93—Charles James Faulkner, John Edward Kenna (died '93), Johnson N. Camden (vacancy).
1893-95—Charles James Faulkner, Johnson N. Camden.
1895-97—Stephen Benton Elkins, Charles James Faulkner.
1897-99—Stephen Benton Elkins, Charles James Faulkner.
1899-01—Stephen Benton Elkins, Nathan Bay Scott.
1901-03—Stephen Benton Elkins, Nathan Bay Scott.
1903-05—Stephen Benton Elkins, Nathan Bay Scott.
1905-07—Stephen Benton Elkins, Nathan Bay Scott.
1907-09—Stephen Benton Elkins (died), Nathan Bay Scott.
1911- —William E. Chilton, Clarence W. Watson.

REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS

West Virginia was admitted into the Union, June 20, 1863, and her members of Congress, both Senators and Representatives, took their seats in that body—the Thirty-eighth Congress—December 7, ensuing. the representatives were three in number, and this was continued until the apportionment by the Federal census of 1880, when the number was increased to four; no change was made thereafter until 1900, when the state was entitled to five Congressmen. The representation has been as follows:

1863-65—Jacob Beeson Blair, Kellian V. Whaley, William Guy Brown.
1865-67—Chester D. Hubbard, Kellian V. Whaley, George R. Latham.
1867-69—Chester D. Hubbard, Daniel Polsley, Buthuel M. Kitchen.
1869-71—Isaac H. Duvall, John S. Witcher, James C. Mc Grew.
1871-73—John J. Davis, James C. Mc Grew, Frank Hereford.
1873-75—John J. Davis, Frank Hereford, John Marshall Hagans.
1875-77—Charles James Faulkner, Benjamin Wilson, Frank Hereford.
1877-79—John Edward Kenna, Benjamin Wilson, Benjamin F. Martin.
1879-81—Benjamin Wilson, Benjamin F. Martin, John Edward Kenna.
1881-83—Benjamin Wilson, John Blair Hoge, John Edward Kenna.
1883-85—Nathan Goff, Jr., William L. Wilson, Charles Philip Snyder, Eustace Gibson.
1885-87—Nathan Goff Jr., William L. Wilson, Charles Philip Snyder, Eustace Gibson.
1887-89—Nathan Goff Jr., William L. Wilson, Charles Philip Snyder, Charles Edgar Hogg.
1889-91—George Wesley Atkinson, William L. Wilson, John D. Alderson, James M. Jackson (unseated), Charles B. Smith, John O. Pendleton (unseated).

1891-93—John O. Pendleton, William L. Wilson, John D. Alderson, James Capehart.
1893-95—John O. Pendleton, William L. Wilson, John D. Alderson, James Capehart.
1895-97—Blackburn B. Dovenor, Alston Gordon Dayton, James H. Huling, Warren Miller.
1897-99—Blackburn B. Dovenor, Alston G. Dayton, Charles P. Dorr, Warren Miller.
1899-01—Blackburn B. Dovenor, Alston G. Dayton, David E. Johnston, Romeo Hoyt Freer.
1901-03—Blackburn B. Dovenor, Alston G. Dayton, Joseph H. Gaines, James A. Hughes.
1903-05—Blackburn B. Dovenor, Alston G. Dayton, Joseph H. Gaines, Harry C. Woodyard, James A. Hughes.
1905-07—Blackburn B. Dovenor, Joseph H. Gaines, Thomas B. Davis, Harry C. Woodyard, James A. Hughes.
1907-09—William P. Hubbard, Joseph H. Gaines, George C. Sturgiss, Harry C. Woodyard, James A. Hughes.
1911-12—W. B. Brown Jr., Adam B. Littlepage, John M. Hamilton, James A. Hughes, John W. Davis.

WEST VIRGINIA GOVERNORS

Governor Francis H. Pierpont was the governor of the "Restored Government" of Virginia from the date of 1861, when Virginia went out of the Union, until the new state of West Virginia was formed and in 1863 became a separate commonwealth, when state officials were duly elected by the people—Arthur I. Boreman being the first chief executive.

1863-69—Arthur I. Boreman.
1869-71—William E. Stevenson.
1871-77—John J. Jacob.
1877-81—Henry M. Mathews.
1881-85—Jacob B. Jackson.
1885-90—E. Willis Wilson.
1890-93—Aretus B. Fleming.
1893-97—William A. MacCorkle.
1897-1901—George W. Atkinson.
1901-1905—A. B. White.
1905-1909—William M. O. Dawson.
1909-1913—William E. Glasscock.

NOTE:—Hon. Daniel D. T. Farnsworth, as president of the senate, became governor upon the resignation of Arthur I. Boreman, who had been elected to the United States Senate, and Mr. Farnsworth held the office for the remaining five days of the term.

SECRETARIES OF STATE

1863-65—J. Edgar Boyers.
1865-67—Granville D. Hall.
1867-69—John S. Witcher.
1869-71—James M. Pipes.
1871-73—John M. Phelps.
1873-77—Charles Hedrick.
1877-79—Sobieski Brady.
1879-85—Randolph Stalnaker.
1885-89—Henry S. Walker.
1889-93—William A. Ohley.
1893-97—William E. Chilton.
1897-05—William M. O. Dawson.
1905-09—Charles W. Swisher.
1909-13—Stewart F. Reed.

STATE TREASURERS

1863-67—Campbell Tarr.
1867-69—Jacob H. Bristor.
1869-71—James A. Mc Cawley.
1871-75—J. S. Burdett.
1875-77—Sobieski Brady.
1877-81—Thomas J. West.
1881-85—Thomas O'Brien.
1885-93—W. T. Thompson.
1893-97—J. M. Rowan.
1897-1901—M. A. Kendall.
1901-05—Peter Silman.
1905-09—Newton Ogdin.
1909-13—E. Leslie Long.

STATE AUDITORS

1863-65—Samuel Crane.
1865-69—J. C. Mc Whorter.
1869-71—J. H. Boggess.
1871-77—E. A. Bennett.
1877-85—J. S. Miller.
1886-94—Patrick F. Duffy.
1894-98—I. V. Johnson.
1898-1901—L. M. La Follette.
1901-09—Arnold C. Scherr.
1909-13—John S. Darst.

ATTORNEYS GENERAL

1863-65—A. Bolton Caldwell.
1865-66—Ephraim B. Hall.
1866-67—Edwin Maxwell.
1867-69—Thayer Melvin.
1869-71—A. Bolton Caldwell.
1871-73—Joseph H. Sprigg.
1873-77—Henry M. Mathews.
1877-81—Robert White.
1881-85—C. C. Watts.
1885-93—Alfred Caldwell.
1893-97—Thomas S. Riley.
1897-1901—Edgar P. Rucker.
1901-05—R. H. Freer.
1905-08—Clarke W. May.
1908-13—William G. Conley.

STATE SUPERINTENDENTS OF SCHOOLS

1863-69—William R. White.
1869-70—Henry A. G. Ziegler.
1870-71—A. D. Williams.
1871-72—Charles S. Lewis.
1872-73—W. K. Pendleton.
1873-77—B. W. Byrne.
1877-81—W. K. Pendleton.
1881-85—B. L. Butcher.
1885-93—B. S. Morgan.
1893-97—Virgil A. Lewis.
1897-01—James R. Trotter.
1901-09—Thomas C. Miller.
1909-13—M. P. Shockey.

Judiciary Department—The Constitution of West Virginia provided that the Supreme Court of Appeals should consist of three judges to be elected by the people, the term of office to be twelve years after the first election for such judges. The first were elected for four, eight and twelve years, and their terms selected by their drawing lots for short, intermediate and long terms. Each four years thereafter one was to be elected, thus providing for two old judges on the bench all the time. The first state officers having been appointed at the convention, at Parkersburg, May, 1863, and the supreme judges nominated at that date by motion of Dr. Spicer Patrick, of Kanawha county, were: Ralph L. Berkshire, William A. Harrison and James H. Brown, all of whom were elected without opposition at the general election, May 23d, ensuing. July 19, 1863, the judges and others interested in the courts of the newly formed State met at Wheeling, where Hon. William A. Harrison was made president *pro tem.* It was planned that the judge who drew the short term should be made the permanent president of the court. Judge Harrison drew the twelve year term, Judge Brown, the eight year term, and Judge Berkshire the short, or four year term. He was thus declared president. Sylvanus W. Hall, of Marion county, was elected clerk, and Samuel Irwin, of Ohio county, was made crier. Then it was that appeared attorneys, Zachariah Jacob, Daniel Peck, Benjamin H. Smith, James S. Wheat, Acquilla B. Caldwell, Moses C. Goode, Edwin Maxwell, Edward C. Bunker, John L. Brown, Hannibal Forbes, Nathaniel Richardson, and Ellery R. Hall, practicing attorneys, and were all granted leave to practice in the newly organized Supreme Court. Thus, before sundown, the Court of Appeals—the one of last resort in the commonwealth—was completely organized, and the judiciary of West Virginia set in motion.

The following named persons have occupied seats on the Bench of the Supreme Court of Appeals of the State, viz:

William A. Harrison, of Harrison county, b. Aug. 27, 1795; drew long term of twelve years beginning July 9, 1863; served until Sept. 1, 1868, when he resigned; d. at Clarksburg, Dec. 30, 1870.

Ralph Lazier Berkshire, of Monongalia county, b. April 8, 1816; served from July 9, 1863, to Dec. 31, 1866; and again from Jan. 1, 1869, to Dec. 31, 1872, when filling unexpired term of Judge William A. Harrison; was president of the court, 1863-66, and 1871-72; d. Nov. 8, 1902.

James Henry Brown, of Kanawha county, b. Dec. 25, 1818; served term of eight years, 1863-71; was president of court 1867-71; d. Oct. 28, 1900.

Edwin Maxwell, of Harrison county, b. July 16, 1825; elected for full term of twelve years, serving Jan. 1, 1867, to Dec. 31, 1872, when term was terminated by provisions of new Constitution; d. Feb. 5, 1903.

Charles Page Thomas Moore, of Mason county, b. Feb. 8, 1831; elected in 1870 for full term of twelve years; service ended Dec. 31, 1872, by provision of new Constitution; re-elected for full term of twelve years and served from Jan. 1, 1873, to Dec. 31, 1880, when he resigned; was president of court in 1880; he is deceased.

John F. Hoffman, of Harrison county, b. June 25, 1821. On reorganization of the court, Jan. 23, 1873, drew short term of four years, and served from Jan. 1, 1873, to Dec. 31, 1876; d. Nov. 18, 1877.

James Paull, of Ohio county, b. July 1, 1818; elected for full term of twelve years, and served from Jan. 1, 1873, to May, 1875, when he died in office.

Alpheus F. Haymond, of Marion county, b. Dec. 15, 1823; served term of four years, from Jan. 1, 1873, to Dec. 31, 1876; re-elected in 1876 for full term of twelve years, beginning Jan. 1, 1877; served until 1883, when he resigned; was president of court, 1873-76, and again 1877-79; d. Dec. 15, 1893.

Matthew Edmiston, of Lewis county, b. in Pocahontas county, Sept. 9, 1814; served in both branches of general assembly before Civil War; appointed judge of court of appeals as successor to John H. Hoffman, who resigned June 1, 1876, and served until January 1, 1877; d. at Weston, June 29, 1887.

Thomas C. Greene, of Jefferson county, b. Nov. 5, 1820; appointed in 1875 as successor of Judge Paull; elected in 1876 for unexpired term; re-elected in 1880 for full term of twelve years; served until his death, Dec. 4, 1889.

Okey Johnson, of Wood county, b. March 24, 1834; served 1877-88; was president of court 1881-88; d. June 16, 1903.

James French Patton, of Monroe county, b. Sept. 19, 1843; appointed June 1, 1881, to fill vacancy caused by resignation of Judge C. P. P. Moore; served until death, March 30, 1882.

Adam C. Snyder, of Greenbrier county, b. March 26, 1834; appointed April, 1882, to fill vacancy caused by death of Judge James F. Patton, who had been appointed successor to Judge Moore, of whose term nearly three years yet remained; served until January 31, 1885; elected for full term of twelve years in 1884, serving until November, 1890, when he resigned; was president of court 1889-90; d. July 24, 1896.

Samuel Woods, of Barbour county, b. Sept. 19, 1822; appointed Jan., 1883, to fill vacancy caused by resignation of Judge Alpheus F. Haymond; served until Dec. 31, 1888; d. Feb. 17, 1897.

Henry Brannon, of Lewis county, b. Nov. 26, 1837; elected in 1888 for full term of twelve years; re-elected for twelve years, beginning Jan. 1, 1901; was president of court 1894-98 and again 1901-1905; still in service.

John Warth English, of Mason county, b. Jan. 31, 1831; elected in 1888 for full term of twelve years; president of court, 1893-97.

Daniel Bedinger Lucas, of Jefferson county, b. March 16, 1836; appointed in 1889 to fill unexpired term of Judge Thomas C. Greene; served from Jan. 1, 1890, to Dec. 31, 1892; was president of the court, 1891-92.

Homer A. Holt, of Greenbrier county, b. April 27, 1831; appointed in 1890 as successor of Judge Adam C. Snyder, and served from Nov., 1890, to Dec. 31, 1895; was president of court, 1895-96; d. Jan. 7, 1898.

Marmaduke H. Dent, of Taylor county, b. April 18, 1849; elected in 1892 for full term of twelve years from Jan., 1893; was president of court 1899-1902.

Henry Clay Mc Whorter, of Kanawha county, b. Feb. 20, 1836; elected for full term of twelve years, from Jan., 1897; president of court, 1900, 1903 and 1906.

George Poffenbarger, of Mason county, b. Nov. 24, 1861; elected for full term of twelve years from Jan. 1, 1901; president of court, 1904 and 1908.

Warren Miller, of Jackson county, b. April 2, 1848; appointed Jan. 17, 1903, under provisions of amendment to the constitution and served until Dec. 31, 1904, when he was succeeded by Judge Joseph M. Saunders.

Frank Cox, of Monongalia county, b. June 18, 1862; elected for full term of twelve years beginning Jan. 1, 1905; resigned, to take effect Jan. 28, 1907, and Judge William N. Miller was appointed his successor same day; was president of court Jan., 1907.

Joseph M. Sanders, of Mercer county, b. Aug. 26, 1866; elected for full term of twelve years beginning Jan. 1, 1905; resigned, to take effect Oct. 1, 1907; was president of court early part of 1907.

William N. Miller, of Wood county, b. Oct. 18, 1855; appointed Jan. 28, 1907, to fill vacancy caused by resignation of Judge Frank Cox, and was qualified Jan. 29, 1907; was president of court latter part of 1907; elected in 1908 for unexpired term of eight years.

Ira E. Robinson, of Taylor county, b. Sept. 16, 1869; appointed Oct. 9, 1907, as successor of Judge Joseph M. Sanders resigned, and qualified Oct. 15, 1907; elected in 1908 for unexpired term of eight years.

Luther Judson Williams, of Greenbrier county, b. Oct. 18, 1856; elected in 1908 for full term of twelve years beginning Jan. 1, 1909.

Present State Boundaries—The present boundaries are as follows: Beginning at the mouth of Oak creek, where the western boundary line of Pennsylvania crosses the Ohio river; thence with the meanderings of that stream and including its islands, to Virginia Point, at the mouth of Big Sandy river; thence with that stream to the mouth of Knox creek, a corner of the States of Kentucky and Virginia; thence with a line of and including the corner of McDowell and Mercer counties to the top of East River mountains; thence with said ridge and with Peter's mountain to the Allegheny mountains; thence with the top of the same to Haystack Knob, a corner of Virginia and West Virginia; thence with the south line of and including Pendleton county to the top of Shenandoah mountain; thence with the same and Branch mountain to a corner of Hardy and Rockingham counties; thence with the line of and including the counties of Hardy, Hampshire, Morgan, Berkeley and Jefferson to a point on the Maryland and Virginia line where the Potomac river intersects the Blue Ridge; thence with the meanderings of the Potomac to the confluence of Savage river and the North Branch of the Potomac; thence with the meanderings of the latter to the head springs thereof at the "Fairfax Stone"; thence due north with the western boundary line of Maryland, to the point on the Pennsylvania line, a corner of the States of Maryland and West Virginia; thence west with the southern boundary line of Pennsylvania to the southwest corner of the State, and thence with the western boundary of the State to place of beginning.

This territory includes an area of 24,645 square miles, or a tract of land as large as the States of Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts and Vermont.

POPULATION OF WEST VIRGINIA

The following shows the population of West Virginia by decades for one hundred and twenty years, from 1790 to 1910 inclusive. Prior to 1870 the states of Virginia and West Virginia were one, and hence the United States census shows but the one—the Old Dominion—but their populations have been carefully separated for each ten year census period prior to the formation of the new state, so as to make the following totals for the twelve decades or thirteen enumerations for what is now known as West Virginia:

In 1790	55,873	In 1860	376,688
In 1800	78,595	In 1870	442,014
In 1810	105,469	In 1880	618,457
In 1820	136,768	In 1890	762,794
In 1830	176,925	In 1900	958,800
In 1840	224,537	In 1910	1,221,119
In 1850	302,313		

For four decades, or five census periods, the center of population in West Virginia was 1810, at Harper's Ferry, Jefferson county; 1820, at Wardensville, in Hardy county; 1830, on Canaan Mountain, Tucker county; 1840, ten miles due south of Clarksburg, Harrison county; 1850, on south bank of the Little Kanawha river, in Wood county.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the population was divided among the various nationalities and races, as shown by the United States reports, as follows: Total population, 958,800. Of this number 499,242 were males, and 459,558 females. There were 915,233 whites, and 43,567 of negro descent. Of the total population, 765,565 were born in and were residents of the state, and 193,225 were born outside the limits of the state. Of those 23,451 were born in foreign countries, and 170,784

were born in other American states, as follows: Virginia, 61,508; Ohio, 41,927; Pennsylvania, 28,867; Kentucky, 10,600; Maryland, 9,608; North Carolina, 3,964; New York, 2,945; Indiana, 1,336; Illinois, 1,031; Tennessee, 964; Missouri, 980; District of Columbia, 446; Georgia, 258; South Carolina 249; in other States of the Union, 4,783.

The foreign born were in 1900 as follows: Total, 22,451; Germany, 6,537; Ireland, 3,342; Italy, 2,931; England, 2,622; Austria, 1,125; Scotland, 855; Hungary, 810; Russia, 721; Canada, 702; Switzerland, 696; Wales, 482; Russian Poland, 317; France, 298; from Asia, other than China, Japan and India, 148; German Poland, 133; Sweden, 132; Greece, 108; Belgium, 79; Denmark, 60; China, 47; Central America, 27; Bohemia, 27; Holland, 22; Australia, 21; Turkey, 20; Norway, 19; West Indies, 11; Mexico, 7; South America, 6; Finland, 6; Spain, 5; India, 3; Africa, 2; Atlantic Islands, 2; Roumania, 1; Cuba, 1; born at sea, 19.

It will be observed by the foregoing that in 1900 the State of West Virginia had 79.8 per cent. native born; 17.8 per cent. born in other states of the Union, while 2.4 per cent. are of foreign birth, the greater part coming from Europe. No other state contains a better element than does this.

CENSUS OF 1910—BY COUNTIES

Barbour	15,858	Mineral	16,674
Berkeley	21,999	Mingo	19,491
Boone	10,331	Monongalia	24,334
Brooke	11,098	Monroe	13,055
Braxton	23,023	Morgan	7,848
Cabell	46,685	Nicholas	17,699
Calhoun	11,258	Ohio	57,720
Clay	10,233	Pendleton	9,349
Doddridge	11,672	Pleasants	8,074
Fayette	51,903	Pocahontas	14,740
Gilmer	11,379	Preston	26,341
Grant	7,838	Putnam	18,587
Greenbrier	24,833	Raleigh	25,683
Hampshire	11,695	Randolph	26,028
Hancock	10,465	Ritchie	17,875
Hardy	9,163	Roane	21,548
Harrison	48,381	Summers	18,420
Jackson	20,956	Taylor	16,554
Jefferson	15,889	Tucker	18,675
Kanawha	81,457	Tyler	16,211
Lewis	18,281	Upshur	16,629
Lincoln	20,491	Wayne	24,081
Logan	14,476	Webster	9,680
Mc Dowell	47,856	Wetzel	32,655
Marion	42,794	Wirt	9,047
Marshall	32,388	Wood	38,001
Mason	23,019	Wyoming	10,392
Mercer	38,371		
		Total	1,221,119

Growth of Cities and Towns—In 1910, West Virginia had the following cities and towns having a population of 5,000 and more inhabitants. The list is as follows, with their population at different enumeration periods:

	1890	1900	1910
Benwood	2,934	4,511	4,976
Bluefield	1,775	4,644	11,188
Charleston	6,742	11,099	22,996
Clarksburg	3,008	4,050	9,201
Elkins	737	2,016	5,260
Fairmont	1,023	5,655	9,711
Grafton	3,159	5,650	7,563
Huntington	10,108	11,923	31,161

Martinsburg	7,226	7,564	10,698
Moundsville	2,688	5,362	8,918
Morgantown	1,011	1,895	9,150
Parkersburg	8,408	11,703	17,842
Wheeling	34,522	38,878	41,641

The principal municipalities of West Virginia in 1910, to the number of thirty-one, were denominated cities. Wheeling, the largest, has a population of 41,641, and Huntington, second in the list, had 31,161. Charleston, Parkersburg, Bluefield and Martinsburg are the only cities in the state, aside from those just named, having over 10,000 population. There are also six cities having 5,000 to 10,000; nine from 2,500 to 5,000; ten less than 2,500. The aggregate population of these thirty-one cities is 232,618, or nineteen per cent. of the total population of the State.

Morgantown in 1910 showed the highest per cent. of increase during the last decade, namely almost 383 per cent. gain. Wheeling showed the least increase, making only seven per cent. gain. Morgantown, however, made much of her large increase through the annexation of three other towns.

Bluefield, Charleston, Clarksburg, Huntington and Morgantown each show a percentage of increase during the last decade of over one hundred per cent. The increase in Wheeling during the last decade was less than in any other decade since it became a city. The least county population in the state is Grant, with 7,837, and the largest is Kanawha county, with 81,457.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE PANHANDLE AND OHIO VALLEY

The land lying along the Ohio river in this immediate section, beginning with Hancock county, West Virginia, as now understood, was not known or settled quite as soon as some other portions of Virginia, but it was not many years before the tread of the pioneer band was heard along the banks of this stream. People came in from Maryland, from Pennsylvania, from Kentucky and from Eastern Virginia and settled in goodly numbers, more than a century ago. The settlement was not confined to any certain nationality, as there were the English, the German, the Scotch and the Irish among those first pioneers who braved the dangers of the Indian country in what is now the northwestern part of West Virginia.

Commissioners made their report to the State of Virginia on December 23, 1784, and it was received and ratified April 8, 1785, and that date was the legal beginning of what is now known as the Panhandle. Thus ended the difficulties which were connected with the organization, progress and adjustment of the celebrated Mason and Dixon's Line, and the great boundary controversy between Virginia and Pennsylvania. Its settlement was the result of a compromise made by the representatives in both states. The Virginians believed they were overreached by the Pennsylvanians in the bargain, and were a little sore when they made the discovery; but they were consoled by some of the eminent men of the state, who valued the advantage the river would give. Many were favorably impressed with the reflection that the narrow strip left them would serve the purpose of a sentinel and protect the body of the state from invasion of its territory or institutions.

After the settlement of the boundary question, the territory embraced within the Panhandle, although a narrow strip of land between the Ohio and the Pennsylvania line, settled up more rapidly than any other section of northwestern Virginia, and at a very early day took front rank in the development of the material resources of the State. When the State of Ohio was formed in 1802, the Panhandle first showed its beautiful proportions on the map of the United States. It received its name in legislation through a debate, from Hon. John McMillen, delegate from Brooke county, to match the projection which he dubbed a "spoon-handle."

In the life of Patrick Gass, by J. G. Jacob, he has the following, relative to the Panhandle prior to October, 1785:

> "Ohio county had been formed from Youghiogheny by the lines of Cross creek, says the record, on the settlement of the boundary question in 1789 that portion of the Youghiogheny lying north of this creek was added to Ohio, being too small for a separate county, and the county of Youghiogheny thereafter became extinct. Hancock, then, and so much of Brooke as lies north of Cross creek, was the last of the county of Youghiogheny. Tradition, in accounting for this strip of land driven in wedgelike between Ohio and Pennsylvania, constituting what is styled the Panhandle, states that the reason was on account of an error in reckoning that the five degrees of longitude (west) reached so far west, and that much dissatisfaction was excited when the result was made known, as great importance was attached to the command of the Ohio river by the authorities of either State."

The Mason and Dixon's Line—In 1681, Charles II, granted to William Penn a charter for the present state of Pennsylvania. In this act the King's wishes were consulted rather than the chartered territorial limits of Virginia. The southern bounds of Penn's Province was de-

MONUMENT TO SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTION, PARKERSBURG.

CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS MONUMENT, PARKERSBURG.

KANAWHA FALLS.

clared in his patent to be a line extending from the Deleware river *five degrees west*. It was thought that this western extension of Penn's grant would be coequal with that of Lord Baltimore's, and that the same meridian would mark the limit of both. Prof. Virgil A. Lewis, West Virginia's able State Historian and Archivist, in treating this important subject has this to say:

"Had such been the case, and had a better knowledge of the geography of the country prevailed at that time, Virginia would have exercised jurisdiction in the Monongahela Valley, and Pittsburgh would to-day be the metropolis of West Virginia.

"So long as the country remained a wilderness, the question of jurisdiction was of little importance. But no sooner did the frontiersmen begin to build their cabins along the banks of the Monongahela than disputes arose between Pennsylvania and Virginia regarding the right of possession. Pennsylvania claimed it under Penn's patent, while Virginia based her title upon her chartered boundaries of 1609. Both colonies issued patents for lands situated within the disputed territory, and both appointed justices of the peace for the same. Pennsylvania arrested those appointed by Virginia and imprisoned them at Carlisle, while Virginia found quarters for those appointed by Pennsylvania in the jails at Staunton and Winfield.

"Meantime, while the dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania regarding the western boundary of the latter continued, another difficulty arose, in which, however, Virginia was an uninterested spectator. This was the question of the boundary between the proprietary rights of the heirs of Lord Baltimore and those of William Penn. Both colonies appointed commissioners who met at New Castle in November, 1760. They appointed surveyors, two on the part of each colony, who were for three years engaged in an effort to find the western line of Delaware for the purpose of making it a tangent to the circle, the center of which was the court house at New Castle, Delaware. The proprietors, wearied of the slow progress, in August, 1763, secured the services of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, two eminent surveyors of London, both of whom arrived in America in November following. On Cedar (now South street) Philadelphia, they erected an observatory to enable them to ascertain the latitude of that city. After various calculations they determined a point and planted the stone at which begins the celebrated "Mason and Dixon's Line." Slowly and carefully the surveyors proceeded westward, and on October 27, 1765, they were on the summit of the North Mountain, ninety-five miles west of the Susquehanna river, and at the western terminus of the temporary line determined by the Penns and Baltimores in 1739. Here the work was postponed for the winter, but resumed early the next spring, and June 4, 1766, the surveyors were on the summits of the Allegheny mountains, west of Will's creek. Here the Indians—the Six Nations—forbade further prosecution of the work, and here it rested until permission was obtained by treaty. This done, the work was continued in the summer of 1767, during which the surveyors reached the western limit of Maryland—"the meridian of the first fountain of the Potomac." Here the interests of the Baltimores ceased. But the surveyors pushed on, determined to find the western limit of Penn's "five degrees of longitude" from the Delaware. Onward continued the chain-bearers, rod-men, axe-men, commissioners, baggage carriers and servants, led by the London surveyors, until at length they reached a point near Mt. Morris, now in Greene county, near the old Catawba war-path, where they were again stopped by the Indians, and here for fifteen years Mason and Dixon's Line terminated.

"After passing the western limits of Maryland, Virginia protested loudly against the further extension of the line, claiming, and justly too, that the western limit of Penn's "five degrees" would largely infringe on her territory. Disputes between the frontiersmen of the two provinces continued, and so bitter had they become that in 1774 a resort to arms seemed imminent. But now the Revolution came on, and Virginia and Pennsylvania forgot their differences regarding territorial boundaries, and united in one common cause against one common enemy, and the frontiersmen who had so recently been engaged in almost deadly conflict, marched side by side to the bloody fields of the Revolution.

"In June, 1776, Virginia framed her first constitution, and in the twenty-first section of that instrument declared that 'The territory contained within the charter erecting the colonies of Maryland, Pennsylvania, North and South Carolina, are hereby ceded, released and forever confirmed to the people of those colonies, respectively, with all the rights of property, jurisdiction and government, and all other rights whatsoever, which might at any time heretofore have been claimed by Virginia.' Thus Virginia, at last, yielded her claim to that of which she had been deprived by royal mandates, and against which she had protested, for nearly a hundred years.

"At length the Revolution was over, and Virginia and Pennsylvania, both elevated to the dignity of independent states, agreed to amicably adjust and settle all difficulties regarding boundaries. To perform this work, Dr. James Madison and Robert Andrews were appointed on the part of the former, and Rev. Dr. John Ewing, George Bryan and David Rittenhouse on the part of the latter. The commissioners met at Baltimore and in 1780 entered upon their work that—according to the agreement of the legislatures of the two states—of extending Mason and Dixon's Line five degrees of longitude west from the Delaware river, and thence to the northern boundary of Pennsylvania. But they were again stopped by the Indians, and nothing was done for four years. Then a part of the commissioners repaired to Wilmington, Delaware, where they reared an observatory; the others journeyed west, and on one of the loftiest points of the Fish creek hills erected another. Supplied with astronomical instruments, the parties from their respective stations for six weeks preceding the autumnal equinox of 1784, continued to observe such celestial phenomena as would enable them to determine their respective meridians. From the data thus obtained they determined the location of the fifth meridian west from the Delaware river, upon which they planted a square unlettered white oak post, which, surrounded by a conical pyramid of stones, marked the southwest corner of Pennsylvania.

"By this extension, Virginia lost a large portion of Monongalia county, including the courthouse of the same, and almost the entire area of Youghiogheny county which Virginia had established by legislative enactment in 1776, and which henceforth ceased to exist, the remainder being attached to Ohio county.

"In 1784, Virginia ceded her northwestern territory to the general government. This included all her possessions beyond the Ohio, leaving still in her possession the narrow strip lying between the western boundary of Pennsylvania, and the Ohio river—that now designated as the Northern Panhandle of West Virginia."

It will be the purpose of this chapter to give something concerning the settlement and development of the various counties lying along the Ohio river, in West Virginia, as far as Point Pleasant, which will include the Panhandle and some of the territory below it in this state. The Panhandle proper is composed of Hancock, Brooke, Ohio and Marshall counties, West Virginia.

Hancock County—Hancock, the extreme northwestern county in the state, is the northern end of the Panhandle country. It was formed by act of assembly passed January 15, 1848, and named in honor of John Hancock, president of the Continental Congress of 1776, and the first signer of the Declaration of Independence. It has an area of one hundred square miles. The western shore of this county is washed by the Ohio river. Its first court was held at the house of Samuel C. Allison, in New Manchester. The justices constituting this court were: John Pittenger, David Pugh, Andrew Henderson, John Gardner, David Wylie, William H. Grafton and John Mayhew. The selection of the county seat of Hancock county was left to the people, by the act that created it. At the election for the location, New Manchester (now Fairview) and New Cumberland were named in the call, the latter receiving a majority of thirteen votes. Yet the county court refused to remove the courts to that place. Another election was held April 25, 1850, when a majority of forty-six votes was polled in favor of New Cumberland. After no little delay the courts were removed, but then arose a dispute as where the court house should be located. While this matter was being discussed, the people held another election, in 1852, resulting in a majority of one in favor of New Manchester, after which the courts were removed and the seat of justice fully established at that place, now called Fairview.

Fairview is situated on a tract of land located by David Pugh in 1800. Ten years later he laid out a portion of his land into lots, one hundred and thirteen in all, and named the town New Manchester, while the post-office established there was called Fairview. February 10, 1871, the place was legally incorporated by an act of the legislature of West Virginia, but two years later the people asked to have the incorporation act repealed and it was done. It became the permanent seat of justice for Hancock county in 1852.

New Cumberland was laid out in lots forty-two in number, in 1839, by John Cuppy. The founder called the place Vernon, but subsequently changed the name to New Cumberland to please the first lot purchasers. The eastern addition of the town was platted in 1848 by Joseph L. Ball, Thomas Elder and John Gamble.

About 1776 a man named Holliday settled in what has ever since been known as Holliday's Cove. Shortly after the revolutionary war several soldiers of that conflict became settlers in the county. Among these was Colonel Richard Brown, of Maryland, who served under command of Washington; he with his family settled on a thousand acre tract in Holliday's Cove; John Edie, a native of Pennsylvania, came in and was county surveyor and performed much of the original surveying. An Irishman, Colonel George Stewart, who prior to the war had emigrated to eastern Pennsylvania about 1790 came to Hancock county and located in the Grant district. In 1780 James Allison emigrated from Maryland and located in the same district. In 1783 came George Chapman, who claimed a thousand acre tract upon a part of which New Cumberland was afterward platted. James Campbell settled on King's creek, three miles from the mouth, in 1783. Jacob Nessley came in from Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in 1785. Ten years later, William Chapman came from eastern Virginia. A native of Ireland, Alexander Morrow, immigrated to New Jersey in 1793, and five years later moved to Hancock county, Virginia. In 1800 Hugh Pugh located 400 acres where Fairview now stands. Burgess Allison came in 1801. Alexander Scott, a Pennsylvanian, located a mile to the northwest of Fairview, in 1802. In 1812 William Langfitt settled near Fairview.

The soil of Hancock county is very fertile, and large crops of grain and grasses common to this section are annually produced. In 1870 the reports on agriculture gave the products for that year as being: Flaxseed, 3,330 pounds; maple sugar, 31,700 pounds; honey, 7,000 pounds; bees wax, 78 pounds; maple molasses, 1,700 gallons. The same date the county contained 31,000 acres of improved land; 17,000 acres of wooded lands. The cash value of the farms amounted to $2,350,000. The true value of all personal and real estate in the county was $4,061,000. The number of animals slaughtered in 1879 was 17,000; amount of value of home manufacturies was $10,256.

But agriculture is not the only source of revenue in this county. Here Nature has deposited coal in vast quantities, clays of a superior quality, natural gas, iron, limestone, sandstone and flagstone, all of which have helped to build up great and ever increasing industries. Fire brick has come to be one of prodigious proportions. In 1867 there was being produced annually about eight million of these superior building and paving brick, which found market in the surrounding cities. Thirteen firms were then engaged in this industry alone.

The New Manchester turnpike was established by act of the Virginia legislature in February, 1828. It commenced at Hamilton's Ferry and run by New Manchester to the Pennsylvania state line. Only a portion of the pike was constructed at that time, and that by private subscriptions. In 1848 an appropriation was voted by Virginia. John Mayhew, John Witherspoon, Thomas J. Hewitt, William H. Grafton, George W. Chapman, John Allison, and George Baxter were appointed a commission for the commonwealth to open books and receive subscriptions for stock not to exceed $5,000 in shares of $25 each. The road was resurveyed and completed in 1853, there not being many changes in the survey of 1828. This thoroughfare only remained a toll road about three years, when it was thrown open to the general public.

Brooke County—This county was organized by act of the Virginia

Assembly, November 30, 1796, and is the smallest sub-division in West Virginia. It took its name from Robert Brooke, grandson of Robert, who in company with Robert Beverly, the historian accompanied Governor Spottswood to Virginia in 1710. They accompanied the governor on his expedition over the Blue Ridge mountains in 1716. The Robert in whose honor the county was named, with his brother Lawrence, was sent to Edinburgh to be educated, the former for the profession of law, the latter for a physician. When they returned the revolution was in progress. Lawrence going to France, was through the influence of Benjamin Franklin appointed surgeon of the "Bon Homme Richard" and was in all the engagements of that historic ship. Robert was captured on the voyage to America and sent back to England. Escaping, he went to Scotland, thence to France, and sailed for America in a French cruiser laden with arms for the colonial troops. He entered the army in 1781, was taken prisoner in an engagement at Westham, six miles from Richmond, was soon exchanged, and returning to the army, served to the close of the war. In 1794 he was a member of the general assembly from Spottsylvania county, and the same year was elected governor of Virginia. In 1795 he was made grand master of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons. He was elected attorney-general of Virginia in 1798, over his opponent Bushrod Washington, nephew of George Washington. He died 1799, aged 58 years.

Brooke county is eighteen miles long and about nine miles in width. It is between Pennsylvania and the Ohio river, south of Hancock and north of Ohio county. Its general surface is high rolling land, cut up by many deep ravines, along which flows numerous brooks and creeks fed by thousands of springs at the base hills. These streams unite with larger ones and after taking the general western course fall into the Ohio river. The more elevated lands have a strong limestone soil and are productive of large crops of wheat, oats and all grains and grasses common to this latitude. The original forests are nearly all cut away, and such land as can be tilled is used for farming purposes. The entire county is underlaid with a fine grade of coal that has already made the citizens wealthy and prosperous. The 1870 census returns gave the number of acres of improved land at 55,000 acres; woodland, 3,600 acres.

The first settlement was made in Brooke county about 1772. Several of the first patents for land were granted, but not much settlement was effected until 1787, when several families came in. Among these pioneers were Moses Decker, Peter Cox, Benjamin Wells, John Van Meter, and Benjamin Johnson Jr. who was a surveyor and located 7,000 acres of land in 1785. William McMahon appropriated the hills back of Wellsburg in 1786; Hezekiah Hyatt, Lawrence Van Buskirk, John Buck and others came in about that date. Among those who settled near Wellsburg were Judge Alexander Caldwell, subsequently of Wheeling; Oliver Brown, an officer of the revolutionary war, a member of the famous "Boston Tea Party," Joseph and Phillip Doddridge; Alexander Wells also settled in the same neighborhood.

In the early days of the settlement, when trade was by river transportation and the markets were New Orleans and intermediate points; an active business was carried on at Wellsburg; factories sprang up on every creek, Flouring mills were everywhere in evidence. But time made vast changes; the mills and small factories were removed to more enterprising points, in a much less fertile or desirable section of the country.

Bethany, the seat of Bethany College, the great Christian church educational institution, founded by Bishop Alexander Campbell, is situated seven miles southeast of Wellsburg, on Buffalo creek, near the old homestead of Alex. Campbell, and was named after Bethany of Judea, in the

Holy Land. In the start it was Bishop Campbell's idea to not have a town spring up there, but he argued that a college was better away from town life and business influences. He selected this as a quiet, remote place, but after a few years he saw his error. The village of Bethany was laid out there, but as late as 1879 it contained only 300 population. It had two dry goods stores, a grocery store, two blacksmiths shops, a wagon shop and two churches. Previous to 1827 the community received its mail from West Liberty, four miles distant, but Alexander Campbell, who lived near Bethany's present site, was a large correspondent, and on account of his ministerial duties as well as his extensive publishing house, he found it inconvenient to go so far for mail. He therefore petitioned the postal department for a new office to be kept at his place. He offered to carry the mail twice each week on horseback and that free of charge. The postmaster at that date was allowed the much used and much abused franking privilege. He could send and receive his mail without paying the regular postage, which then amounted to from six to twenty-five cents a letter, so this would help Campbell towards his expenses in carrying the mail for the government. He was appointed postmaster June 2, 1827. The office was to have been named Buffalo, but upon learning of an office in Mason county by the same name, it was changed to Bethany. Mr. Campbell remained postmaster thirty-eight years, and was succeeded in 1865 by James A. Campbell, who resigned in about two years, and since then many have sought and held the position of postmaster there. The town of Bethany had a population of 433 in 1910.

Bethany College was founded by Bishop Alexander Campbell in 1841. He was a native of Ireland, and a learned scholar and devoted Christian gentleman. It is now seventy-two years old, and has as graduates men in almost every walk in life, including congressmen, eminent divines, physicians and lawyers. Through it have been organized thousands of Christian (or Disciple) churches throughout this country and in foreign lands. It is supported by both endowments and tuitions. The first college building was burned in 1858, including the library and museum. In its place was erected a handsome $100,000 structure. Since then many buildings and general improvements have been made. The civil war brought its trouble to this institution, but that has long since been surmounted by peace and financial prosperity.

A few years after the civil war, Isaac Murphy settled at Bethany, for the purpose of educating his family. He sent his sons to Bethany College, and his daughter, Nancy Frances, to Pleasant Hill Seminary, where consumption followed and she died. She had a sweet, mild disposition, and was of a serious, pensive turn of mind, and while her declining health permitted, used often to stroll out to a wood on a high hill, a half-mile south of Bethany, to wander through the quaint silent forest. She would frequently sit at the foot of a large oak tree and there muse over life's fading shadows. When from failing strength she was no longer able to make her accustomed visits to the pleasant forest shades, and death was fast approaching, she requested that she might be buried in the secluded place she loved so well in life. Accordingly, her remains were deposited at the foot of the large oak tree where she had so frequently rested her weary body and mused and meditated. The curious stranger always desires to visit this spot in the solitary grove, where in the lonely woods peacefully repose the remains of this young lady, cut down from earth's shining circles in the morning of her life. A humble tombstone bears this inscription: "In Memory of Nancy Frances, daughter of Isaac and Nancy Murphy, born December 3, 1831. Died January 26, 1850. She lived a Christian, and died rejoicing in the Christian's Hope."

This grave is known as "The Lone Grave." It is kept sacredly enclosed by the citizens of the community.

Wellsburg—Wellsburg when first laid out was known as Charlestown, named in honor of its proprietor, Charles Prather. It was established by the Virginia assembly, December 7, 1791. It was changed December 27, 1816, to Wellsburg, in honor of Alexander Wells, who married the only daughter of Charles Prather. It became the county seat immediately upon the formation of the county of Brooke, yet for many years it was known as "Brooke County C. H." Among early institutions was the Brooke Academy, incorporated January 10, 1799, with William McKennan, Bazaleel Wells, Charles Wells, James Marshall, Joseph Doddridge, John Connell, Moses Chapline and Thomas McKean Thompson, trustees. In 1852, by legal enactment, they were authorized to transfer their property to the Meade Collegiate Institute, but by another act, February 6, 1862, the corporation of Brooke Academy was revived, and Hugh W. Crothers, Danforth Brown Sr., David Fleming, Obadiah W. Langfitt and Samuel George were appointed trustees.

The Wellsburg & Washington Turnpike Company was organized in 1821. The stock was to be paid in cash or in commodities as follows: Wheat flour, at $3.50 per barrel; Whiskey, at 33 1-3c per gallon; Fresh pork, at 4c a pound; Fresh beef, same; Oats, per bushel, 25c; Corn, per bushel, 33 1-3c; Potatoes, same as corn; also rye at same rate. Country linens, flax and tow, linseys, and country-made cloth of every description, at the going cash price in Wellsburg when delivered. The Wellsburg and Bethany pike was graded about 1850, and in about 1870 was macadamized.

At least three characters who resided in the vicinity of and at Wellsburg and Bethany, will never be lost in history. Their work was of the imperishable type—they lived for others as well as to enjoy their own existence. They were Bishop Alexander Campbell, Patrick Gass, and Captain Oliver Brown. Samuel M. Schumucker said of Alexander Campbell: "Alexander Campbell, the chief founder of this denomination—the Disciples of Christ—was, without question, one of the ablest polemics and theologians in this country. He spent a long and active life in preaching the doctrines he believed and in establishing churches and institutions which are intended to diffuse education and theological knowledge."

Patrick Gass, author of "Gass' Journal of the Lewis and Clarke Expedition to the Pacific," was long a resident of this county. He was born near present Chambersburg, Pennsylvania June 12, 1771. He served in 1792 as a soldier on the frontier, and afterward accompanied General Wilkinson in the descent of the Ohio river. In 1802 he was with the detachment of Captain Bissell on the Tennessee river, and the next year went with the same to Kaskaskia, Illinois. Here he enlisted as a member of the famous Lewis and Clarke expedition, then being fitted out at St. Louis, for the exploration of the Pacific coast. The story of his adventures, together with that of his companions is well told in his "Journal," printed in Philadelphia in 1812. After the return of this long expedition that opened up that far off western country—Washington and Oregon—he lingered for a few months at Wellsburg, then again on to the "vast illimitable and everchanging West." When the war of 1812 came on, he was at Nashville, Tennessee, and enlisting in the command of General Gaines, served throughout the struggle, participating in the battles of Chippewa, Lundy's Lane and Fort Erie. In 1831 he wedded a daughter of John Hamilton, of Brooke county, Virginia, and by her reared a family of seven children. He died April 2, 1870, at one year less than a cen-

CITY HALL, WHEELING.

BOARD OF TRADE, WHEELING.

PUBLIC LIBRARY, WHEELING.

tury of age, he being the last survivor of the Lewis and Clarke Expedition.

Captain Oliver Brown, who also resided in Brooke county many years was a native of Lexington, Massachusetts. His ancestors were among the first settlers of that state. He was an eye-witness to the "Boston Tea Party," and a participant in the battle of Lexington. He commanded the party of volunteers who converted the leaden statue of King George into bullets during the Revolution, for the use of the American army. He served throughout the war, and in 1790 moved west, settling in Wellsburg, then called Charlestown, where he died in 1846 aged 93 years.

Ohio County—Ohio is the third county from the north end of the Panhandle in West Virginia according to act of the general assembly of Virginia, October, 1776, the boundaries were fixed as follows: That from and after November 8, 1776, all that part of the said district (West Augusta) lying within the following lines to wit: Beginning at the mouth of Cross creek; thence up the same to the head thereof; thence southeasterly to the nearest point of the ridge which divides the waters of the Ohio from those of the Monongahela; thence along the said ridge to the line which divides the said county of Augusta from the said district; thence with the said boundary to the Ohio; thence up the same to the beginning, shall be known by the name of Ohio county.

The electors of Ohio county were first called upon to meet at the house of Ezekiel Dewitt. A meeting was called for December 8, 1876, to choose the most convenient place for holding courts. For sometime courts were held at Black's cabin, on Short creek, near present West Liberty. The first court was held there January 16, 1777. At the April term in 1777 it was ordered that a court house and jail be erected. From or near West Liberty, the county seat was removed in 1797 to Wheeling, and the first court was held there May 7, 1798, at the house of John Gooding, an inn-keeper. No suitable public buildings were provided until 1839, when a court house was erected on what is now known as Chapline and Twelfth streets.

The early settlers were largely Marylanders, Virginians and North Carolinans, and naturally introduced into the country the customs and manners of their respective states. Many of these saw the county first in time of the French war, when they were induced to serve in Colonel Frye's regiment, of Alexandria, by the promise of lands located at the Forks of the Ohio; others came at the invitation of the Ohio Land Company, while still another class came because they had heard of the fertility of the soil. Washington took large tracts of land in what is now West Virginia. Here one might have discovered a squad of Marylanders in a neighborhood by themselves; then again a Virginia settlement, while miles distant from either was to be seen a colony of sturdy German, or Scotch and Irish. The Short creek country, near West Liberty, was appropriated by horse-racing, fox-hunting, jolly Marylanders and Virginians. Some of these men were highly educated and refined, and noted for their hospitality, good living, fun and intermarriage. Further to the north, came the Scotch-Irish element, but for the most part the Virginians held sway.

Wheeling—Wheeling as a town does not date back farther than 1793, when the first town lots, 112 in all, were laid out by Colonel Ebenezer Zane, between what is now known as Eighth and Eleventh streets, and from Market street to the river. Ten additions had been made up to 1836, when there were about two thousand town lots. There were about a dozen log cabins and two-story hewed log houses scattered about the town. Colonel Zane's residence stood at about the southeastern corner of Eleventh and Main streets, while old Fort Henry was opposite. At

the mouth of Wheeling creek stood an old garrison on the southeast point. The town of Wheeling was incorporated in 1806, with George Miller as first mayor and Charles Hammond as recorder. By 1815 the place had 1,500 population and about three hundred houses. It was incorporated as a city May 4th, 1836; Moses W. Chapline was the first mayor under city rule, and Daniel Lamb was the clerk. By 1851 it had come to be styled the "Nail City," on account of the numerous and very extensive factories where cut nails were made. Five hundred men were then engaged in nail works there, and they received wages amounting to $108,000 per year, producing over half a million dollars worth of nails, which at that day were a new invention. Another industry which made the city famous was its glass works, for making flint and green glass, in which were employed 350 men, who produced $300,000 in glass goods. Cotton yarn of several varieties and cotton fabrics were made to quite an extent. The amount then invested in this industry was $80,000; 150 persons found employment in these cotton mills, receiving wages amounting to almost $200,000, with a production of $300,000 in goods. Steam engines, boats, carriages, wagons, plows, iron castings, etc., all came in for their share of the Wheeling industries at that time. Over two million dollars worth of such articles were made and sold, by about 2,000 men. These items would not look large to Wheeling today, but were really large figures fifty years ago for any American city, especially this far west.

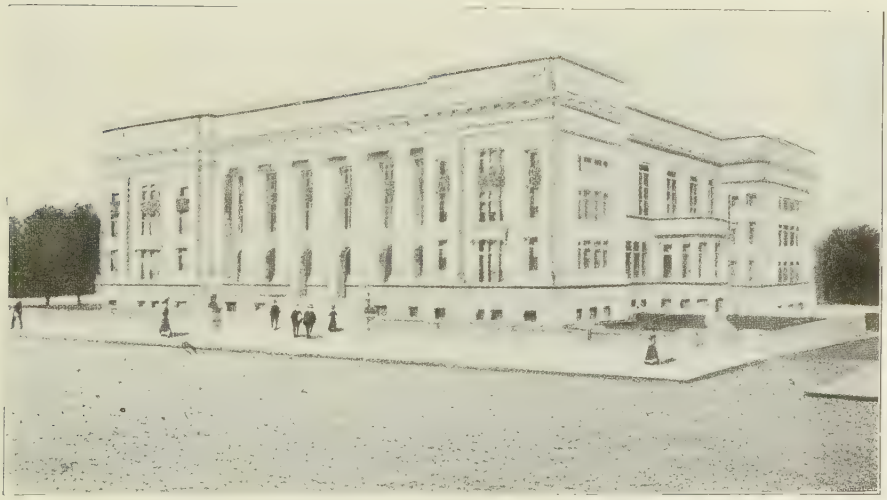
The first post office was established in 1794, with John Finley as postmaster. The first newspaper was established in 1807; the first water works system was installed in 1836, and gas was first used for illuminating the streets and houses in 1848.

Wheeling was once the seat of publication of the famous Webster's National Spelling Book. The following is a copy of an autograph letter still in existence at Wheeling, from Noah Webster, the publisher and author of that well-known work, to his printers, Messrs. Fisher & Son, who printed all of these books for the territory west of the Alleghany mountains, which amounted to about 300,000 annually, in 1836, when the following letter was written:

> The elementary spelling book has now an extensive sale, and it is desirable that every material objection should be removed. A friend of mine has lately examined it with care and we have agreed to recommend the following corrections and alterations, which the printer can do with a small chissel or pen-knife; cancel e in "whiskey"—cancel the second r in "ferrule"—cancel the second l in "vallees." On the foregoing folio you will see that some corrections are to be made in the plates. Please to send the pages specified, to Messrs. J. A. James & Co., stereotypers foundry, Cincinnati, as soon as the navigation in the river opens. They have my directions for the purpose and this will be at my expense.
>
> I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,
>
> N. WEBSTER.

Marshall County—Marshall county is the fourth from the northern line of West Virginia's North Panhandle, Ohio, Brooke and Hancock being above it. Marshall was erected by act of the Virginia legislature March 12, 1835. It had originally been a part of Ohio county. The act creating this county provided that all that part of the lower end of the county of Ohio lying south of the line beginning on the Ohio river, one-half mile above the mouth of Boggs run, thence on a direct line to the northern boundary of the town of West Union, and thence continuing the same to the Pennsylvania line, shall be known as Marshall. The act fixed the county seat at Elizabethtown (now Moundsville), and a courthouse. The jail then in use in Ohio county was to be used until one could be provided for the new county. For judicial and senatorial purposes Marshall county was attached to Ohio county.

OLD EXCHANGE BANK, WHEELING.



HIGH SCHOOL, WHEELING.

FEDERAL BUILDING, WHEELING.

COURT HOUSE AND JAIL, WHEELING.

Moundsville, the seat of justice, was originally, Elizabethtown, laid out by Joseph Tomlinson in 1798. It was named for his wife Elizabeth. The first town lot was sold in 1799 at $8. Forty-five acres constituted the first platting. Its founder died in 1825. The first store was opened in 1815, by James Nixon. John List started the next store and was appointed postmaster, the name of the original office, being Grave Creek. The town of Elizabethtown was incorporated in February, 1830, and was then within Ohio county, and had 300 population. In 1832 Moundsville was incorporated, being upon land on the Flats of Grave Creek, purchased in 1831 by Simeon Purdy, who platted the place and had it incorporated. In 1830 only three houses were on the plat. Two years later Purdy built a brick tavern, and from 1830 to 1840 the place grew rapidly, and by 1860 it had a population of 400. In 1865 it was consolidated with Elizabethtown, and Moundsville took the name and the boundaries hitherto given to the two places. The first town officers, after the consolidation were: Mayor, Robert McConnell; clerk and treasurer, H. W. Hunter. The town is beautifully situated in a rich and fertile valley, on the east bank of the Ohio river. The scenery is picturesque, with the Ohio flowing along to its western border, while the other three sides are hemmed in by the hills overlooking the valley. The first real public improvement in Moundsville was in 1836, when the jail was erected. It was a twenty by forty foot brick and gray sandstone structure, with walls three feet in thickness, the cells lined with thick sheet-iron. The first court was held in this building in June, 1836. The first court house was built in 1836. It was fifty feet square, built of brick and was two stories high. Its cost was $4,320, and served until 1875, when a better one was erected also a new jail was built, and both occupied in 1876-7. In July, 1866, the West Virginia Penitentiary was commenced at Moundsville, the first structure cost state $364,000. Moundsville has a population of 8,025, and has numerous business enterprises, including several factories.

Wetzel County—Wetzel was formed in 1846 from Tyler county, and named in honor of Louis Wetzel, a distinguished frontiersman and Indian scout. The first court was held in April, 1846, in a house owned by Sampson Thistle. The officers were: Joseph L. Fry, judge; Friend Cox, clerk; Pressley Martin, clerk of county court; Edward Moore, crier; James Snodgrass, attorney for the commonwealth; Lewis Williams, surveyor. The house of Sampson Thistle was purchased at $400, and R. W. Cox and B. F. Martin were appointed to put it in shape for court house uses; also to build a jail. By 1848 the county had collected taxes sufficient to build a new court house, which was not finished until 1852. The grounds were donated by Sampson Thistle, and when finished the court house was among the best in Virginia. It was used until 1900, until the present beautiful edifice was completed at a cost of $100,000.

New Martinsville, the seat of justice, is on land entered by Edward Doolin in 1780. It is on the Ohio bottoms, and in a rich, fertile section. This land was over a mile square and lay in the angle formed by Fishing creek and the Ohio river. Here Doolin built a cabin near a fine spring, which is the source of Doolin's creek. Doolin continued to farm until 1784, when he was killed by the Indians, who had been driven off from Wheeling by Colonel Zane. His wife and one child escaped and the widow resided there many years. The part on which New Martinsville stands was purchased by Pressley Martin, from whom the place takes its name. He came in 1811 and built the Point House. He also planted an orchard of five acres between Washington street and the creek; a few of these trees were still standing in 1900. Five years after Mr. Martin came he was joined by Friend Cox, who took land on the opposite side of the Point House, on the creek. From that date until 1838

the settlement grew slowly. March 28 of that year an act was passed establishing the town of Martinsville, in the county of Tyler. It extended from one lot below Washington street to North street, and from Union street to the river. In February, 1853, the Mannington & New Mantinsville railroad was incorporated, alas it never materialized. In 1854 a Methodist church was built, and soon after that an Episcopal church; the latter was sold and used as the New Martinsville Academy, till the ushering in of the free school system, when it was used as a public school house. The town grew but little until 1871, when a new charter was granted. In 1873 the Pittsburg Stave works moved there and employed 125 workmen. In 1891 the Wetzel County Fair Association was organized at New Martinsville, and has held annual exhibits ever since. In the nineties the Short Line railroad was built, after which followed a steady, healthy growth; a new court house went up, streets and business houses took on a better appearance; new churches were erected; and two ice making plants were added.

Other towns of Wetzel county include Morgantown, or Porter Falls, ten miles east of New Martinsville, on the Short Line railroad, it has about one hundred population. Minnie is situated in Green district, six miles from the county seat, on Fishing creek; it was first settled in 1815 by Aaron Morgan, cousin of Indian scout Lewis Morgan. Lot has a population of about 400, and is a good business point. Money postoffice took its name from Money Bates, an early pioneer. Kodol is another town, it was settled in 1854, but no attempt at town building was made until recent years. Silver Hill is in Center district; settlement commenced here in 1825; it is but a small hamlet today. Hazel is another small burg and post office point. Piney Fork, Maud, Childs, Coburn, Dean and Hundred are also within Wetzel county. Hundred has a population of about 300; it is on the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, and on Fishing creek. Paden's Valley was settled in 1790 by Obediah Paden, who patented over 2,000 acres of land. Paden's Island in the Ohio river and Padons' Fork take their names from him. He was of Dutch descent, but came from Pennsylvania where he had been driven off by Indians. He was born in New York state. There are two fine Indian mounds in this pretty valley, and from them have been taken numerous relics. Archer Fork is another town; it was here that Archibald Woods patented 6,000 acres in 1796. William Ice was the first permanent settler; he took 100 acres, and built a house thereon in 1815. Near this town is the first oil well drilled in the county—Robinson No. 2—which was made in 1892 and still flows. The largest oil well in Wetzel county is also located here —the Robinson No. 33. Aside from the oil industry the place is only a mere hamlet. Pine Grove on Fishing creek, is situated on the Short Line railroad and has a population of about 500. The land here was first claimed by white men in 1804, and the first settlement effected by Morgan Morgan. Another town is Reader, fifteen miles east of the county seat; it has about 150 population. James Troy first settled here in 1788; he sold his title to Benjamin Rader for a ten gallon copper kettle and a bay mare; the title covered 600 acres. Smithfield is twenty-one miles from New Martinsville, to the east. It is among the best towns in the county, having about 1,200 population. It was first settled in 1796, by Aiden Bales. Burton is twenty-five mile distant from the county seat, is a station on the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, and is on Fishing creek; its population is about 300. This section was first settled by George Bartung, and the town was supposed to be named for him, but in spelling the name was taken for Burton. Vincen was first settled in 1865 by Levi Merrett. Proctor is situated on the Ohio river, and on the Ohio river railroad.

WOOD COUNTY COURT HOUSE,
PARKERSBURG.

Tyler County—Tyler county was formed from Ohio. It was named in honor of John Tyler, born in Virginia, February 28, 1747. He was member of the assembly during the Revolution and in 1808 was elected governor of Virginia. He was father of President John Tyler. Middlebourne was established January 27, 1813, on lands of Robert Gorrell, then in Ohio county, with William Wells Sr., Joseph Martin, Joseph Archer, Thomas Grigg, Daniel Haynes, William Delashmult and Abraham S. Brickhead, trustees. It was not incorporated until February 3, 1871. Middlebourne is still the county seat. It has a population of 16,211.

Sistersville was commenced by a ferry being established there from the lands of John McCoy, across the Ohio. The date was January, 1818, but the place was not incorporated until February 2, 1839. Charles Wells was one of the first to locate here.

Pleasants County—Pleasants county was formed from Woods, Tyler and Ritchie counties, March 29, 1851, and took its name from James Pleasants, a native of Virginia, born in 1769. He became a distinguished lawyer and was a congressman from Virginia from 1811 to 1819. In December, 1822, he was elected governor of his native state, serving until 1825 by re-election. St. Mary's the county seat, was incorporated March 31, 1851. At that date the place was within Wood county.

Wood County—Wood county was formed from Harrison, December 21, 1798. This has always been one of the important sub-divisions of West Virginia. It was named in honor of James Wood, son of Colonel James Wood, the founder of Winchester, Virginia. He was born about 1750, in Frederick county, which he represented in the Virginia convention of 1776 which framed the state constitution. He was lieutenant-governor and governor of Virginia, serving as chief executive up to 1799. He died at Richmond, 1813.

The first court was held August 12, 1799, at the house of Hugh Phelps. It was then and there that the court fixed the location of the court house at Neal's Station. John Neal and Peter Misner were recommended to the governor as fit persons for coroner, and Harman Blennerhassett, John Neale, Daniel Kincheloe, Jacob Beeson and Hezekiah Buckey for justices. John Stephenson was appointed commissioner at the November term, 1799. October 13, 1800, it was ordered by the court that necessary buildings be erected on the lands of Isaac Williams, on the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Muskingum river, where the said William's bar now stands, and that court be held at the house of Isaac Williams. Here the court convened at the next term, November 10, 1800, and a vote was again taken on the location of the county seat, when ten to six voted to return to the house of Hugh Phelps, and the court adjourned to meet there the next morning. It was agreed that the point above the mouth of the Little Kanawha river, at the union of said Kanawha and Ohio rivers, on lands owned by John Stokely, was the proper place for the seat of justice, and it was ordered that the necessary buildings be erected thereon. The court adjourned to meet "at a point at the upper side of the Little Kanawha where a block-house has been built." In February, 1802, it was ordered that a jail, stocks and pillory be built at the point on the Kanawha on the ground laid off for that purpose. The order was carried into effect by the commissioners, Joseph Cook, John Stephenson and Thomas Lord, who contracted with James G. Laidley to construct the same.

Concerning the county seat, Parkersburg, it may be said that in 1773, Robert Thornton, of Pennsylvania, made a tomahawk entry to 400 acres of land, including that on which the city now stands, and in 1783 it was confirmed to him by the Virginia commissioners. In December, 1783,

James Neale, assistant surveyor of Monongalia county, surveyed two tracts for Alexander Parker, of Greene county, Pennsylvania, assignee of Robert Thornton, and July 3, 1787, patents were issued by the state. Mr. Parker died about 1800, and these lands descended to his daughter, Mary, who married William Robinson Jr., of Allegheny City, Pennsylvania. The title was disputed by John Stokely and others. The Parker heirs managed to save about 700 acres from the estate. At the time the county seat was located the place was called "The Point," and consisted of a half-dozen log houses occupied by the families of William Enoch, Caleb Bailey, John Stephenson, Jesse Murdock, Edward Stephenson and John Stokely. Stokely's patent was dated December 8, 1800, and he laid out the town of Newport, on the Parkersburg side, and it was so known until 1809; then the heirs of Mr. Parker gained the land from Stokely, and December 11, 1810, the town was laid out and named Parkersburg. The plat was recorded in 1816. The court house was erected in 1815. The first house on the plat was the log cabin built by Stokely in his "town" of Newport.

An early-day attraction and a spot that will ever be historic in this county is Blennerhassett's Island, of which State Historian Virgil A. Lewis, in his "History of West Virginia," published in 1889, has this to say:

Blennerhassett's Island—Blennerhassett's Island is situated in the Ohio river, two miles below Parkersburg. Its historical associations render it an object of interest to all. To tell the story would be to write a volume. Once the home of luxury and refinement, it has become a "deserted isle." In its desolation is told the fate of ambition.

Harman Blennerhassett was a representative of a distinguished and wealthy Irish family, but was born in England, during the temporary residence of his parents in that country. He began his education in England, but graduated at the University of Dublin, after which he entered the profession of law. In England he married Adeline Agnew, a granddaughter of General Agnew, who was with Wolfe at Quebec. Soon after he sold his estate in Ireland and sailed for America, landing at New York, where he was hospitably received by the first families. In 1797 he journeyed to Philadelphia and from there came to Marietta in 1798. Having purchased the beautiful island which now bears his name, he began the erection of a splendid mansion, the architect being a Mr. Greene, of New Castle, Pennsylvania, and the carpenters coming from Philadelphia.

Harman Blennerhassett was an accomplished scholar, well versed in mathematics and languages, and possessed of refined tastes and manners. So perfect was his memory that it is said that he could repeat the whole of Homer's Iliad in the original Greek. He brought with him to his island home a library of choice and valuable works and a complete set of chemical apparatus and philosophical instruments, to the accommodation of which one wing of the mansion was appropriated. Possessed of an ample fortune to supply every want, a beautiful and accomplished wife and lovely children, he was surrounded with everything which could make life desirable and happy. The adjacent settlements of Belpre, Parkersburg, and the more distant one of Marietta, although buried in the heart of a wilderness, contained many men of cultivated minds and refined manners with whom he held constant and familiar intercourse, so that there was lacking none of the social advantages which his remote and insular situation would seem to indicate. Beneath his hospitable roof were many merry gatherings of the people of these towns, when song and dance echoed through the halls.

In 1805, Aaron Burr, the slayer of Alexander Hamilton, when descending the Ohio, landed uninvited on the island, but met with a cordial reception. He remained only three days, but that was too long. In this short period he succeeded in enticing the unsuspecting Blennerhassett into his plans. These were to settle an armed force on the Wichita for the purpose of colonizing that region, and in the event of war between Spain and the United States—at that time threatened—to conquer Mexico. To Burr, Blennerhassett advanced large sums of money, the former giving as his security his son-in-law, Joseph Alston, afterward governor of South Carolina. The scheme progressed, and in the meantime Blennerhassett had a flotilla of small boats, about twenty in number, built at Marietta, destined for use in the southern expedition. The peculiar form of the boats excited apprehension, but there was no interference, and on a December evening in 1806, with supplies and thirty men on board, the fleet began the descent of the river. On the same

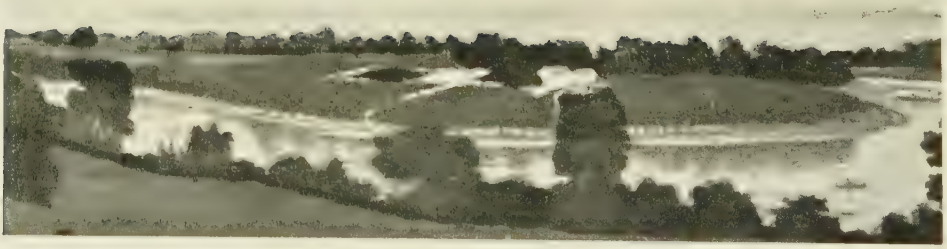
POSTOFFICE, PARKERSBURG.

HIGH SCHOOL, PARKERSBURG.

PUBLIC LIBRARY, PARKERSBURG.

FAMOUS MOUND AT MOUNDSVILLE.

Largest mound in America, originally 90 feet high, 900 feet in circumference at base, with trees now growing on it, nearly 700 years old.



BLENNERHASSET'S ISLAND, PARKERSBURG, OVER ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

day Colonel Hugh Phelps, commandant of the Wood county militia, received orders to arrest Blennerhassett and his associates. Late at night, with a body of militia, he proceeded to the Island, but it was too late. Colonel Phelps at once began an overland journey to Point Pleasant, hoping to intercept the boats at that place, but they had passed when he arrived. The troops were met by Mrs. Blennerhassett, who forbade them touching any not named in the warrant. But the mob spirit ran riot; the well stored cellars were assailed, the mansion sacked, balls fired into rich gilded ceilings, fences pulled down to light the sentinel fires, and the shrubbery trampled under foot. By the aid of friends Mrs. Blennerhassett was enabled a few days later to embark on a flatboat with her two children and black servants, and finally joined her husband at Louisville. Well might they look with grief, in after years, to the fair Eden from which they had been driven by their own indiscretion and the deception of Aaron Burr.

In 1812 the mansion was destroyed by an accidental fire; the garden with its beautiful shrubbery and rare plants was converted into a corn field; the graveled avenue leading to the river was turned by the plowshare, and since that time nothing remains of the once beautiful home of Harman Blennerhassett save the name. More than fourscore years have passed away since the once happy occupants left it, still the thousands of travelers who annually pass it by rail and river, eagerly inquire after and gaze with pathetic interest upon the island.

Burr and Blennerhassett were both arrested, taken to Richmond and confined in the penitentiary. The former was acquitted, and the latter never brought to trial. Blennerhassett and his family afterward went to Europe, where he died on the Isle of Guernsey, at the age of 63 years. The widow afterward returned to the United States and died in great poverty in New York, in 1842.

At the present time, in the Annex of the state capitol at Charleston, may be seen a large model of this historic mansion.

Jackson County—Jackson county was formed from parts of Mason, Kanawha and Wood counties, in 1831. It was named in honor of Andrew Jackson, then president of the United States. The present area of Jackson is 400 square miles. Ripley is the county seat, and its population in 1900 was about 23,000.

The first court was held at the residence of John Warth, near the mouth of Big Mill creek. Ripley became the county seat two years after the organization of the county. The original owner of the land upon which the town stands was William Parsons, the first settler in the vicinity. He afterwards sold his land to Jacob Starcher, who laid out the town and named it in honor of Harry Ripley, who was drowned in Big Mill creek, a mile and a half above the present site of the town. He had his marriage license in his possession at the time of his death. Jacob Starcher donated the public grounds for the use of the county. The town now has a population of 591.

Ravenswood is situated on the left bank of the Ohio river, thirty-five miles below Parkersburg and fifty-one miles above Point Pleasant. The land was originally owned by Washington, "Father of his Country." It was surveyed by him and his assistant, Colonel William Crawford, in 1770, and patented the same year. The tract comprised 1,450 acres, and was inherited by his six grand-nieces, of whom Henrietta S., wife of Henry Fitzhugh, and Lucy Fitzhugh, were two, and they came in possession of the land upon which the town is located. In 1810, Lawrence Lane and William Bailey settled upon the land and cleared up about forty acres of it. Rudolph Roberts, of Alexandria, Virginia, agent for the Washington heirs, had the land surveyed and divided among them in 1812. The improved lands from which the squatters had been ejected were then rented to various persons, one of whom was Bartholomew Fleming, until 1836, when Mrs. Henrietta S. Harning married Henry Fitzhugh, and Mrs. Lucy having been united in marriage with Arthur Payne, they removed to these lands and laid out the town. The name it bears is the result of an error (so common in early days) Mrs. Payne named it Ravenworth, in honor of relatives of that name in England, but the engravers of the first map of Virginia upon which it appears

spelled it Ravenswood, and the mistake has never been corrected. This place has a population of 1,081.

The first settlers in Jackson county were William Hannamon and Benjamin Cox, with James McDade. These built their rude cabins within what is now Union district. The first two became actual permanent settlers. McDade selected a home site, but soon tired of pioneer life and became an Indian scout. For five years he traversed the Ohio between Little and Great Kanawha rivers, rifle in hand, a faithful dog as his companion. Many long dark nights he spent in the dreary wilderness, content if he might be able to save the inmates of some lonely cabin from becoming the victims of a savage foe. In 1800 came Joseph Parsons, Cornelius King and John Douglas. The next year came David Sayre and Alexander Warth, and in 1802 came Reuben Smith, followed two years later by Thomas and Job Hughes. In 1807 John De Witt built the first cabin in Muse's bottom. The mouth of Sand creek was settled in 1808 by John Nesseland, and with him came Lawrence Lane, who reared the first cabin where Ravenswood now stands.

The population of the above counties, comprising the Panhandle and Ohio Valley in West Virginia, is as follows: Hancock, 10,465; Brooke, 11,098; Ohio, 57,720; Marshall, 32,388; Wetzel, 32,655; Tyler, 16,211; Pleasants, 8,074; Wood, 38,001; Jackson, 20,956.

CHAPTER XXV

THE GREAT KANAWHA VALLEY

The Kanawha river is formed by the junction of the New and Gauley rivers in Fayette county, and courses it way to Point Pleasant, West Virginia, where it unites with the Ohio river, ninety-eight miles from its junction with the two streams which form it. It meanders through the counties of Fayette, Kanawha, Putnam and Mason. From the upper end of the valley to a distance of more than a dozen miles there is but little bottom land on either side of the stream. At Charleston the valley is about one mile wide from hill to hill, and from there down stream to where it forms junction with the Ohio, it is little more than two miles wide at any one point. It is noted for its picturesque scenery, mild climate and fertile alluvial soil which produces great crops of grass, fruit, tobacco and the common cereals.

The earliest steamboat to ply the waters of the Kanawha was the "Robert Thompson," in 1819, which ascended the stream as far as Red House, but on account of low water could go no further. In December, 1820, the "Andrew Donnelly" came up as far as Charleston. Previous to 1820 there had been no organized effort to improve the streams. A few rocks and sunken logs, with here and there a tree overhanging the water's edge, had been removed by the early flatboatmen in order to make better headway for their crude crafts carrying salt and plunder such as the western immigrants usually had to transport. What was known as the James River and Kanawha Company, in which the state of Virginia had considerable stock was by the legislature of 1820-21 ordered to improve the stream so that three feet of water might be afforded at all times of the year from the mouth of the Kanawha to the falls. Delay followed delay until 1855, when a system of sluices and dams made with wings, extending part way across the stream, were commenced and vigorously prosecuted until the river seemed to be coming to the forefront. Moore & Boggs were the contractors who cut the old chute through the rock at Red House; at a point between the Islands and through the tow head at Tyler; cut the sluices and constructed the wing-dams at Debby, Eighteen, Knob, Tackett and Johnson, all so well recalled by the older members of the population of this valley. Not until 1838 did the James River and Kanawha Company order a survey in a thorough manner, with the view of securing three and a half feet of water. The matter then rested until 1855, when large shipments of cannel coal were demanded by owners of mines at Cannelton and from Elk river; splint coal from Field's creek, Paint creek and Armstrong's; also large shipments of cannel oil manufactured at Cannelton on Paint creek and Elk river. This was long before petroleum oil was known, hence the shipments of both cannel coal and cannel oil became a large industry and needed better transportation facilities. The James River and Kanawha Company undertook the task of river improvement. A new survey was made in 1855. Two systems of river improvement were thoroughly examined—the sluice and wing-dam plan, and the reservoir plan. The latter plan was in 1860 advocated by eminent men, including the engineer Charles Ellet. This contemplated large lake-like reservoirs near the heads of the streams, chiefly on Gauley river. The water was to be let out as required to keep up a proper stage in the Kanawha below the falls. However, the

board decided to enlarge, improve and extend all the old sluice-ways and wing-dams. About 1860 the work was placed under contract, but was soon suspended on account of the coming on of the civil war. After the separation of West Virginia from old Virginia in 1863, the former state took charge of the water-ways, including the Kanawha river, and a board was created to improve the same. They were to collect tolls and make improvements, etc., on the old work of the James River and Kanawha Company. While many improvements had been made, they were not sufficient for the increased demand of shippers. Without better facilities the vast coal field was to be worthless to the state. Hence application was made to the federal government. About 1872-3, throughout the entire west, the river and harbor matter was being agitated for better waterways. Congress appointed a committee to hear reports from the various states, including the one from West Virginia. A committee met in conference with President U. S. Grant, who was ever favorable to internal improvements. Spurred on by the revival of the old Washingtonian idea of connecting the Ohio with tidewater through the James and Kanawha rivers, and the extension of the James river and Kanawha canal, Congress was led to begin operations on the Kanawha valley section, knowing that whether the other notion ever prevailed or not, that this much of the work was needed and they hastened to perform their part. A committee of senators and congressmen was sent out over the territory to look into the feasibility of the scheme. Their report filled a large volume. In 1872-3, congress made an appropriation of $50,000, and work was commenced in June, 1873, under charge of Colonel W. E. Merrill, of the United States engineering corps. Dredging out the old sluiceways and constructing new wing-dams progressed. This only temporarily relieved the shipping situation, and it was conceded that the only reliable plan was to use slackwater navigation, made by locks and dams, fixed and movable. In May, 1874, the work was placed in the hands of Colonel William P. Craighill. The following March, $300,000 was appropriated by congress with which to further improving the Kanawha river. The engineers advocated the lock and dam slackwater plan. The authorities at Washington agreed to this system, and in the autumn of 1875 locks Nos. 4 and 5 were put under contract. The original estimate of the cost was $4,071,000. Under the original plan, the order of locks and dams was as follows:

No. 1 to be located at the mouth of Loup creek, thirty-two miles above Charleston; No. 2 one mile below Cannelton and Coal Valley and twenty-six miles above Charleston; it is a fixed dam having a lift of twelve feet, and was completed in 1887. No. 3, just below the mouth of Paint creek, twenty-one miles above Charleston; this is also a fixed dam with twelve feet lift, and was finished in 1882. No. 4 is just below the mouth of Cabin creek, fifteen miles above Charleston; this is an adjustable dam with a seven foot lift, completed in 1880. No. 5, just below Brownstown, nine and a half miles above Charleston, is an adjustable dam with a seven feet lift, completed in 1880. No. 6 is near the mouth of Tyler and Davis creeks, four and a half miles below Charleston; it is an adjustable dam with over eight feet of lift; this was completed in 1886. No. 7, located a mile and a quarter below the mouth of Coal river, fourteen miles below Charleston, is an adjustable dam with a lift of over eight feet. No. 8 is two and a half miles below Raymond City, twenty-two miles below Charleston, with an eight foot lift. Nos. 7 and 8 were completed in 1891. As first designed, the remaining three dams were located as follows: No. 9, six and three-fourths miles below Winfield and thirty-three miles below Charleston, with a six and one-half foot lift. No. 10 near Debby's Ripple, two and a half miles below Buffalo, and almost forty

miles below Charleston, with a seven foot lift. No. 11 a mile and three-quarters above the mouth of the Kanawha river and fifty-six and one-fourth miles below Charleston, with a lift of almost ten feet. The last three named were to have movable or adjustable dams.

These movable or adjustable dams can be lowered and raised at pleasuer, according to the stage of water. The plan by which the wickets are hung, and the raising and lowering, are accomplished by a simple yet unique device, all the inventions of a Frenchman named M. Chenoine, who, up to 1878, had placed more than a hundred such works in the streams of France. These on the Kanawha were the first ever adapted to American rivers.

At each lock and dam the government has erected houses for the lock-keepers and the employes at each lock; telephone communication is maintained between these places and the city offices at Charleston, as well as between the several locks and dams along the system. A small steamboat is kept to transport supplies and material, as well as laborers, from one point to another, also to draw the dredge boats. The elevation of the Kanawha river at its mouth in low water stage is 510 feet above sea-level. At the foot of Loup creek, the highest point at which slackwater navigation obtains, the elevation is 596 feet, making 86 feet of fall in the ninety miles. This eighty feet is divided between the ten locks, making an average of about eight and one-half feet "lift" to each division. The water velocity is from two to six miles per hour, owing to the water's stage. In 1881, when the river was lower than since 1838 (lowest ever recorded) the discharge of water per second was, below the Elk river, 1,183 cubic feet. In 1878, when the water was thirty-four feet six inches above low water mark, the discharge was, below the Elk river, 188,347 cubic feet per second. Of this the Elk furnished 33,000 cubic feet. When the improvement was commenced in 1873, there were but a few hundred thousand bushels of coal shipped anually, from this valley; but by 1891 it had increased to 50,000,000 bushels for that year, and it has steadily increased ever since.

The Salt Industry—For four score years the manufacture of salt was the leading industry in the Kanawha valley. With the development of the great west and south, the salt business has changed to those sections. Once this valley provided the salt for the people from the great lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, as well as west to Denver, Colorado and New Mexico, the product reaching its climax when it shipped out more than 4,000,000 bushels annually. In quality this salt had no superior; for packing pork, making butter and other domestic uses, it was preferred to any within the country. Finally, other states discovered saline springs and wells, as well as veritable mountains of salt, known as "rock-salt." Then came the great evaporating works of the Mormons at Salt Lake, Utah; Louisiana, Kansas and Michigan all came in for their share of supplying the market. Out of the forty-five furnaces for making salt in this valley between 1840 and 1850, only ten remained in operation in 1875, and by 1890 only one could be found—the I. Q. Dickinson works. But with the passing of the salt industry, came the richer legacy of this valley, so lavishly bequeathed by nature in the way of oil and natural gas, which has enriched the valley a thousand fold in the last quarter of a century since the salt industry passed.

The Indians had been boiling saline waters from the springs of this valley for centuries before the advent of the white race. It was in 1785 that John Dickinson, of old Virginia, settled in this valley, and claimed five hundred acres of land, including the bottoms and lands surrounding the salt springs at the mouth of Campbell's creek. He sold to Joseph Ruffner, without having made any use of these springs. Ruffner emi-

grated from the Shenandoah valley, settling here in 1795. He paid £500 sterling for the land, and had never seen it, but agreed that should the salt springs prove of a good quality that he was to pay £10,000 or about four dollars per acre. Before he had developed these springs he died, and it was found that he had willed the property to his two sons, David and Joseph Ruffner, with the stipulation that they were to go on according to his original plans and make salt, which they did and were successful. He died in 1803, but during his lifetime he had leased the waters of some of the springs on his land to one Elisha Brooks, who in 1797 erected the first salt works in the Kanawha Valley, possibly the first in the western states. It consisted of a dozen or more iron kettles, set in a double row, with a flue beneath, a chimney at one end and a fire bed at the other. To obtain his supply of salt water, he sunk three "gums" (hollow logs) of about ten feet in length into the mire and quicksand of the salt-lick, and dipped the briny water with buckets, as it oozed out and seeped in through the sands from below. In this crude manner Elisha Brooks was able to produce about 150 pounds of salt per day, which he sold readily "at the kettle" for ten cents per pound. As this was before the days of "pure food laws," it is supposed that he made no account of the impurities of the water, as he never filtered it, but boiled it as it bubbled up from out the mire below. On oxidizing, the particles of carbonite of iron caused the salt to take on a reddish tinge, and this gave him a good trademark, for people would come from far and near and ask for some of that "strong, red salt," which was known to possess great preserving qualities for meats and general cooking purposes.

It was not until 1806 that David and Joseph Ruffner set to work in earnest to ascertain the source of the salt waters and procure a larger supply as well as a better quality, and to prepare for the manufacture of salt on a larger commercial scale. The "Great Buffalo Salt Lick" was just at the river's edge, twelve to fifteen rods in extent, on the north side of the mouth of Campbell's creek and just in front of what was known later as "Thoroughfare Gap," through which the buffalo, elk and other wild animals, needing the saline properties, made their way in vast numbers to the "lick." So great were the herds of those noble creatures, that the old hunter of Kentucky fame—Daniel Boone—came here and built a cabin on the opposite side of the river, on what was later called Kanawha City. Here the Ruffners had many difficulties in securing the flow of salt water they desired. Away from the real conveniences of a civilized and developed country, with no metal tubing being made in this country, no machine shops and mechanics, steadily they kept pressing onward, believing that deliverance would come. They sunk a sycamore "gum" four feet in diameter inside on the spot selected, placing the large end downward. A platform was provided on which two men could stand. The swape was made with its fulcrum in a forked post. A large bucket was made by using part of a whiskey barrel. A rope was attached to the cask and swape, and thus the device was operated by hand power. With one man inside the "gum," armed with pick and shovel and a crowbar, and two men on the platform on top to empty and return the bucket, with three or four men to work the swape, the crew was complete. The "gum" was finally sunk to a depth of thirteen feet. Later, they made a tube three and a half inches in size from a twenty foot log, by boring through it lengthwise with a long-shanked auger. This wooden tubing they sharpened, and ironbound its lower end and drove it down pile-driver fashion until they had reached bedrock. Through this improvised tube they let down a glass bottle to catch the salt water to make a test of its qualities. It did not prove a paying proposition, as the saline quality

was not sufficiently strong. They then determined to return to the old "gum" process at the river bank and go down to bedrock at that point. They succeeded in getting down sixteen feet to the solid rock. Here they managed to drill down further by means of a hand-made drill, making a hole two and a half inches in size. November 1, 1807, at a depth of seventeen feet in the solid rock, a cavity was struck which gave an increased flow of good salt water. Encouraged by their success they welded on drill rods and continued drilling until twenty-eight feet had been reached and a stronger supply of salt water was obtained. July 15, 1808, they were forty feet down in the rock and fifty-eight feet from the surface. How to separate the surface water from the salt water was a problem that now confronted the Ruffners. To bore a wooden tube forty feet long, was out of the question, as was also the obtaining of metal tubing. They finally solved it by whittling and shaving out two half-tubes and then fitting the two sections together and wrapping them with cord. They then provided the end with a bag wrapping near the extremity, making it as nearly watertight as possible, in the two and a half inch hole, into which it was firmly pressed, and this was found to do the work. The brine flowed freely through the tube into the "gum," which had been provided with a watertight floor or bottom to hold it, and from which it was raised by the swape and bucket attachment. Thus was bored and rigged and successfully worked, the first rock-bored salt well west of the Allegheny mountains, if not in the United States. It required eighteen months to accomplish it, and the same work might now be done in a month. February 8, 1808, the Ruffners made their first lifting of salt, and at once reduced the price from ten to four cents per pound. From that time on, salt-making became the leading industry in the Great Kanawha Valley.

By 1817, there were many interested in this business in the valley, and seventeen furnaces, with from fifteen to twenty wells, were in constant operation; some of these were a hundred feet deep. It was during that year that coal was first discovered and used as a fuel in the valley, and it was much used for salt-making instead of wood as before. Although this was the finest coal field in the world, it had been unknown up to this date. The plant of David Ruffner was the first to use coal in making salt. Subsequently a tinner at Charleston commenced to make a tin tubing which took the place of the wooden tubing. Later on, copper tubing was used, to prevent rust, and still later the common iron tubing came into use. As time passed, the horse mill, propelled usually by a blind mule or horse, was used instead of the man-propelled swape, and in 1828 steam power was first employed, and by it the pumping was done cheaply and rapidly. Many of these salt wells contained quantities of gas and crude oil, the value and nature of which were then unknown. It is believed now that fifty barrels of oil daily from some of these salt wells overflowed into the river and by it the water was made so greasy that the stream was nicknamed "Old Greasy" by the Kanawha boatmen.

The salt water and gas from this well, partially collected and conveyed through wooden pipes to the nearest furnace, was employed in making salt for many years. Thus natural gas lifted the salt water from the bottom of the well, forced it through the pipes more than a mile to the works, where it raised it into the tanks and boiled it into salt, at the same time lighting up the scene every night. From this time on, deep salt-wells were the rule in the Great Kanawha region. The best furnaces produced one hundred barrels of salt by the consumption of eighty-five pounds of coal. The record for years was as follows: 1807, 45,000 bushels of salt; 1814, 600,000 bushels; 1832, 1,000,000 bushels; 1835, 2,000,000; 1846, 3,000,000—after which it commenced to wane, and in 1855

the product of salt was but 1,500,000 bushels, and in 1890 it had been reduced to 150,000 bushels.

Early Settlers—The famous Daniel Boone, "The Hunter of Kentucky," resided in the Kanawha Valley for a dozen or more years. While most of his biographers have devoted themselves to his eventful career in Kentucky and Missouri, it remains for this work on West Virginia, in the opening years of the twentieth century, to speak of his life and experiences here in what a hundred years and more ago was his hunting ground, and actual residence, with that of his family. For what is of interest and historic value the author is indebted to the record left and the recollections of the late Dr. John P. Hale, of Charleston, a local historian and preserver of valuable historic records and relics, many of which he bequeathed to the State Archives and Historical Society and may now be seen in cases properly labeled at the West Virginia Capitol "Annex."

Daniel Boone doubtless settled at the mouth of the Kanawha river as early as 1786, as there is a deed for land in Kentucky, signed and acknowledged by himself and wife, at Point Pleasant, Virginia, April 28, 1786. Tradition says Boone lived on the banks of Crooked creek, made famous by the battle at the Point. As late as 1880 there were several persons still living in this valley who had hunted and trapped with him, and been in his rude cabin home. It is known that Boone lived about 1788-9 on the south side of the Kanawha river, opposite Salt Spring. At least, this was his usual hunting camp, and possibly his real residence was not far distant. His son, Jesse Boone, also lived there as late as 1816. In 1840 there were men here who knew Boone well, one being Paddy Huddlestone, who handed down to his son, Jared Huddlestone, many incidents connected with Boone's life in this valley. He related that at one time a stranger, later found to be Daniel Boone, with rifle and pack, stopped about dusk at his father's house and asked to remain over night. He seemed tired, did not talk much, did not tell his name, and retired very early. The next morning, after arising, the family observed that Boone had gone, but seeing his pack still there, knew he would soon return, which he did for his breakfast. He remarked that it was his habit to rise very early; that he had been looking about to see what game there might be in the neighborhood. He asked if they had a beaver trap, and they informed him that they had not, but that they owned a fox trap. He remarked to the young man in the family: "Well, young man, get your trap and come with me and I will show you how to catch beaver." The first day they caught five, and within the next few days had exterminated a colony of beavers numbering thirteen. The steel trap was in possession of Dr. Hale at his death, and is now a part of the valuable "Boone Collection" in the "Annex" at Charleston. The sign which Boone had discovered of this beaver family that morning was two saplings cut down by the cunning animals from out a clump of three red oaks. The one that was spared by him grew to be a tree of two feet in diameter in 1891, when last measured by Dr. Hale. It stood at the upper end of Long Shoal, a few miles below Kanawha Falls.

Kanawha county was organized in October, 1789. Of the military company were Colonel Samuel Lewis, with Daniel Boone as lieutenant-colonel. This county was entitled to two representatives in the Virginia legislature; the first year George Clendenin, founder of Charleston, and Andrew Donnelly, who defended Donnelly's fort in 1778, in Greenbrier county, were elected. The next year Daniel Boone and George Clendenin were elected. Thus "Boone, the Hunter" rightfully may be called "Honorable Daniel Boone." Boone wended his way on foot to Richmond, the state capital, and while there was largely engaged in land surveying. T. A. Mathews, surveyor, related afterward that in re-running the lines of two

surveys of 100,000 acres each which ran from the site of Boone court house to the Kentucky line, he found the lines plainly marked and the name of the surveying party clearly cut on the bark of the trees. About 1885 these marks were still plainly to be seen, and read as follows: "Daniel Boone, George Arnold, Edmund Price, Thomas Upston and Andrew Hatfield, 1795." A report of this survey, in Boone's own plain handwriting, is now in existence among the Boone relics of West Virginia. The last land survey by Boone was made in this valley in September, 1798, Daniel Boone, marker; Daniel Boone Jr., and Mathias Van Bibber, chainmen, as shown by the survey books of Kanawha county today.

Dr. J. P. Hale, deceased, of Charleston, who did so much to write and preserve local history and collect and preserve so many valuable relics for this valley, owned a walking stick, which was given to him by David Van Bibber, whose father, "Tice" Van Bibber, had saved from a pile of yew-pine brush, including a sappling brought by old Daniel Boone on one of his hunting expeditions up the Gauley river. It was of an odd growth, and was strange to Boone, he having never seen the like before. He left this brush and pine needles at the end. He brought these to show to his friends; when it had served its purpose, the end with the needles on was cut off, leaving a fine walking stick which Boone gave to his friend and comrade, "Tice" Van Bibber, as above related.

At a very early date the family of John Flinn entered and settled land on Cabin creek, Kanawha county. They were attacked by Indians, and Flinn and wife were killed. A daughter Chloe and a son John Flinn made their escape to Donnelly's Fort, in Greenbrier county. This daughter was later received by the Boone family and given a home, she being then an orphan. When it was proposed to form a new county from Kanawha and Logan counties, a Mr. Ballard, grandson of Chole, then a member of the Virginia legislature, related the above story of the Indian massacre and the escape of his grandmother, and suggested the new county be called "Boone," which passed the legislature with a unanimous vote. The son of John Flinn who had escaped was later captured by Indians going down the Ohio river, and was burned at the stake. Jesse Boone, son of Daniel, was the first state salt inspector in Virginia, when that was among the leading industries of the Kanawha Valley. His son, Colonel Albert Gallatin Boone, himself a famous explorer and frontiersman, true to the Boone family instinct, became a famous explorer in the wilds of the far west and was a native of Kanawha county, this state. He was the first white man to camp on the present site of the city of Denver, Colorado, in 1825. An examination of the assessor's books of Kanawha county show that Daniel Boone was assessed with two horses, one negro, and 500 acres of land, which remained in Boone's name until 1803. Boone left for Missouri Territory, 1799. His starting was a great event in the Kanawha Valley, as many of his friends and admirers came from far and near, some in canoes, some on foot, and others on horseback, to take a farewell look at the man they had learned to prize for his many manly virtues. At the final leavetaking there were many bedimmed eyes and moistened cheeks among the weather-beaten warriors, hunters and pioneers. He left the valley in canoes, embarking at a point where the Elk and Kanawha rivers form junction, in the present city of Charleston. His old friend, "Tice" Van Bibber, accompanied him to Missouri, but later returned to this valley. Boone was never here again, save a short time, on two occasions—one when he came back to pay off some long standing debts which he had never been able to square up before, and again, when he returned to Kentucky to establish or rather identify the corner of a valuable tract of

land he had surveyed some quarter of a century before. He also had debts there which he paid at that time, and it is said of him that he referred to this act as among the happiest of all his eventful career, and that he could then say that he owed no man a dollar, and had never sought to injure any human being for wicked purposes. Through ill dealing upon the part of the state of Kentucky and the Federal government, Boone lost almost all his landed holdings, and died a poor but honest man. He died at the house of his youngest son, Colonel Nathan Boone, on the Femme-Osage river, Missouri, September 20, 1820.

The four counties through which the Great Kanawha river flows and which are within the valley, so named, are in order in which they were organized, as follows: Kanawha, Mason, Fayette and Putnam.

Kanawha County—This county was established in 1789 the same year in which the first congress of the United States met, the first year in which the Constitution of the United States went into operation, and the year in which the first president went into office—George Washington. It then extended from the mouth of Pond creek, five miles below the mouth of the Big Sandy river, up Big Sandy to Cumberland mountains, across by Sewells, etc., and contained about 10,000 square miles. Charleston though it had but seven houses, was its county seat. Until the county buildings were erected the courts were held in the old Clendenin block-house. The first public meeting was held in a jail, in 1792; it was built of logs, and stood partly on the bank, near to the old fort, and was only twelve feet square and seven feet high. The second jail was on a part of the present court house site. The first court house was built of logs, in 1796. It was thirty by forty feet, with two jury rooms fourteen feet square. The first clerk's office was erected in 1802 on the site of the present Ruffner Hotel, on Kanawha street. This was the first stone building within the county. Another court house was built in 1817. Another county clerk's office was provided and a jail was built in 1829. In 1873 the circuit court's office was built. The present brick jail was erected in 1888. The court house lot was acquired by cancelling a debt of George Alderson for the sum of $100. In front of the court house lot there was formerly an open covered market place, which served until in 1845. At an early day there was but one voting precinct here and the polls were usually open for three days. The voting was done at the old Clendenin fort (Ft. Lee). At the first election only thirteen votes were cast.

In 1790, George Clendenin and Andrew Donnelly were elected to the Virginia legislature from Kanawha county, and the following year came Clendenin and Daniel Boone. The first will recorded was that of William Morris, the pioneer permanent settler at Kelley's creek. Reuben Slaughter was appointed first county surveyor, and his first work was laying off and running the lines to 1,000 acres of land about the mouth of Coal creek, made for Phineas Taylor, grandfather of the noted showman, Phineas T. Barnum. It was six years after Charles ton was settled and five years after the place was made the county seat, before Charleston was incorporated as a town. December 19, 1794, it was ordained "that forty acres of land, the property of George Clendenin, at the mouth of Elk river, in the county of "Kanawha," as the same are already laid off into lots and streets, shall be established as a town by the name of "Charlestown," and Reuben Slaughter, Andrew Donnelly Sr., William Clendenin, John Morris Sr., Leonard Morris, John Young and William Morris, with George Alderson, gentlemen, are appointed trustees." Nothwithstanding all this precaution, the name was soon being written and recorded as Charleston, as

WEST VIRGINIA MOUNTAINEER SOLDIER.
CAPITOL GROUNDS, CHARLESTON.

NEW OIL FIELD, BLUE CREEK, NEAR CHARLESTON.

DAVIS PARK AND Y. M. C. A. BUILDING, CHARLESTON.

NEW STATE ARMORY AND AUDITORIUM, CHARLESTON.

LOCK OF KANAWHA RIVER, NEAR CHARLESTON.

it is to-day. Years later a Charlestown sprang up at another point within the state, and this has caused much confusion of mail and express matter. It was once contended that the name should be changed from Charleston to Kanawha, but this failed. From the best accounts, historian Hale stated in his later writings, that Charleston was really selected as being in honor of Charles Clendenin, father and the founder of the place, which is likely true.

Up to 1805, Charleston had no grist mill, and the oldtime graters were universally in use for grating corn. No flour was on sale here in those days. In 1805 a little tub-mill was built at the mouth of the Elk. The Ruffners built a corn cracker at the mouth of Campbell's creek, five miles above Charleston, in 1803. Later, one was erected by William Blaine, on Blaine's Island. The first sawed lumber used in this vicinity was made by whipsaws run by hand. Saw mills, proper, were first established between 1815 and 1820 on Two Mile Creek and Elk. Corn-crackers were attached to these mills. The first steam flour and saw mills were built in Charleston by David and Joseph Ruffner in 1832.

The first sermon preached in the county was by William Steele, January, 1804, at the corner of Kanawha and Hale streets. He was a Methodist minister from the Little Kanawha circuit, and continued to preach here once a month for a long time. The first regular minister at Charleston was Rev. Asa Shinn. Bishop Bascom preached here some months in 1813. The Methodists built their first brick church in Charleston in 1833; it stood on Virginia street, between Alderson and Summers streets. Rev. Dr. Henry Ruffner, was the founder of the Presbyterian church at Charleston in 1816, and his name appears in a memorial window of the fine stone church edifice on Quarrier street. The first Jewish society was formed in Charleston in 1873, Rabbi Sched being the teacher.

The first attorney was Edward Graham, August 1, 1796, and he received forty dollars a year as attorney for the commonwealth. The early courts had due regard for the morals of the community, for Ben Lemasters was fined fifteen shillings in 1792, at court, for "saying cuss words" in the court's presence. In 1796, Joseph Burwell was indicted by the grand jury for hunting on the Sabbath and William Jones for taking the name of the Lord in vain. Tobacco was an important crop at an early day. In fact, it was legal tender for almost all kinds of debts. At the May term of court in 1792, it was "ordered that 4,800 weight of tobacco be levied on the tithable property of this county for the extra services of the clerk of the court for the last four years, last past; also that 3,300 weight of tobacco be levied on the tithables of this county for extra services performed by Thomas Lewis, as sheriff from the 5th of October, 1789, to July 20, 1792; also that William Clendenin be allowed 1,300 weight of tobacco for his services as sheriff from July, 1792, to August, 1793; also that a deposit of 10,000 pounds of tobacco be applied to the use of this county, and further it is ordered that the sheriff proceed to collect the above quantity of tobacco and settle with the county at the February court, next."

Probably the first tavern or inn in Charleston was the Buster Tavern, at the northeast corner of Kanawha and Court streets. Meals twenty-five cents, and lodgings half that amount. Beer and cider were sold at this inn at fifty cents a gallon. The second blacksmith in Charleston was the noted negro Jack Neal, who, though a free man, was spirited away and attempted to be made a slave in the south. He killed his captor, escaped, was caught in Ohio and tried here; he confessed, was convicted and pardoned. His was the first criminal trial in the valley,

and he was first to be placed in the county jail. He was taken from near Georgetown. He commenced his blacksmithing soon after his pardon, and made a splendid mechanic and a harmless man.

A postoffice was first established in this valley at Charleston in April 1801, and was named "Kanawha C. H." Edward Graham was the first to serve as postmaster. The first newspaper was the *Kanawha Patriot,* by Herbert P. Gaines, in 1819. The first bank was established in 1832, as a branch of the Bank of Virginia, J. C. McFarland, president.

The first ferry at Charleston was the one crossing both the Elk and Kanawha rivers; the charter was granted to George Clendenin, December 19, 1794. A wire suspension bridge was built over the Kanawha in 1852. The old Keystone bridge was built in 1873 in the interests of the "West End," and was destroyed by ice in 1879, rebuilt by the city in 1886, and the suspension bridge purchased and both made free bridges. The first steamboat built at Charleston was the "Tiskelwah," by Captain Andrew Ruffner, in 1832; it plied between Charleston and Cincinnati. "Here's Your Mule" was the first up-river packet, built in 1864, by J. P. Hale. "Lame Duck" and "Wild Goose" he also built and operated in the seventies. In 1822 occurred a great river rise; water was all around the court house. In 1861 another great freshet visited the city and nearly inundated it. The river was forty-seven feet above low-water mark. The next high water was 1878, when it measured forty-two feet. In 18[illegible] and 1849, cholera raged in Charleston.

It is stated by Dr. John P. Hale that he in 1870 laid the first brick street paving ever laid in this country; this seems hardly credible, but the doctor was not given to mistakes, and was honest, hence it is thought that the United States had no such paving until 1870. This paving was put down on what is now called Capitol street. Charleston was first lighted by gas in 1871, by Dr. Hale. The town became a city in 1861, Jacob Goshorn being the first mayor.

The City of Charleston in the spring of 1910 (according to published statements made by Mr. S. P. Puffer, secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, which he published in the *Cog City Monthly*) had the following commercial and industrial interests:

Population, 1900, 11,099; 1910, 23,454; 1912, 28,387. Area, five and one-half square miles; altitude, 600 feet above sea level; mean temperature sixty degrees. Banking—ten institutions with stock and surplus of $3,481,000; deposits, $7,528,000. Invested in manufacturing plants, $18,000,000; jobbing, $21,000,000. The taxation is now the lowest of any city in the United States. The number of persons employed in shops and factories is 2,156. Natural gas sells to factory owners at five cents per thousand cubic feet—the cheapest in America. Coal as low as sixty cents a ton. There are now in operation about fourteen miles of electric street railways; capital invested $1,000,000; fare, five cents. Water transportation, in addition to the excellent rail system, is had by the $5,000,000 Federal lock-dam system in the Kanawha river. There are eighty-three miles of street paving, three miles of macadam and seventy-five miles of paved side-walks; twenty-seven miles of sewers, besides ten miles of private; the city has a $100,000 Young Men's Christian Association building; thirteen school buildings; thirty-eight churches, taking in all denominations; two daily newspapers—morning and evening; four first class hotels, and ten ordinary ones.

Mason County—The present area of Mason county is 432 square miles. It was formed from Kanawha county, January 2, 1804, and was named in honor of George Mason, of revolutionary fame. He was one of the framers of the Virginia constitution and had to do with the making of the United States constitution. He, with Patrick Henry, opposed the ratification of the Virginia constitution, believing that it tended to monarchy.

The land in Mason county is both bottom and hill lands, and all that

can be utilized for agricultural purposes has been cultivated many years. The seat of government is historic old Point Pleasant, on the Ohio, and near the mouth of the Great Kanawha river. The settlement was made there very early—indeed after much searching by historians, including the present state Historian and Archivist, Prof. Virgil A. Lewis, it has been determined as a fact that Point Pleasant is fourteen years older than Marietta, Ohio, twelve years older than Charleston, West Virginia, fifteen years older than Cincinnati, seventeen years older than Gallipolis, twenty-two years older than Chillicothe. It is also seventeen years older than Harrodsburg, the oldest place in Kentucky. It is the oldest English town on the Ohio river south of Pittsburgh.

In 1764, Captain William Arbuckle, doubtless the first white man to explore the Kanawha valley region, visited Point Pleasant. Washington, with a number of his army comrades, made his camp here in October, 1770, and began the surveying of 10,000 acres of land awarded him for services in the French and Indian war. This tract was on the south side of the Kanawha river, while his comrade, Andrew Lewis, claimed a tract almost as large, including the present site of Point Pleasant city. In the battle fought there in 1774, with General Lewis in command, there were 1,100 soldiers. The Indians were led by the famous warrior, Cornstalk. The loss to the white forces was seventy-five men killed; one hundred and forty wounded; Colonels Lewis and Field fell there. It finally resulted in defeat to the red-skins.

Concerning the natural resources of this county, it may be classed among the most fertile of all West Virginia. There are thousands of acres of beautiful bottom lands where the rich alluvial soil is unsurpassed in the country. Here one finds fifty miles along the Ohio and thirty miles along the Kanawha river, of splendid bottom land, of great fertility and value. Rich deposits of iron ore are found in abundance in the numerous hillsides. Coal of the best grade is mined, and the transportation facilities are excellent, both by water and rail routes. Salt is also among the valuable mineral resources. It is found on both sides of the river and in the river's bed, by boring from one hundred to one thousand feet, when the brine rises to the level of the river's water. The forests are another source of wealth and add to the beauty of the county. The varieties include white oak, white and yellow poplar, hickory, black walnut, cherry, white ash, white and yellow pines, maple, beech, and other valuable marketable timbers.

The settlment of Point Pleasant really dates back to 1774, when the battle already named took place. For decades there was a feeling of superstition prevailing that a curse in some way rested on the location on account of the fiendish murder of Cornstalk, the chief, on November 10, 1777. History proper first mentions the place by act of the Virginia Assembly, dated December 26, 1792, establishing a ferry at that place. December 19, 1794, an act was passed that 200 acres of land, property of Thomas Lewis, at the mouth of the Kanawha river, as already laid off into lots and streets, shall be established as a town by the name of Point Pleasant. The town was not incorporated until 1833. Christopher Gist was probably the first Englishman who ever saw this spot. He was agent and land surveyor for the Ohio Land Company. In 1749 he set forth on a tour of exploration north of the Ohio, and in 1750, on his return, reached the mouth of the Great Kanawha river, and history records that "he made a thorough exploration of the country north of the river." The Massachusetts Historical Society has his journal well preserved at this time. The first white woman to behold the mouth of the Great Kanawha was beyond doubt Mary Ingles, who was taken prisoner by the Indians, July 8, 1755, at the Draper's Meadow massacre at Blacksburg,

Montgomery county. A few days later she passed the Point on her way to spend a captivity beyond the Ohio. Four months later she returned to her friends on the upper waters of Wood river, when she again viewed Point Pleasant.

Fayette County—Fayette county was organized in 1831 by detaching portions of Kanawha, Logan, Greenbrier and Nicholas counties. It contains 740 square miles, and derives its name from Lafayette, whom Americans have honored by naming for him many hundreds of their children, and many of their rivers, counties and towns. In this county the New and Gauley rivers form junction. Below the junction are the charming Gauley Falls. Coal and timber abound in great quantities. The New and Gauley rivers and the railroads furnish ample means for transportation to market. One of the natural curiosities of this county is Hawks Nest, or Marshall's Pillar—a steep, lofty formation upon the river bank, one of nature's freaks, which is ever a feast to the eye and especially charms the lover of natural scenery, the scientist and the naturalist. In 1812 Chief Justice Marshall made an official visit to this spot, as one of the Virginia commissioners, and his was the first attempt at measuring its height, having placed himself on its topmost summit. It is 1,612 feet above the bed of the river New, with an elevation of 2,360 feet from tidewater; 117 feet above the level of the common surface one finds a vein of coal two and a half feet thick; at 978 feet there is a seam of bituminous coal of eleven feet in thickness. At 1,117 feet there is found a four-foot seam of splint; cannel coal comes still higher up the mountain side. The summit formation is a flinty black stone. Nearby are found mineral springs, said to possess great medicinal and curative properties.

Putnam County—Putnam county was the last of the Kanawha Valley sub-divisions of this state to be organized into a separate county. It was named, when organized in March, 1848, after General Israel Putnam. Its county seat is Winfield, named in honor of General Winfield Scott. The other principal towns within Putnam county are Pike City. Liberty, Round Knob, Pliny, Buffalo, Johnson's Shoals, Hurricane, Teays, Carpenter, Elsimore, and Poca. Originally this county was portions of Kanawha, Mason, and Cabell counties. Its first court was held in 1848. The topography is hilly and rolling for the most part. The Kanawha bottom lands, the valley, is about one mile in width, and made up of a rich alluvial soil, very productive. At one time tobacco was counted a staple crop. Originally, heavy forests of the finest kinds of timber, both soft and hard woods, abounded everywhere, and still there remain large tracts of valuable wooded land. Coal, limestone and excellent grades of clays are found in great quantities. The Kanawha and Pocotalico rivers and the railroads afford ample shipping facilties for the products of mines, forests and farm land. Cranberries grow here spontaneously.

Among the earliest pioneers were James Connor, who came in 1775; Charles Connor and James Ellis, in 1799; and John Dudding, who arrived and located opposite Johnson's Shoals, about the same date. Thomas Reece was first to locate in Teays Valley, in 1800. Winfield, the seat of justice, was first settled in by a Mr. Jones in 1815. He is said to have supplied the river boatmen with corn at a shilling a bushel. One mile above Buffalo is historic grounds—where until a few years since stood the old pine tree known as "Tackett's Tree," named for the man Tackett, who was tied to this tree by the Indians who had captured him. They used thongs, and while they were off on a hunt, leaving him alone, the rain softened the strings and he made his escape. The town site of Winfield was orginally

owned by Charles Brown, who held 400 acres, including the site of the present town. Here Brown in 1818 established a ferry. The place was not incorporated until 1868. The town of Buffalo is the oldest of all places between Charleston and Point Pleasant, on the Kanawha river.

The counties which comprise the Great Kanawha Valley had a population as follows, at the periods indicated:

	1890	1910
Kanawha county	42,756	81,457
Putnam county	14,223	18,587
Mason county	22,863	23,019
Fayette county	20,543	51,903
Total	100,485	174,969

CHAPTER XXVI

THE GREENBRIER VALLEY—GUYANDOTTE VALLEY

What is known as the Greenbrier Valley of West Virginia is composed largely of the territory embraced in the counties of Greenbrier, Summers and Pocahontas, in the eastern portion of the state. The early surveyors found great difficulty in making their way through the region by reason of the numerous briers which they encountered, hence they named the stream Greenbrier and then later the county, etc., took on that name. The stream takes its rise in the mountains of Randolph county and flows to the southeast, and empties into the New river at Hinton, Summers county, having traversed the counties already named. The bill providing for its formation, with those of Rockbridge, and Rockingham, passed the general assembly of Virginia, October, 1777—the second year of the commonwealth, when the cannon of the British were resounding to the tread of the Colonial and English armies.

In 1769 Robert McClanachan, Thomas and William Renick located near where the town of Frankford now stands. Captain McClanachan, afterwards killed at the battle of Point Pleasant, settled on the north side of the Greenbrier river, midway between Frankford and Falling Springs, but sold his land to Major William Renick. His wife was Catherine Madison, a cousin of President James Madison. After his death she married Captain William Arbuckle, spent several years in Fort Randolph at Point Pleasant, and afterwards lived and died on the banks of the Kanawha, on what has since been known as the Craig farm, four miles below the town of Buffalo. Other pioneers were Thomas Williams, 1769; William McCoy, same year; James Jordon, 1770; John Patton, 1771; in 1772, Samuel McKinney located on Muddy creek, near the Clendenins place, and where that family was murdered nine years before. His first neighbor was David Keeney from whom Keeney's Knob takes its name. In 1773 William McClung settled on the banks of Big Clear creek. When he built his log cabin there the place was a hundred miles from a mill, a store, or any signs of civilized life. In 1778 came Erwin Williams, James Crawford, David McClure and John McDowell, who settled near the center of what has since been known as the Irish Corner District. In 1781 the immigrants were John Gardner, Samuel Williams, Robert Knox and David Williams.

Greenbrier county was formed in 1777, the second year of the American revolution, and has an area of over 1,000 square miles. It is second largest in West Virginia. On both the eastern and western sides the surface is mountainous, while the central part is an extended plateau, or mountain table-land, known for more than a century as the "Big Levels." Over its whole extent the soil is underlaid by limestone. Here one finds some of the finest farms in the state. In 1900 the United States census placed its farms at 2,435, of which 500 had more than 1,000 acres; 568 had 100 acres; 275 had more than 246 acres. Many run from thirteen to sixty acres. In 1902 there were produced crops to the value of $33,458. Wheat, oats, corn, hay and fruits all came in for their share in this goodly amount; also, much sorghum was raised. Fruit has of recent years come to be a paying crop. Ten years ago the number of apple trees was 56,000, and they produced 57,000 bushels; 2,100 pear trees bore 2,300 bushels;

9,800 peach trees bore 4,700 bushels; 8,300 cherry trees bore 10,500 bushels; the total value of fruit grown in 1902 was $83,000. The famous Kentucky blue grass region is the only section ahead of Greenbrier for that excellent grass, hence stock raising is common and profitable. The value of live stock was placed at $703,000 in a recent census enumeration. Poultry brought the owners $53,000; 2,600 swarms of bees brought honey to the amount of 35,000 pounds and bees' wax amounting to 1,264 pounds. The total dairy product was $109,790 from 7,100 cows. In 1900 the county had 105 manufactures, with a capital invested of $741,000; wages paid out, $58,000; cost of material, $234,000; value of finished products, $415,000.

The county is also rich in its mineral deposits, though not so well developed as many of her sister counties. Gypsum and grindstone materials are abundant. The mineral springs are known worldwide. This is the "Saratoga of the South." The White Sulphur Springs afford the most celebrated water resort in any mountain country in all the United States, and are annually visited by tens of thounsands from all parts of the world. The land upon which this great resort is located was originally patented by Nathan Carpenter, who reared his rude log cabin there in 1774. Soon after, his house was attacked by Indians, and he with every member of his household save his wife and infant child, were killed. The mother and babe escaped to a mountain where she remained in concealment for some time, when she finally fled to the east, where she found her friends and related her sad story. It is said that from that child came many of the richest, brainiest men of this valley. The mother's name was Kate, hence the name of "Kate Mountain" will never cease to be of interest to those who visit the White Sulphur Springs. Prior to the Carpenter family came explorers, hunters and trappers who drank from the healthgiving waters of this mysterious spring—the fountain of health—and they related to their friends the story of what seemed to rival those told of the "Fountain of Perpetual Youth." The first man to really improve these springs was James Caldwell, in 1818, he being the owner of the land thereabouts.

The land in this valley is very productive. In 1840 there was made in Greenbrier county 146,780 pounds of maple sugar. The population at that time was: Whites, 7,287; slaves, 1,214; free colored, 194; total, 8,695.

Lewisburg, the county seat, is situated on the James river and Kanawha turnpike, 214 miles west of Richmond and 263 miles from Washington, D. C. It was established in October, 1782. It stands on the site of the old Savannah Fort, and is where the army of General Lewis rendezvoused in 1774, previous to the battle at Point Pleasant. After the terrible Indian warfare in the Greenbrier Valley, peace came in 1764, but the great Dunmore war broke out in 1774, when came the engagement at Point Pleasant, already mentioned. Finally Independence was declared by America, July 4th, 1776, and a county was granted to the people of Greenbrier in May, 1778, and the first county court was held.

Pocahontas County—This was formed in 1821 from parts of Pendleton and Randolph counties, and named from the Indian princess. Its mean length is forty miles, while its width averages about eighteen miles. Cheat, Gauley and Greenbrier rivers rise in this county, which is among the most elevated in the state of West Virginia. The surface is broken by mountains. The southern portion is reasonably productive, while that in the northern section is barren. As early as 1840 this county had a population of 2,784, of which 19 were free colored and 219 slaves. Its

county seat was fixed at Huntersville, 190 miles from Richmond, and six miles from the junction of the Greenbrier river and Knapp's creek. Eighteen miles distant on Elk Ridge, there is a very high mountain and on its top a circular hole seventy feet in diameter, a natural curiosity, its waters being perfectly black and of a bituminous taste. This is known as the "Black Hole." It is claimed that one may throw a pole into its dark depths and that it will never come to the surface again. In this county is the culminating point of the Allegheny mountains; Mount Bayard, four miles west of Hillsboro, is the highest point in the whole range, and its summit is the highest land in the county. Along the eastern boundary stretch the Alleghenies proper, in the north are the Rich mountains, Cheat mountains, and Middle mountains; in the west are the Yew mountains and Black range, while in the south are the Beaver mountains, the highest point of the latter being Droop mountain, made famous in the days of the civil war because of a fierce engagement there. In the center lie the Brown mountains and Buckley peaks. This whole section is a wonder land, and greatly delights the scientist and geologist, especially.

The county seat is Huntersville, nestled down among the mountains, Alpine-like, and beautiful for situation. This was made the seat of justice in 1821. It was here that John Bradshaw built his rude log cabin, and soon after the people of Bath county constructed a wagon road from the Warm Springs through the mountains to his house, and a man named John Harness began hauling goods from Staunton into these mountains for the purpose of trading with the settlers. He made Bradshaw's house his headquarters, and here he was met by hunters and trappers who brought him their pelts, venison and other products of the forest, to exchange for goods. From this the place was eventually known as Huntersville. It was established as a town by the legislature, December 18, 1822. Among institutions of learning was the Little Levels Academy, founded in 1842, under state charter of Virginia. It was bought in 1865 by the county, and later used for public school purposes. This was the first school of a high order within the county.

When the Rebellion broke out in 1861, William Curry was county and circuit clerk. Finding that the Federals were liable to invade the county, he took the records to a place of supposed safety—the residence of Joel Hill, on the Little Levels; here they remained until January, 1862, when Mr. Curry became alarmed for their safety and removed the same to Covington, Virginia, where for a short time they were in the Allegheny county court house. From there they were taken to the storehouse of Captain William Scott. In September, 1863, Gen. Averill's command reached Covington, and Mr. Curry again removed the records, first to the home of William Clark, then to a stack of buckwheat straw in which they lay concealed for three weeks, and were then conveyed into the mountains and stored away in the house of a Baptist minister, where they remained until the surrender at Appomattox. The war having ended Mr. Curry in June, 1865, returned the records and deposited them at the house of Joel Hill. A month later they were taken to a vacant house belonging to Rev. Mitchell Dunlap, and there left until September, 1865, when the first court after the war convened, November, 1865, in the Methodist church at Hillsboro. From that time they were kept in the old Academy building until June, 1866, when they were taken back to the county seat and deposited at the house of John B. Garey. More than five years had elapsed since their first removal for safety, and, strange to relate, through all these various changes, not a book or paper was missing save one record book which was of no value to the county.

Summers County—Summers county was formed by act of the West Virginia legislature, February 27, 1871, from the counties of Green-

brier and Monroe, which had been once a part of Greenbrier, but changed in 1799, from Mercer, which was created March 17, 1837, and which was formerly a part of Giles and formerly included in Montgomery county; and from Fayette, which was formed from Greenbrier, Kanawha, Nicholas and Logan counties in 1831. Before entering into other details, we insert the following facts, largely gleaned from Miller's "History of Summers County," published in 1908, he being a resident of that county:

Evan Hinton, residing in Mercer county, is rightfully styled "father of Summers county." He it was who went before the legislature, in session at Charleston, and employed Hon. James H. Ferguson, with many years experience in the lawmaking powers of the two Virginias, with his surveys showing the requisite 400 square miles of territory. He met with determined opposition to the passage of the act. Mr. Hinton found it would be impossible to secure an enactment without relinquishing the territory wanted from Raleigh county; so he and Judge Ferguson secured the services of Surveyor John Cole, also an engineer and expert. They met at Charleston and mapped out the present lines of the county by a protraction leaving out the coveted strip from Raleigh county which was originally planned for. Litigation grew out of this new county formation and boundary line affair. It was between Summers and Greenbrier and between Monroe and Summers also. This was in 1894, about the time the Chesapeake & Ohio railroad was seeking to develop this part of the state. The citizens of the lower end of Mercer and Monroe counties and the upper end of Blue Springs district of Greenbrier county agitated the new county theory, one of the chief reasons being that it was inconvenient to reach the county seat town of each of the respective counties, as well as the desire for more offices. Evan Hinton took full charge of the fight, had the surveys made, went to Charleston, the state capital, lobbied the bill through the legislature, etc. Section 5 of the bill creating the new county of Summers, reads: "The county seat of the new county shall be at the mouth of Greenbrier river, and the board of supervisors shall, as soon as practicable, provide a suitable court house and other buildings for the said new county, in the manner prescribed by law." At the time of the formation of Summers county and for some time before, there had been a court house removal agitation going on in Monroe county, the lower end of the county desiring its removal from Union to Centerville (now Greenville) which was claimed to be nearer the center of the county. It was with this end in view that Senator Allen T. Caperton went to Charleston at the session of the legislature in 1871 and vigorously enlisted his great influence to aid Evan Hinton in securing the passage of the bill to form the new county, and the delegate from Monroe, B. F. Ballard, voted for it. Fayette county also had for years, and then, a county seat fight on its hands, and her delegate, Hon. Edward Allen Ferguson, voted to lop off a small slice of the territory of that county so as to weaken the upper end. Mercer county was in the throes of another court house contest between Concord Church (Athens) and Princeton. It was also in a life and death struggle over the "test oath" question, and for home rule, carpet-bag government being then "in the saddle," and was headed by George Evans, Benjamin White and others; hence her delegate, Sylvester Upton, voted for the creation of a new county. In this connection, it should be said that out of 1,100 legal voters (by rights) less than 150 were permitted to cast their ballots. A committee of public safety was organized at Princeton by a number of gallant soldiers and lawyers for the protection of the people from the grafters in high places, and to settle forever the location of the court house. The county supervisors were meeting one day at Concord and the next at Princeton; the public records were being hauled back and forth from one town to another; public revenue was being squandered; a court house and jail had been erected, one at one town and one at the other. The court house and the town itself had been burned at Princeton by the Confederate General Jenifer. The Confederate soldiers, many of whom were brainy men, had been disfranchised and ostracised, and the committee of safety, in order to secure their ends, joined with such men as Hon. Sylvester Upton, elected him to the legislature for the session of 1871, and he voted for the new county of Summers, giving it the two districts, which forever destroyed the hopes and aspirations of Concord Church to become the county seat town. Later, they received the State Normal School to mollify the people in that section. A court house fight was on in earnest in Raleigh county. It was proposed to remove from Berkeley to Trop Hill, therefore, to secure the vote of Hon. Moses Scott, his clause was inserted "that no part of that good county should ever be included within the territory of Summers county, as proposed by some." Thus the influence of the fights going on in all adjacent counties was but helping Summers to become a county. Indeed, all will admit that Summers county was but a child of necessity. Upon its organization it was divided into five districts,

or townships, as then called—Jumping Branch, Piperton, Greenbrier, Green Sulphur, Forest Hill.

It will be recalled that the act of the legislature forming Summers county stated that the seat of justice should be "at the mouth of Greenbrier river." This was a vague reading for a modern day legislative act. It was claimed by some that it was near Foss postoffice, near the Point, while others claimed it was near the Upper Hinton Ferry, or near the point on Hinton Island. In the meantime the old log Baptist church two miles up the river from Foss, was proclaimed as the court house, and there a number of terms of court were held. Subsequently the court house was removed and established over the printing office of one Thompson, on the side of the track of the Chesapeake & Ohio railroad, in what is now called the town of Avis. This building was burned in 1875, and the storehouse of John H. Pack was used for court house purposes. It was ceiled under the rafters, and rough benches provided. Courts were held in this second story for some time, until the old brick court house was erected. When letting the contracts for permanent buildings was going on, more litigation sprang up. Dr. John G. Manser and E. B. Meador, long since deceased, were the principal champions for the Foss location, and Evan Hinton for the opposite side of the river, where now stands the town of Avis. At one time the building of a court house was let and work commenced at a location on the Island; brick was burned there for that purpose, but the inevitable injunction came up, and the hope of the Islanders was shattered. Finally, the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad Company came to the rescue and donated three acres of land for county purposes, which included the present "Square", or rather "U", on the hill, at the point where Hinton is now located, and where stands the present court house. Contracts were let for the erection of the building in 1875 and it was first occupied in 1877. Over this contract there was also much "lawing" back and forth. The contract price was $14,000, but just where the "mouth of the Greenbrier river" is the courts have never been able to determine.

The first assessment of lands in Summers county after its organization was in 1875; the second assessment was in 1880, when the total valuation was placed at $817,280; the third assessment was in 1890, when the value was placed at $846,345; the fourth assessment, that of 1900, gave the total value at $1,225,000; the fifth and last assessment placed the total value, in 1905, at $2,400,000. This was made under the "Dawson Tax Reform Law." The value in the county in 1871, when organized, was placed at $527,000, and in 1875 had increased to $94,467 more.

First Declaration of Independence—The first Declaration of Independence in America was on January 20th, 1775, by the representatives of Fincastle county, of which Summers territory, a part, if not all, is a part. It was eighteen months prior to the Declaration of Independence of July 4th, 1776:

To the Honorable Peyton Randolph, Esquire, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Junior, James Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison and Edmund Pendleton, Esquires, the delegates from this Colony, who attend the Continental Congress held at Philadelphia. Gentlemen: Had it not been for our remote situation and the Indian war which we were engaged in, to chastise their cruel and savage customs, of many murders and depredations that they have committeed amongst us, now happily treminated under the auspices of our present worthy Governor, His Excellency, The Right Honorable Earl Dunmore, we should before this time have made known to you our thankfulness for the very important service you have rendered to our country in conjunction with the worthy delegates from other provinces. Your noble efforts for reconciling the mother country and Colonies on rational and constitutional principles, and your pacific, steady and uniform conduct in that arduous work immortalized your names in the annals of your country. We heartily concur in your resolutions and shall in every instance strictly and invariably adhere thereto.

We assure you gentlemen, and all our countrymen, that we are a people whose hearts overflow with love and duty to our lawful sovereign, George the Third, whose illustrious house for several successive reigns has been the guardian of the civil and religious rights and liberties of British subjects as settled at the glorious Revolution; that we are willing to risk our lives in the service of His Majesty's reign for the support of the Protestant religion and the rights and liberties of his subjects as they have been established by the compact law and ancient charters. We are heartily disturbed at the differences which now subsist between the parent State and the

Colonies, and most urgently wish to see harmony restored on an equitable basis, and by the most lenient measures that can be devised by the heart of man. Many of us and our forefathers left our native land, considering it as a kingdom subjected to inordinate power. We crossed the Atlantic and explored this wilderness and surrounded by the mountains almost inaccessible to any but the various savages, who have insistently been committing depredations on us since first we settled in the country. The fatigues and dangers were patiently endured, supported by the hope of enjoying the rights and liberties which had been granted Virginians, and denied us in our native country, transmitting them inviolate to our posterity; but even to this remote region the hand of enmity and unconstitutional power hath preceded us to strip us of that liberty and property with which God, nature and the rights of humanity have vested us. We are ready and willing to contribute all in our power for His Majesty's government, if applied considerately and when grants are made by our own representatives, but cannot think of submitting our liberty or property to the power of a venal British Government, or the will of a greedy ministry. We by no means desire to shake off our duty or allegiance to our lawful sovereign, but on the contrary, shall ever glory in being the loyal subjects of the Protestant prince descended from such illustrious progenitors, so long as we can enjoy the free exercise of our religion as Protestants and our liberties and properties as British subjects; but no pacific measures shall be proposed or adopted by Great Britain, and our enemies will attempt to dragoon us out of these inestimable privileges which we are entitled to as subjects, and reduce us to a state of slavery; we declare that we are deliberately determined never to surrender them to any power upon earth but at the expense of our lives.

These are real, though unpolished sentiments of liberty, and in them we are resolved to live or die.

The territory of Summers county (then Fincastle county) was represented in the convention which formed and adopted the Republican constitution—the first ever adopted in America—at Williamsburg, Virginia, 1775. Arthur Campbell and William Russell were the representatives. The delegate from Fincastle county in 1776, when it was abolished, was Colonel William Christie. Fincastle county was named for one of the castles of the royal governor, Lord Dunmore's "Finn Castle." But the distaste among the colonies for Dunmore had became so great and just that the name was changed or eliminated from the political divisions; Dunmore county was also changed for like cause to Shenandoah.

Last Battle of the Rebellion—Among battles of the civil war, if not indeed the last, was fought on Greenbrier river, seven miles east of Hinton, Big Rock. Thurmond's Rangers were coming down Greenbier river in a large canoe made from a poplar tree and others were coming down the road, when a squad of Union men fired on them from the bluffs above the big road. They shot bullet holes through the soft wood of the canoe and hit the buttons of their coats, but no blood was shed. Jackson Grimmett, Rufus Grimmett, John Bucklen and Clark Grimmett and a few more were from Summers county, on the Union side. This engagement was in the latter part of April, 1865, and Lee had surrendered to Grant on April 9th of that month.

The Washington Monument—The West Virginia stone in the Washington monument at Washington, D. C., was taken from the Hinton quarries, this county, from the same strata used in constructing the Chesapeake & Ohio railroad docks at Newport News. It was prepared under the supervision of Hon. W. K. Pendleton, of Bethany College, who, in addition to the coat-of-arms of the state placed the following inscription: *"Tuum nos sumus monumentum."* This block is two by four feet; it was received at Washington, February 2, 1885, and is placed in the wall two hundred feet above the floor of the shaft.

The following was the population in the counties of the Greenbrier Valley, in the years indicated below:

	1890	1900	1910
Summers County	13,117	16,265	18,420
Pocahontas County	6,814	8,572	14,740
Greenbrier County	18,034	20,683	24,833

THE GUYANDOTTE VALLEY

The next of the series of the West Virginia rivers below the Great Kanawha is the Guyandotte, which has its source in Basin Spring between Barker's and William's ridges, in Wyoming county, on the Cumberland plateau, whence it flows through Logan and Lincoln counties, thence into Cabell county, where, at the town of Guyandotte, three miles above Huntington, it forms junction with the Ohio. At Richview its altitude is 1,275 feet, and at its mouth 560 feet; its descent is 715 feet in a meandering course of possibly no more than 175 miles. In Wyoming county it receives Pennack creek, Rockcastle and Indian creeks; and Clear fork, all Wyoming county streams. In Logan county, Buffalo creek, Rich and Island creeks, are its chief tributaries. At Barboursville, Cabell county, Mud river enters the Guyandotte.

The Guyandotte river drains an area of more than 1,800 square miles, and drops into the Ohio. Then what may be properly designated as the Guyandotte Valley comprises the counties of Wyoming, Cabell, Lincoln and Logan, brief histories of which here follow:

Wyoming County—Wyoming county was formed from Logan, January 26, 1850. The origin of its name is unknown. The act of assembly creating the county required the first court to be held at the residence of John Cook, and the seat of justice was fixed on lands of William Cook Sr., on the Clear fork on the Guyandotte river. This county contains 650 square miles, with a population of about 9,000. Its county seat is Oceana, and its incorporation dates from February 16, 1871.

Cabell County—Cabell county was taken from Kanawha county, January 2, 1809. At present it contains about 300 square miles. Its county seat was located by the following commissioners appointed by the assembly: John Shrewsbury, David Ruffner, John Reynolds, Wilham Clendenin and Jesse Bennett. The county was named in honor of William H. Cabell, born December, 1772, in Cumberland county, Virginia. He descended from a Spanish family who had long resided in England, and representatives of which family settled in Virginia in 1724. He held many state positions and was governor of Virginia from 1805 to 1808, when he was chosen judge of the general court; three years later he was elevated to the court of appeals, serving as its president until 1841, when he retired from the bench. He died at Richmond, January 12, 1853.

At the first circuit superior court held in Cabell county, Judge Coalter was presiding judge. He came from the eastern portion of the state and upon his arrival was duly informed by the people that they did not need any court, and furthermore that they did not want to be bothered with warrants, fines, judgements, etc. But the judge had his duty to perform and organized a court, appointing Edmund Morris clerk. James Wilson qualified as an attorney and was appointed prosecutor. The following were admitted to the bar: David Cartmill, Henry Hunter, William H. Cavendish, John Matthews, Ballard Smith, Lewis Summers and Sylvester Woodward. Lewis Summers was for many years among the ablest jurists of Virginia, while Sylvester Woodward subsequently became attorney-general for New York state.

Among the towns of Cabell county are Huntington, Barboursville and Guyandotte. The latter was established by the legislature in January, 1810, on lands of Thomas Buffington, with Noah Scales, Henry Brown, Richard Crump, as trustees. The town was incorporated January 20, 1849. Barboursville was made a town by act of the Assembly, January 14, 1813, on lands owned by William Merritt; it was incorporated, January 20, 1849, and was granted a charter February

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, HUNTINGTON.

EPISCOPAL CHURCH, HUNTINGTON.

SOUTHERN M. E. CHURCH, HUNTINGTON.

CABELL COUNTY COURT HOUSE, HUNTINGTON.

POSTOFFICE, HUNTINGTON.

The above illustration shows the famous old suspension bridge across the Guyan river that connected Huntington and Guyandotte, W. Va., from 1852 until six years ago, when it was torn away, after being condemned, to give place to a more modern and safer structure. It was the last of its kind in West Virginia, with the exception of one at Fairmont, which is still standing. On this old bridge, at Guyandotte, there was fought one of the most interesting little battles of the civil war, in 1863, at which time Guyandotte was burned. The third suspension bridge in the state, that at Charleston, fell, eight years ago, killing a number of school children and maiming many others.

12, 1867. Huntington was incorporated under the title of the City of Huntington, February 27, 1871, and named in honor of C. P. Huntington, of the Chesapeake & Ohio railroad.

Cabell county is in a splendid agricultural section, the broad Ohio bottoms being unsurpassed for farming purposes. For fully thirty-five miles the county is bordered on the northwest by the Ohio river, while the Guyandotte flows through it, dividing it into two equal parts. In 1902 there were almost two thousand farms within this county, ranging from three to one thousand acres each. The total value of all farm products in the year named was $302,371. There are ninety-five miles of railway tracks within the county, operated by steam, and nine miles of electric road.

Of the city of Huntington, it may be truthfully stated that its growth has been phenomenal. In the seventies, when the Chesapeake & Ohio railroad was built through the county, the land on which stands this enterprising industrial center was in the midst of a grain field. Now it has more than 25,000 people, including its suburbs, Guyandotte and Central City. It has broad and well paved streets, electric lights, gas, and a fine water work plant; and street car service second to none in West Virginia; also large commercial and manufacturing interests. In 1900 the census gave this city credit for having eighty-nine manufacturing establishments; these had an invested capital of $2,286,000 with 1,861 wage earners receiving $872,000 per year. Since that enumeration was taken the city has made rapid strides in every particular. It is now rated as the "Industrial Center of the Southern Ohio Valley."

Logan County—Logan county was created by act of assembly, January 12, 1824, from parts of Giles, Tazewell, Cabell and Kanawha counties, deriving its name from the celebrated old Mingo chieftain with whose history every schoolboy is familiar.

Tug river forms the southwestern boundary of this county. The village of Lawnsville, or Logan Court House, was laid out as the county seat in 1827. The population of this county in 1900 was 6,955. In 1895 Mingo county was detached from Logan county, thus cutting down its territory. Mingo was the last county organized in West Virginia.

Logan county is about twenty miles wide by forty in length. The Guyandotte river flows near the center of the county, while Cole river, near its eastern border, flows through it for about twenty-five miles. The natural scenery is among the most charming in the commonwealth. In 1900 there were 940 farms in this county, ranging from small tracts up to as high as 1,000 acres. The average temperature for 1904 was 57 degrees above zero, and the total rainfall was 45 inches, including the melted snow. The warmest day was 97 degrees, and the coldest five degrees above zero. The total value of products of the soil in 1904 was $60,880. This included its crop of 88,000 bushels of corn. Besides the field crops was fruit amounting to $13,000. This showing is excellent when one comes to realize that only one-fifth of the county has been cleared up. The four-fifths is covered with the finest growth of oak, hickory, ash, cucumber and other timber. Large shipments of walnut and poplar have been cut and rafted down the streams during the high water seasons. Saw mills have recently dotted the county. Greater than all items named, are the coal fields of this county. All kinds save anthracite are here stored in vast quantities. Soft coal is had in veins running from four to thirteen feet in thickness. The famous Pocahontas coal is mined at less than a hundred feet from the surface and is known far and near for its superior qualities. Cannel coal is found in veins of five feet. Many of the streams flow over solid beds of coal. Until a few years ago this vast wealth was of no value to the owners for lack of transportation,

but with the building of the Guyandotte Valley road great developments have been pushed forward. Perhaps no section of West Virginia offers such rich prospects for the investment of capital as does this county.

Lincoln County—This was the third county organized after West Virginia was made a separate commonwealth. It has an area of 460 square miles. February 23, 1867, a bill was passed by the legislature creating Lincoln county out of parts of Cabell, Putnam, Kanawha and Boon counties. It was named in honor of the lamented president, Abraham Lincoln. The first meeting of the board of supervisors was held March 11, 1867, at Hamlin chapel, an old church on the Curry farm, a fourth of a mile above the present county seat. There were present: William C. Mahone, John Scites, William A. Holstein. W. C. Mahone was made president, and Benjamin F. Curry, clerk. It was then ordered that the board of supervisors have the White Hall Southern Methodist church, a fourth of a mile below the present county seat, arranged for holding courts until proper buildings could be erected. Hamlin, the county seat, was named in honor to Hannibal Hamlin, Lincoln's vice-president from 1861 to 1865. The act creating this county provided that the county seat should be located on lands of Charles Lattin. At that time this tract of land was only a brier patch, it having been cleared up by David Stephenson, who patented the land and erected a cabin about 1802. He later sold to James Fullerton. Subsequently it fell into the hands of Lizzie Cremeans, who sold to Walker J. Sanford, and he in turn to James C. Black, who transferred it to James Ballard, from whom it passed to John Likens, and through him to James A. Holley, who transferred it to Charles Lattin. The first building erected after the town was laid out was the county jail, in 1867. The place became the permanent county seat by legislative act, February 26, 1869.

The first settlement was made by Jesse, John, David, William and Moses McComas, all of whom came in the year 1799. In summer that year they cultivated twenty acres of corn, doubtless the first ever grown by white men in the Upper Guyandotte valley. In the fall they returned to their homes east of the mountains and brought their families out. In 1800 came Isaac and James Hatfield, William Smith and John Johnson. In 1807 came as permanent settlers Luke Adkins, on Mud river, and near him John and Mark (his brothers), William and Richard Lovejoy, William Cummins, Mathias Plumley, Silas Cooper, Hamilton Adkins, Peter Holstein, William Smith and William Cooper. The population of the counties composing the Guyandotte Valley—Wyoming, Cabell, Logan and Lincoln—is noted by census reports as follows:

	1890	1900	1910
Logan county	11,101	6,955	14,476
Lincoln county	12,246	15,434	20,491
Cabell county	23,595	29,252	40,685
Wyoming county	6,247	8,380	10,392

CHAPTER XXVII

EAST PANHANDLE AND SOUTH BRANCH REGION

What is known as the East Panhandle of West Virginia is made up of the counties of Jefferson, Berkeley and Morgan, in the extreme northeasten part of the state, forming a handle-shaped territory—that is, extending out from the remainder of the state, neck shape. They belong to what is also known as the Potomac section of the state's drainage system, as do Hampshire and Mineral counties. Here it is that the Lower Shenandoah Valley presents views of great beauty.

Jefferson Couny—Jefferson county was formed by act of assembly January 8, 1801, from a portion of Berkeley county, and named in honor of President Jefferson. This act also made Charlestown the county seat, and provided that the first court should be held at the house of Bazil Williamson. This town was legally established in October, 1786, on lands of Charles Washington, whose Christian name it commemorates. He was a brother of George Washington, first president of the United States. At this place Charlestown Academy was incorporated December 25, 1797, with Elisha Boyd, John Dixon, Edward Tiffin, William Hill, Thomas Rutherford, George North, Alexander White, Ferdinand Fairfax, George Hite, Samuel Washington, Thomas Griggs and Gabriel Nourse, trustees. Charlestown now has a population of about 350. It is now usually spelled Charles Town, to designate it from the county seat of Kanawha county, Charleston. It was here that John Brown was tried and executed in 1859. Other cities of this county which are full of historic interest are Shepherdstown and Harper's Ferry.

Of historic Shepherdstown it may be said that it was first established as Macklenburg, in November, 1762, and was laid out by Captain Thomas Shepherd. Its name was later changed to Shepherdstown. When congress was seeking a seat for the national government at "some place on the Potomac river," Shepherdstown made an effort to secure the prize. Extensive additions were made to Shepherdstown in 1798 by Messrs. Henry Cookcas, William Brown, John Morrow and Richard Henderson. The first attempt at steam navigation invention was made at Shepherdstown by James Rumsey, whose discovery was made several years prior to Robert Fulton, who caught the principle from the labors of Mr. Rumsey. It was in 1784 that Rumsey built a steamer on the Potomac river, which boat was tested before General Washington and others. The material and workmanship, together with the tools used, were those of an ordinary blacksmith shop, the boilers being made of gun barrels. Afterward Rumsey went to London, where greater facilities were offered for perfecting his engine. There he built a steamer which was tested on the Thames and proved but a partial success. Afterward, while explaining the principles of his invention before the Philosophical Society of London, he burst a blood vessel and fell dead upon the spot. His enterprise fell for the time with him, but was subsequently renewed by Robert Fulton, who by adding a paddle wheel, or "bucket-wheel," made steam navigation.

Harper's Ferry, famous in history as the scene of John Brown's insurrection, commemorates the name of Robert Harper, who settled near that point in 1734, when Washington was yet an infant. Before

the civil war it had a population of 3,000, nine-tenths white. In 1867 the population had dwindled to 1,600 whites and 700 blacks. Its population in 1910 was 786, but with its district it had 3,176. It is situated at the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers, in the very shadow of the great Blue Ridge mountains. Here the Baltimore & Ohio railroad crosses on a fine steel bridge. Robert Harper, the first actual settler, was born in Oxford, England, in 1702, and when twenty years of age came to Pennsylvania. He was a millwright and architect. He bought a squatter's claim taken by Peter Stevens, a German, but really, the title was in the name of the Lord Fairfax estate, with whom Harper later made settlement. Harper established a ferry, the first west of the Blue Ridge, in 1748. The site of present Harper's Ferry was then known as "The Hole," referring to the breaking through the mountain range by the great gorge through which now flows the Potomac. The cabin built by Stevens, was situated on what is now Shenandoah street. There Harper resided until 1775, when he erected a better building a half mile above, and there died in 1782. He was buried on his own land.

In 1794, under Washington's administration, Harper's Ferry was chosen as the site for the United States Armory. The immense water-power and its distance from Washington had much to do with this project. The government purchased 125 acres from the Harper estate on which to erect the shops and different buildings needed. Later it bought over 300 acres and leased 1,300 acres of timber lands on Loudoun Heights of the Fairfax estate. Work on the Armory was commenced in 1796. The history of the destruction of the government works and the town in general appears elsewhere in this volume. In the Congress of 1868-69 a bill was passed to sell the government property there at auction, which was done in November and December, 1869, to Captain F. C. Adams, of Washington, D. C., for $206,000, but it is related that he never made his payments and others took the property. It was intended to utilize this property, in connection with the immense water-power there, in carrying on extensive manufacturing enterprises, but this dream was never realized, hence the town has never grown to be one of great commercial importance.

The next great calamity that overtook Harper's Ferry was the great flood of October, 1870, when the river rose to such a depth that the entire town and the island were submerged. Much property and several lives were lost. Beginning with the John Brown raid of October, 1859, it seems as though fate was working against the finely situated Harper's Ferry. Nine times in civil war days was the railroad bridge of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad destroyed and rebuilt.

The chief industries of Jefferson county are farming, fruit growing, stock raising and manufacturing. Farm and garden products from any section of the county may be put into the markets of Washington City and Baltimore within a few hours. In 1900 there were about eight hundred farms ranging from three to one thousand acres. There were also ninety-four manufacturing establishments having an invested capital of $1,156,000. The total finished product sold at almost one million dollars. Transportation facilities are excellent in this county, and the mineral resources vast.

Berkeley County—Second from the southeast, in the East Panhandle section, comes Berkeley county, created in 1772 from parts of Frederick. The commissions of its first officials were issued by Lord Dunmore, the last royal governor of Virginia. It is the center of one of the finest agricultural sections of West Virginia. In 1900 there were 1,273 farms ranging from three to 1,000 acres. Farming is the chief occupation. The

BERKELEY COUNTY COURT HOUSE.
MARTINSBURG.

BROOKE COUNTY COURT HOUSE, WELLSBURG.

lands are especially adapted to grazing, and are used largely for that purpose. In 1900 the county had 4,773 horses and mules; 6,898 head of cattle; 11,533 sheep; 4,853 swine and 30,546 poultry. The county possesses rich mineral deposits, including iron ore, while limestone of the finest grade is found almost every place within the county. In 1900 there were over one hundred and fifty manufacturing establishments, having an investment of almost $2,000,000.

Berkeley county has an area of 320 square miles, and was created in 1772. At the same date Dunmore county was created, but later its name was changed to Shenandoah on account of the dislike the people took for Dunmore, who was not loyal to the colonial interests. Berkeley county takes its name from Sir William Berkeley, a native of England, born 1610, graduated at Oxford, 1629, appointed governor of Virginia, arriving in the colony in 1642. He adhered to the royal cause and Virginia was the last of the colonies to acknowledge the authority of Cromwell. Berkeley, in describing Virginia in 1665, said: "Thank God, there are no free schools or printing presses in this colony and I hope there will be none for a hundred years."

Martinsburg, the county seat, is really the metropolis of eastern West Virginia; it is a flourishing commercial and industrial center, and has a population of about 10,000. It has distilleries, knitting factories, woodworking factories, planing mills, grain houses and other plants of importance; macadamized streets, street railways, electric lights, gas, waterworks, and sewerage. It is situated seventy-four miles from Washington, D. C., 100 miles from Baltimore, and 280 miles from Wheeling. It was made a town by legislative act, October, 1778. In 1793 a market house was ordered erected, and a clerk appointed for the management of the same. The town derived its name from Colonel T. B. Martin. The Martinsburg Academy was established January, 1822. March, 1856, the voters were authorized by legislative enactment to elect a mayor and common council. Tradition relates that an animated contest arose over the location of the seat of justice. It was waged between General Adam Stephens and Jacob Hite, the latter contending that it should by rights be located on his land, at what is now or was later known as Leetown, while Stephens advocated Martinsburg. Stephens prevailed, and Hite became disgusted, sold his fine estate and removed to South Carolina, where he was, with other members of his family, murdered by Indians.

Darkesville, named for General Darke, was established December 7, 1791, on lands of James Buckells, with Andrew Waggener, James Strode, John Fryett, John Butler, John Chinowith and Edward Fryett, Trustees.

Middletown (now Gerrardstown) was established by act of assembly, October, 1817, and was laid off by Rev. David Gerrard, and contained one hundred town lots.

Fort Frederick, situated on the Maryland side of the Potomac, about twelve miles from Martinsburg, was built in 1755-56, under the direction of Governor Sharpe, of Maryland. Its walls of solid masonry were four and a half feet thick at the base and three on top. Its cost was £65,000 sterling.

Among the natives of Berkeley county whose names have been inscribed on the pages of American history may be recalled those of Colonel William Crawford, Captain James Faulkner Sr., General David H. Strother, Lieutenant-Colonel Raleigh T. Colston, and Captain George N. Hammond, of the Confederate army.

The first court held in the county was at the house of Edward Beeson. On motion of Adam Stephens, sheriff, the plat of Martinsburg was ordered to be recorded, with terms to purchasers as follows: "The purchasers of any lots for Martinsburg must build a good dwelling

house, to be at least twenty feet long and sixteen feet wide, with stove or chimney of brick, within two years from the time of purchase, and on failure, the lot to be returned to the proprietor." The first court house was of stone. The first jail was a log structure on the public square, with the market house at the rear end. The church two miles north was the first built west of the Blue Ridge mountains. Many of these early buildings were of stone, and so well made that they still stand, and seemingly will be there in more than a century to come.

The Civil War greatly destroyed the business interests of the county seat, Martinsburg. Churches were occupied by soldiers for hospitals, and in some cases ruined; in one case the $4,000 church was burned through an accident by soldiers. After the battle of Antietam and Gettysburg, this place was made one grand hospital, and both the Union and Confederates were cared for alike. The honored dead of both armies now lie buried in the city cemeteries.

The present towns and villages of Berkeley county include Martinsburg, Gerrardstown, Shanghai, Ganotown, Jones Springs, Darkesville, Bunker Hill, Hedgesville, Bedington, Falling Waters, Little Georgetown, Soho, Tomahawk, and North Mountain.

Morgan County—Morgan county was formed in 1820 from parts of Hampshire and Berkeley. It was named in honor of General Daniel Morgan, of the revolutionary period. It contains 300 square miles and has a population of about 9,000. The county seat is Berkeley Springs. The Potomac river is the northern boundary and the Great Capon flows northeaswardly through the western part of the county. The valleys afford good farming land, but much of the county is rough and broken. The soil is a rich sandy loam. There are about 700 farms running from three to 1,000 acres. The fruit canning industry is of much importance, with thirteen establishments; in 1903 they shipped seventy-five car loads of tomatoes, each car containing 500 cases of two dozen each, making a total of 8,000,000 cans. In 1900 there were forty-eight manufacturing establishments in Morgan county, with a capital of $1,463,000, 209 wage earners, and the finished product amounted to $954,000. The county is also rich in minerals. Iron ore of fair quality is found in various localities; potter's clay has been utilized to quite an extent. The Warm Spring mountains extend forty-eight miles through the county and into Hampshire county, and contain the largest mass of white glass sand on the globe, sufficient to supply the world for ages. It is shipped to Pittsburgh and Philadelphia by the Berkeley Springs Sand Company, the West Virginia Sand Company and the Hancock White Sand Company. There are mineral springs in various sections.

Hampshire County—Hampshire, named for Hampshire, England, was formed in 1754, from parts of Frederick and Augusta counties, and is the oldest county in the state; its area is 620 square miles; population about 12,000; seat of justice, Romney. On one of the tributaries of South Branch, in Pendleton county, stood Fort Seybert, a frontier post, the garrison of which was massacred by the Shawnee Indians in May, 1758. On its east bank in Hampshire county is situated the town of Romney, founded by Lord Fairfax, and with one exception is the oldest town in the state. On March 23, 1747, George Washington, then engaged in surveying on the Potomac, witnessed a war dance by more than thirty Indians at the confluence of the North and South Branches. Other streams are the Little and Great Capon rivers, the latter rising in Hardy county.

While Hampshire was created out of a part of Frederick county, its territory was originally a part of Orange county, which was divided in 1738, creating a county known as Frederick. Orange county included

all the territory lying north of Augusta and south of the Potomac river. In 1754 it was enacted by the Lieutenant-Governor, Council and Burgesses, "That on the first day of May next ensuing, all that part of the county of Augusta which lies within the bounds of the Northern Neck be added to and made a part of said county of Frederick, and the said part of the county of Frederick so to be added to, shall from and immediately after the first said day of May, the said county of Frederick and the said part of the county of Augusta so to be added to, and made a part of the county of Fredrick, as aforesaid, be divided into two counties; and that all that part thereof lying to the westward of the ridge of mountains commonly called and known by the names of Great North, and Cape Capon mountains and Warm Springs mountains extending to the Potomac river, be one distinct county, to be called and known by the name of Hampshire; and that all that part thereof, lying to the eastward of the said ridge of mountains, be one distinct county and retain the name of Frederick." The western boundary is not defined. It was not necessary, for the county extended to the "utmost parts of Virginia," which were bounded west and northwest of the Great Lakes and Mississippi river.

At the time of its organization its settled portion was within the Northern Neck, the royal grant of which was vested in Lord Fairfax, and the county owes its name to an incident related in Kercheval's "History of the Valley." "Lord Fairfax, happening to be at Winchester, one day observed a drove of very fine hogs, and enquired where they came from. He was informed that they were raised in the South Branch Valley; upon which he remarked that when a new county was formed to the west of Frederick to include the South Branch Valley, it should be called Hampshire, after that county in England so celebrated for its fat hogs."

Owing to continuation of the French and Indian war, the county was not organized until 1757, when the first court convened. The presiding justice was Right Hon. Thomas Bryan Martin, nephew of Lord Fairfax. In 1785 Hardy, including the present territory of Grant and a part of Pendleton, were taken from Hampshire county. In 1820 Morgan county was created, taking more of its territory. In 1866 Mineral county was taken from Hampshire, leaving it its present size. In 1784 Hampshire county had 20,800 square miles, and a population of 14,000. It now has but 600 square miles, and a population of 11,419.

At an early day there were numerous iron furnaces and other manufacturing industries in Hampshire county, but most of these have gone out of commission. The iron industry was dropped on account of the finer, cheaper ore being mined in the Lake regions at the north. Among the early iron industries may be recalled the Hampshire Furnace Company, whose plant was built and operated by Edward McCarty, on Middle ridge, twelve miles south of Romney. The forge for this furnace was near Keyser. An extensive business was carried on by this company, as is seen by the many ponderous account books now in possession of the clerk of the courts at Romney. These books bear date 1816-18; how much earlier the establishment was conducted, no one can tell. The Bloomery Furnaces, ruins of which are still to be seen, were built and operated by a Mr. Priestly, and were being run in 1833. Large quanties of iron were made and shipped over the Capon river on rafts and flatboats. S. A. Pancoast purchased these furnaces in 1846, and after his death they continued in other hands until 1875.

Robert Sherrard built a large stone mill in 1800 at Bloomery, also a woolen mill. William Fox built a merchant mill in Fox's Hollow in 1818, and shipped flour by boat to Georgetown. Hammock's Mills, flour and woolen, was another very early plant. Also, the Painter Mill

was a pioneer establishment on North river about a century ago. Colonel Fox established a tannery in 1816 in Fox's Hollow, which was operated until the civil war. Another tanyard was on Dillon's run, and Samuel Gard had another extensive tannery at Capon Bridge prior to 1820. New methods came in and the leather trade in this state had to succumb to the advance of this industry and improved machinery. Distilleries were located at many points in the county. Farmers used to take their grain to these stills as often as they went to mills for flour. Fruits were also taken and given in exchange for brandies—thus the farmer and his family had whiskey and brandy.

Hampshire boasts of having a civil war relic worth preserving. In 1897, Captain David Pugh had (the family now probably have it) the quill pen with which the Virginia Ordinance of Secession was signed April 17, 1861. The pen was never again used, and the ink still clings to the point of the quill.

The honor and distinction of having been first to decorate the graves and erect a monument in memory of Confederate soldiers belong to Hampshire county. The matter was first talked over at the home of Colonel Robert White, in the early spring of 1866, but many were timid about engaging at that time in such ceremony, thinking it would not meet with the approval of the federal government. Yet the matter was agitated, and on June 1, 1866, a goodly number went to the graves and decorated them with flowers. Plans were soon laid for entertainments for the purpose of raising a fund with which to erect a soldiers' monument for the Confederate dead of Hampshire county. Finally, $1,400 were raised, and a white marble shaft secured at Baltimore, the height of which is twelve feet. This was dedicated September 26, 1867, with imposing ceremonies. Besides the soldiers' names, it bears the inscription "The Daughters of Old Hampshire erect this Tribute of Affection to Her Heroic Sons who fell in defense of Southern Rights."

In 1910 in Hampshire county there were towns with population indicated, as follows: Romney, 1,112; Capon Bridge, 213; Springfield, 135; Watson Town, 11.

Romney, the seat of justice, next to if not indeed the oldest town in West Virginia, was laid out in November, 1762, by Lord Fairfax who named it after the town of that name in England, the same being on the English Channel. It stands on a bluff overlooking the South Branch river, sixteen miles south of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad at Green Spring Station, which is fourteen miles east of Cumberland City, and 164 miles from Baltimore. In 1792 it was shown to the assembly that it was "uncertain and unknown to whom many of the lots in the town of Romney legally belonged, for the reason that the late Lord Fairfax hath made no deed." So on December 27th that year, that body enacted that "the title to said lots shall be vested in the trustees, whose title to them shall be valid in law."

Watson Town, in the extreme southern part of the county, is a famous resort and is visited annually by hundreds of guests. This place was legally established December 12, 1787, on lands owned by Joseph Watson.

Springfield, in the northwest corner, named for the Massachusetts revolutionary battlefield, was established December 16, 1790, at the cross roads on the lands of William and Samuel Aberenthy.

Pendleton County—Pendleton county was formed December 4, 1787, from Augusta, Hardy and Rockingham counties. The justices held the first court at the house of Zariah Stratton. The county was named for Edmund Pendleton, born in Caroline county, 1741; early in life he en-

tered upon the study of law; he was president of the Virginia convention of 1775, and also of that of 1778, which ratified the federal constitution. He was twice a member of congress, and was long president of the Virginia court of appeals. Upon the organization of the federal government, he was selected by congress as judge for Virginia, but declined the appointment. He died at Richmond in 1803.

Pendleton county contains 650 square miles; its county seat is Franklin. It is made up of a conglomeration of many nationalities— English Scotch, German, French Irish and Welsh,—though they are unlike any of these nationalities, but have come to be purely American citizens, matured in the atmosphere of the one-time frontier.

Franklin, the seat of justice, was established a town by act of December 19, 1794, on forty-six and one-half acres of land, the property of Francis Evick. The subjoined table gives the county's population by United States census periods as follows:

1790	2,452	1860	6,164
1800	3,962	1870	6,455
1810	4,238	1880	8,002
1820	4,846	1890	8,711
1830	6,271	1900	9,167
1840	6,940	1910	9,400
1850	5,795		

The town of Franklin had in 1910, 205 inhabitants The seeming decrease in the county's population between 1840 and 1850, is owing to the fact that a slice of its territory was taken off in the formation of Highland county.

Grant County—Grant, named for General U. S. Grant, was formed from Hardy county by act of Legislature, February 14, 1866. The Fairfax Stone, famous in history and boundary lines, marks the southwestern limit of Maryland, which is determined by the head spring or fountain of the Potomac river, and is situated in the extreme western angle of Grant county. This famous stone was planted there October 17,1746.

The population of this county in 1910 was 9,110. It is well developed and contains many fine homes and lively business interests. It has 510 square miles, and its county seat is Petersburg.

Mineral County—Mineral county was formed from Hampshire by act of legislature, February 1, 1866, and derived its name from the numerous mineral springs within its territory, as well as its abundance of rare and valuable minerals. Its county seat is Piedmont, "at the foot of the mountains," as laid out in 1856 by the New Creek Company and Owen D. Downey. The county contains 300 square miles and Keyser is the county seat. The county population in 1910 was 16,674.

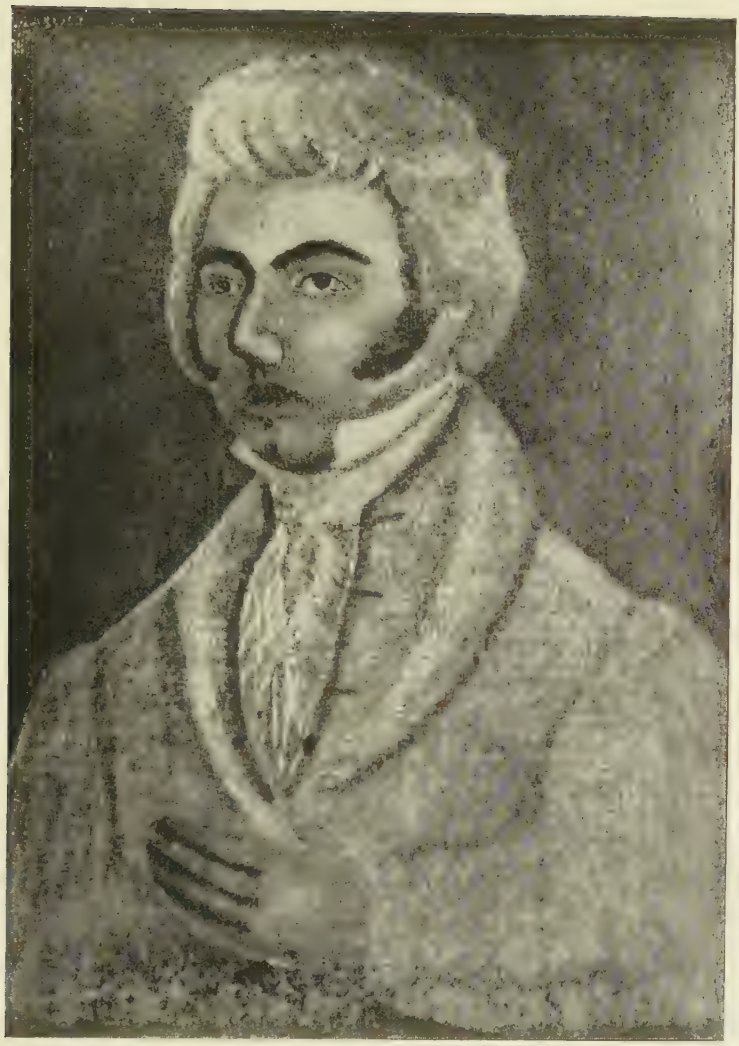
Hardy County—The county of Hardy was formed from Hampshire by Act of October 1785. Another section of the act provided that the first court should be held at the house of William Bullitt, and the justices composing it should then select a site for the county seat.

Samuel Hardy in honor of whom this county was named, was long a resident of the Isle of Wight county, Virginia. He was an early member of congress from that state, and one of the number who signed the deed of cession which transferred the Northwest Territory to the general government.

Moorefield, then in Hampshire county, was established a town by act of the Assembly, 1777, on lands the property of Conrad Moore, from whom the town took its name. It is still the county seat. The county contains an area of 450 square miles. Its population is now about 10,000.

The population of what is known as the East Panhandle and South Branch Region, was in 1910 as follows—also giving that of 1900:

	1900	1910
Berkeley county	18,702	21,999
Morgan county	6,744	7,848
Jefferson county	15,889	15,533
Hampshire county	11,694	11,419
Mineral county	12,055	16,674
Hardy county	9,163	9,163
Grant county	7,838	9,110
Pendleton county	9,167	11,047



ZACKWELL MORGAN.

According to frontier history and tradition, he was one of the earliest settlers of Morgantown, emigrating from Berkley County, Virginia. He first located at George's Creek, Pennsylvania, but in 1768 removed to the site of the town which was established under the name of "Morgans Town" by act of the General Assembly of Virginia in 1785.

In 1784 George Washington, returning from a visit to his western lands, summoned him to Pierponts (three miles from Morgantown) to consult with him in regard to the topography of the country between the Monongahela and the Kanawha.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE MONONGAHELA VALLEY

The Monongahela river is formed by the junction of the West Fork and Tygart's Valley rivers; the latter is the principal branch. It has its source in the "Birthplace of Rivers," on the slope of Cheat River mountains in the eastern part of Randolph county, and flows along the eastern base of Rich mountains until it breaks through them to the west and runs centrally through Barbour and Taylor counties and into Marion county to its confluence with the West Fork river. Its course is something more than a hundred miles. Its altitude at Beverly is something over 1,946 feet above sea-level, while its mouth is 885 feet, so that between the two points the descent of the stream is 1,056 feet. In its course he receives the waters of its Middle Fork in Barbour county, the boundary between Randolph and Upshur counties, and is formed by its right and left hand forks in Webster county. A few miles below, but still in Barbour county, it is joined by the Buckhannon river, whose volume is equal to its own and from its source in Webster county, its course has been centrally through Upshur county, and thence into Barbour county. Tygart's Valley river derives its name from David Tygart, who in 1754 with one Files settled near where Beverly, Randolph county, now stands. They were the first white settlers in West Virginia west of the Alleghany mountains. Soon Files' family, save one member, fell victims to savage barbarity, and Tygart, with his fled to the South Branch Valley, leaving his name on a pretty mountain river in West Virginia. The West Fork river has its source in the southern part of Lewis county and flows centrally through it, therein receiving the waters of Sand Fork, Coal creek, Hacker's creek and Freeman's creek; thence running through Harrison county, where Lost creek, Elk creek, Simpson creek, and Wolf creek are among its tributaries, it continues its course into Marion county where it unites with Tygart's Valley river to form the Monongahela. In its course its descent has been 207 feet from source to mouth. From the junction of these streams the Monongahela flows away to the southern Pennsylvania line, where its altitude is 813 feet, its descent from its source—the junction of Tygart's Valley and West Fork rivers—having been seventy-two feet. From here it flows through western Pennsylvania and with the Allegheny river, forms the Ohio river.

At a point just over the Pennsylvania line, the Monangahela receives the waters of the great eastern branch, the Cheat river, a most remarkable stream. It is formed in Tucker county by tributary streams having their fountain heads in the "Birthplace of Rivers," and flowing through narrow valleys between parallel mountain ranges into Randolph county. The Cheat river courses in a meandering route through Preston county, where after receiving the waters of Wolf creek and Buffalo creek, it breaks through Briar mountain, and having been joined by Middle creek, Laurel Fork and Sandy creek, runs through the eastern corner of Monongalia county, crosses the Pennsylvania line, and unites with the Monongahela river at Point Marion. At Horton, on its Dry Fork, the altitude is 2,805 feet and at its mouth but 815 feet; hence, it has rushed down a declivity in which the descent is 1990 feet—about ten feet to the mile.

What may properly be called the "Monongahela Valley" in West Virginia, embraces at least these counties: Monongalia, Marion, Preston and Harrison.

Monongalia County—At Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1776, the newly declared commonwealth of Virginia met in its first session. That October it passed an act dividing the District of West Augusta into three counties—Monongalia, Ohio and Youghiogheny. The boundary of the former was described as follows: "That all that part of the said district lying to the northward of the county of Augusta, to the westward of the meridian of the fountain of the Potomack, to the southward of the county of Yohogania and to the eastward of the county of Ohio, shall be one other distinct county, and shall be called and known by the name of Monongalia." Thus Monongalia was one of the first three counties created in the new republic. The name was given from the river Monongahela, which in Indian dialect signifies "River of caving or crumbling banks." It will be observed that the county Monongalia and the river for which it was supposed to be named are not spelled alike. Much research has been made, and from what records were left at Richmond after the destruction of many in the civil war, it is believed to have been simply an error in transcribing, or possibly ignorance in spelling, by the men who established the county, but they are always spelled differently, almost from the beginning.

The county has sustained great loss in territory. In 1779 she lost all her territory north of Mason and Dixon's Line, a portion of which is now included in the rich coal and coke regions of Connellsville, Pennsylvania. In 1784 she lost by the creation of Harrison county; again in 1800, lost other territory which Harrison county received. In 1818 Preston county took more of her territory. In 1841 she lost all that portion east of Chestnut Ridge. The fifth loss was in 1842, when Marion county was formed and Harrison enlarged. In 1847 a small slice was taken from Monongalia and added to Marion county. Other attempts have been made to take from her domain, the last of which was in 1875, but these latter attempts failed.

The first iron manufactured west of the Alleghanies was turned out in 1789 at old Alliance Forge, in Pennsylvania, not fifty miles from Morgantown. The following year the fires of Springfield Furnace were lighted just beyond the county line. The burnt records of 1796 carried in their ashes all records of these first iron furnaces in Monongalia county. The Decker Creek Iron Works, known as the "Rock Forge" sometimes, were standing in 1798, and it is believed were in operation as late as 1815. The earliest official record of a furnace in this county was 1798, by a deed connected with the old Jackson Iron Works. It was here that Samuel Jackson, of Fayette county, Pennsylvania, about 1800, built a log dam and a mill, where some time before 1809 he also erected an iron furnace and made nails by hand process. Other early furnaces were the Henry Clay, and Pleasant Furnace. The Henry Clay was run by steam power on Quarry run, four miles from Ice's ferry, and was built by Leonard Lamb in 1834. Here four tons were produced in twenty-four hours. The Anna Furnace, at Ice's ferry was built by the Ellicotts about 1847; it first used charcoal and later coke. The Cheat Iron Works had a series of furnaces in this valley. The Clinton Furnace, on the left bank of Booth's creek, six miles above its mouth, was built in 1846, by William Salyards. The Hawthorne Nail Works, by Robert and Alexander Hawthorne, were erected soon after these men came into the valley in 1790, locating four miles south of Morgantown, on Aaron's creek. These nail works ran many years.

A powder mill was built on Quarry run before 1800. It is related that one Smith drove a nail into the building one day, and that the

THE OLD SUSPENSION BRIDGE, MORGANTOWN.

MARION COUNTY COURTHOUSE.

OLD FRANKLIN HOUSE, MORGANTOWN, WHICH OCCUPIED THE SITE OF THE PRESENT MADERA HOTEL.

spark that came as a result blew up the mill and killed Smith. In a very early day, getting out mill-stones was a large business. About 1840, Joshua Swindler had a boat load shipped to Cincinnati, and from there they found their way to many far western mill sites, even going beyond the Mississippi river. In 1839 the Live Oak Paper Mills were established by John Rogers, on Decker's creek. This plant was a four-story stone structure, costing $6,000. Pottery was made in large amounts very early in this valley; among the early and successful operators was a man named Foulk. Carriage making early engaged the attention of a number of firms. John Shisler commenced in 1802 to build a good grade of carriage, and others were added. John Stealey made stoves prior to 1825 in this valley, at Rock Forge, but the first stove foundry proper was in 1838, at Morgantown, by Joel Nuzum and the Doughertys.

The first public ferry in Monongalia county, was established by Andrew Ice in 1785, and was still operating a century from that date. In 1791 four firms took out ferry licenses in the county. The first steamboat to come to Morgantown was the "Reindeer," landing Sunday April 29, 1826. Tradition says the congregation nearly all left the ministers' preaching at the sound of the boat whistle, and went down a mile below to see "a live steamboat." The first steamboat built in this county was in 1845, and not a large number were ever built here.

Prior to 1860, no one in this county carried either fire or life insurance, and prior to 1866 the county had no communication with the outside world by telegraph. Then the Pacific & Atlantic Company built a line between Pittsburgh and Fairmont. Many local men subscribed stock in this corporation.

Morgantown, the county seat, is well known in the world by reason of its early history and because of its growth and many industries It now has a population of about 18,000. It is the seat of the West Virginia State University, and has numerous glass works and other important industries. In 1900 the census reports gave the city sixty-seven manufacturing plants, including iron, clay and glass products. This city is also backed up financially by an excellent West Virginia farming section. There were in 1900, 2,259 farms ranging from three to 1,000 acres each. That year there was an acreage of wheat amounting to almost 5,000. The total amount of fruit grown that season was $67,000. Poultry raised that season was valued at $56,000. Over and above all else, the county's wealth is stored away in the hills. The coal field is wonderful in extent and value, and has only recently been developed on a large paying scale. In 1902 there were mined over 150,000 tons, but it has steadily increased since that date.

Morgantown was laid out in 1785 on fifty acres of land owned by that rugged pioneer, Zackquell Morgan. It was incorporated February 3d, 1858, as "the Borough of Morgantown." March 20, 1860, the city obtained its charter. The first settlers within the county and city were inclusive of David and Zackquell Morgan.

Marion County—This county was formed by act of the Virginia assembly, January 14, 1842, and named in honor of General Francis Marion, of the revolutionary war. It contains 335 square miles, and was formed from portions of Monongalia and Harrison counties. Much of its surface is smooth and gently rolling, with a fertile soil and well cultivated farms, extensive grazing and wide fruit culture—especially apples do extremely well in this section of the State. The county is everywhere underlaid with vast beds of the highest grade of bituminous coal, suitable for gas and cooking purposes as well as for engine use. Potters and fire clays are nowhere more abundant or of better quality. The Mannington oil and gas field, discovered in 1891,

has proven to be one of the most extensive in West Virginia. It affords gas and oil which are conveyed in pipes to distant points for commercial and manufacturing purposes. Both the gas and oil products have brought much wealth to the county, and are annually increasing the price of land in both town and country. In 1903 there were twenty-three mining industries within the county, and during that year the output was 3,172,194 tons, of which 333,000 tons were used for supplying the coke ovens, while a large per cent. of the remainder was shipped abroad. The same date the county had ten coke plants with 540 ovens, employing 216 men, producing a large tonnage of coke. The manufacturing interests of the county are great. In 1900 there were 162 plants, having an invested capital of $1,520,000; working 900 men, receiving wages to the amount of almost $500,000. It is safe to estimate the increase at fully one-third more at this time.

The agricultural interests are extensive. There are more than 2,500 farms of small and large acreage. In 1902 the wheat crop covered more than 3,000 acres, while corn covered over 4,000. The total farm products sold amounted to $222,540. The fruit brought $67,000. The total value of all live stock was then, $563,000. The property valuation in 1903 was $10,334,000.

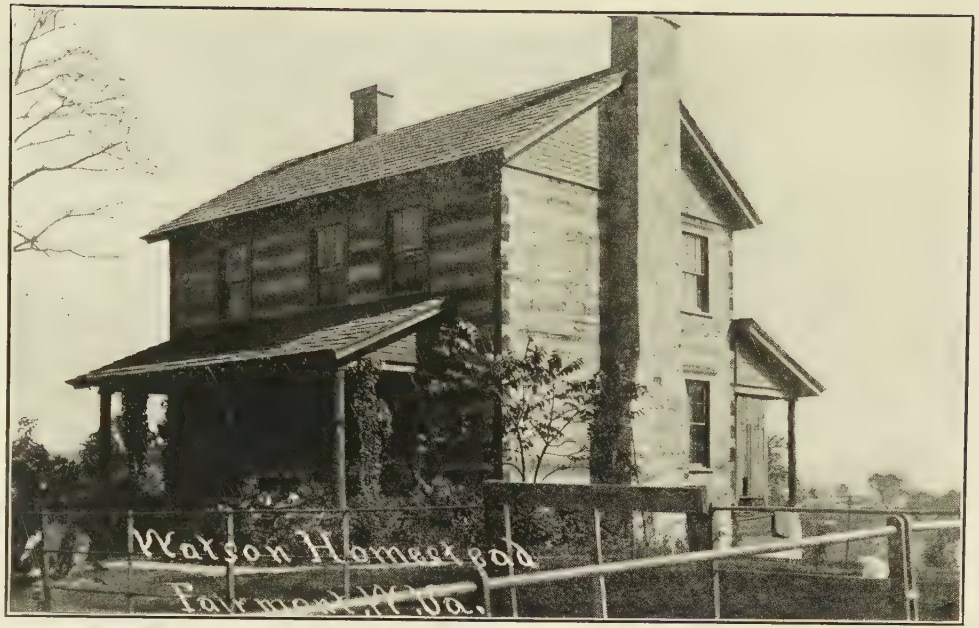
Fairmont, the county seat, is one of West Virginia's good and rapidly growing cities. It has more than 10,000 population. It stands on the second bench and along the abrupt hillsides overlooking the Monongahela Valley. In many respects it is favorably situated for manufacturing, having coal, clay and sand near at hand, with both rail and water transportation, with already a set of commercial captains second to none in the Mountain State. Every railroad entering the city is a large coal carrier, and with the latest improvement about completed—slack-water navigation—the river will augument this trade to a large extent. Here the State Normal School is located; also the West Virginia's Miner's Hospital No. 3.

Outside of the county seat, Marion county has several exceptionally fine business places, including Mannington, in the western part of the county, in the center of the great oil and gas field, and by it has become a splendid commercial center. Mannington was incorporated March 4, 1856. Palatine (now a ward of Fairmont) was incorporated February 7, 1867, and Boothsville in March, 1870.

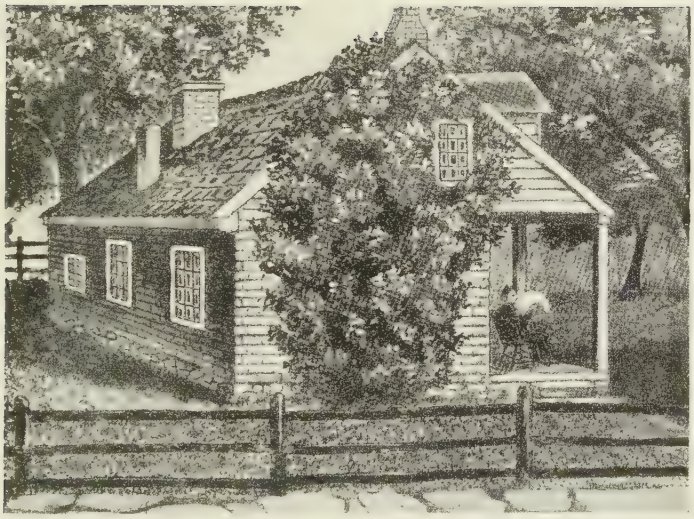
Fairmont, however, is the oldest of these towns and cities. It was established by act of assembly, January 19, 1820, on lands belonging to Boaz Fleming, and at first was called Middletown, but changed to Fairmont in 1843. During the civil war considerable property was destroyed by contending armies. The fine suspension bridge was burned and totally destroyed.

Harrison County—Harrison county was formed from Monongalia by act of assembly, May, 1784. It was named in honor of Benjamin Harrison, a native of Charles City County, Virginia, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, a governor of Virginia from 1781 to 1784, and the father of General William Henry Harrison, president, and grandfather of Benjamin Harrison, late president of the United States. The first county court was held at the house of George Jackson, at Bush's Fort, on Buckhannon river.

The county seat of Harrison county is Clarksburg, established by act of assembly, October, 1785. At the May term of court, 1810, commissioners were appointed to contract for a court house on a lot given by Benjamin Wilson Jr., for that purpose. The contractors, Allison Clarke, John Smith and Daniel Morris, were to receive $3,700, but after considerable work had been performed and $1,200 received for the same, a



ONE OF THE OLDEST HOUSES IN MARION COUNTY; ABOUT ONE HUNDRED YEARS OLD.



BIRTHPLACE OF GENERAL "STONEWALL" JACKSON, CLARKSBURG

doubt arose as to the legality of removing the county seat. To set the matter at rest, the assembly, January 18, 1811, enacted that the removal should be legal whenever Benjamin Wilson should convey by deed in fee simple the lot to the justices of Harrison county. The town was incorporated March 15, 1849. This city has come to be the most important in the great coal, oil and natural gas belt of West Virginia. The city directory of 1904 gave the population as 14,625, not including the suburban towns. It is within one of the state's richest farming communities. Nearly all the farmers today are realizing a royalty from oil, gas and coal. Manufacturers are flocking hither to take advantage of the cheap fuel—natural gas at six cents per thousand cubic feet—and coal at a very low rate. Five large glass plants were established here from 1900 to 1904. Among the gigantic concerns here located is the Grasselli Chemical Company, one of the wealthiest firms in America, backed by $10,000,000; 300 men were employed from the first and the plant is built for the working of 1,000 men. The National Carbon Company works about 300 workmen in the largest carbon plant on the continent. Other concerns are woodworking plants, chair factory, art pottery, machine shops, foundries, bottling works, brewery, plaster factory, tin-plate mill, cigar factories and others. The city is now the outlet for thousands of acres of splendid forests of oak, poplar, birch, beech, maple, sugar, chestnut, hickory and other woods. Limestone, brick, shale, glass sand, potter's clay, all inexhaustible and high grade, are found hereabouts. The lumber passing the yards of Clarksburg has averaged a thousand cars a month.

Salem (formerly New Salem) was chartered December 19, 1794; it had a population in 1900 of 800; Bridgeport, established in 1816, had in 1900 a population of 500; Shinnston, established in 1818, has a population of 600; West Milford established 1821, has about 200; Mile End, established 1814, defunct; Lumberport, a new town incorporated 1901; Adamston, incorporated 1903.

The following shows the population of Harrison county since 1790:

1790	2,080	1860	13,790
1800	4,848	1870	16,714
1810	9,958	1880	20,181
1820	10,930	1890	21,919
1830	14,722	1900	27,690
1840	17,669	1910	48,381
1850	11,778		

A seeming decrease in population may be accounted for by change of territory, other counties taking part of Harrison.

Preston County—Preston county contains 678 square miles; its elevation is from 800 to 2,000 feet. Its main river is the Cheat, running through the county from south to northwest. It affords fine water-power sites and has long been utilized for milling and factory purposes. The atmosphere and water of this section of the Valley are almost unsurpassed anywhere in the country, and many come here on account of these advantages. Among the paying industries carried on in Preston county are those of pottery, coal mining, milling, fruit growing stock raising and general agriculture.

Preston was formed from Monongalia by act of assembly, January 19, 1818. The first court convened at the house of William Price, in Kingwood, for many years known as the "Herndon Hotel." The first officers were: Joseph D. Suit, sheriff; Charles Byrne, county clerek; Eugene M. Wilson, circuit clerk; James McGee, prosecuting attorney. The county was named in honor of Governor James P. Preston, who was chief executive in 1816.

The seat of justice of Preston county is Kingwood, established a town by the assembly while yet in Monongalia county, January 23, 1811. It became the county seat in 1818. It now has a population of about 1,000, and is fully abreast with the enterprise and bustle of other towns within this rich valley. It was the birthplace of several noted men, including United States Senator Jonathan P. Dolliver, from Iowa, lately deceased, known as the "Silver Tongued Orator." Hon. William G. Brown also resided there many years, and was an able man; he was a congressman from Virginia; member of the famous Convention of 1861, at Richmond; served in the West Virginia legislature 1872-3.

Rowlesburg was incorporated February 27, 1858, and now has a population of about 800. Bruceton was incorporated February 18, 1860; Independence, March 13, 1860.

The population comprising the counties of the Valley above described is as follows: Monongalia county, 24,334; Marion, 42,794; Harrison, 48,381; Preston, 26,341.

CHAPTER XXIX

BIG SANDY RIVER REGION

The sixth and last of the state's rivers flowing into the Ohio is the Big Sandy, which with its chief branch, Tug river, forms the boundary between West Virginia and Kentucky for 130 miles. The Tug river, which is the West Virginia branch, has its source on the northern slope of Dividing Ridge, in McDowell county, on the Allegheny Highland, where its upper tributaries are the Elkhorn creek, Sand Fork, Dry Fork, and Panther creek; thence it flows along the southwestern boundary of Wyoming Mingo and Wayne counties, and empties into the Ohio at the town of Kenova. At Ennis, near the fountain of the Elkhorn, the altitude is 1,995 feet, and at the mouth of Pigeon creek but 630 feet, thus giving the stream a descent of 1,365 feet in a distance of 103 miles, or thirteen and one-fourth feet per mile. A series of rapids extending over several miles and known as the "Roughs of Tug" is the most remarkable in the state. Here in 1757 a detachment of Virginia troops on an expedition against the Indians north of the Ohio, lost their supplies by the wrecking of canoes and batteaux, and in consequence disbanded and returned to their homes.

What may properly be termed the Big Sandy Region in West Virginia comprises the counties of Mingo, Wayne and McDowell.

Wayne County—Wayne county has an area of 440 square miles. Its population is about 25,000, and its county seat is Fairview. This county was formed from Cabell by act of assembly, January 18, 1843, and named in honor of General Anthony Wayne, "Mad Anthony," of revolutionary fame. The first county court was held in Wayne county in April, 1842, at the house of Abraham Trout Sr., who resided on the spot where now stands Trout's Hill, which was made the county seat. The present county seat is Wayne.

The first land survey was made within this county, as now constituted, by George Washington, in October, 1770, and it contained a tract of 28,627 acres, including the Ohio bottoms immediately above the mouth of Big Sandy river. It was bounty land belonging to Captain John Savage and the men composing his company, for services during the French and Indian war. The First settler near the forks of the Big Sandy appears to have been Samuel Short, who reared his cabin where the town of Cassville later stood, about the year 1796. Robert Tabor followed him, and in 1798 patented a tract of 2,500 acres. The first to locate on the head waters of Twelve-pole river was a man named Nevens, in 1799, and the next year was followed by about a dozen who became his near neighbors. James Bias reared his cabin at the mouth of Lick creek, on the banks of Twelve-pole river, in 1802, David Bartram coming the next season. John Thompson built the first distillery in Wayne county. Other pioneer settlers were John Newman; Benjamin Drown, afterward a soldier in the War of 1812; Chester Howe, who built the first grist mill on Twelve-pole river; Valentine Bloss, a soldier of the revolution; Benjamin Garret; William Morris; Charles Boothe, a soldier of the war of 1812; John Amos; Joshua Stevens; John Savage, a drummer-boy in the command of General Lafayette; Joseph Dean, and Burwell Spurlock.

The chief towns of the county to-day are Ceredo, with a population of about 1,500, and Wayne, the county seat, having about 550.

Ceredo was founded in 1857 by Eli Thayer, member of congress from Massachusetts. While visiting his friend Albert G. Jenkins, on the banks of the Ohio, he chanced to meet Thomas L. Jordan, from whom he bought the land where now stands the town. On arriving at the site of his proposed town and seeing the bountiful crops, he thought it a fit tribute to the fabled goddess Ceres, to bestow her name upon the town, and accordingly it became Ceredo. It has been the dream of its founder to here found a large manufacturing town, if not a real city, but the civil war came on, and it yet remains but an ordinary, yet quite lively business point. It was incorporated in February, 1866.

Mingo County—Mingo county was formed from a part of Logan county, and derives its name from the Mingo tribe of Indians, of which Logan was the famous chieftain. Its area is 406 square miles. Its seat of justice is Williamson. The population of county in 1910 was 608. It was the last county to be formed in West Virginia. Tug river forms its southern boundary. The surface is broken and hilly, almost amounting to mountains in places, yet there is much rolling, sloping land. In 1900 there were a thousand farms ranging from three to 1,000 acres. The total value of soil products in 1902 was $68,000; there was fruit raised amounting to $13,000. The census of 1900 gave the county a list of twenty-seven manufacturing establishments, making products amounting to $279,000. Iron and lead are found in considerable quantities. Natural gas is frequently obtained. The clays are made into fine brick, and costly machinery is now employed. But coal is king here, as in most places in West Virginia. Mining began in the county in 1895, and in 1902, there were fifteen operators, producing 636,000 tons of coal. Now there are more than forty mines and the output is far more than doubled.

Williamson, the county seat, is the metropolis of the Big Sandy region, and had a population of 3,500 in 1900.

McDowell County—McDowell county was formed in 1858 from part of Tazewell, and took its name from James McDowell, governor of Virginia in 1843; area 840 square miles; population in 1910, 47,856. Welch is the seat of justice. The act creating this county carried with it a provision that the county seat should be called Peeryville. This county has within recent years materially developed, on account of its mining industries. It ranks fourth in size, and is the most southern county in the state, bordering as it does on Virginia for nearly a hundred miles. The county is bounded by mountain ridges. Tug river flows westward through the northern portion and its tributaries drain the county. The surface is broken and in some parts mountainous; the soil is chiefly rich loam, rather sandy in mixture. A large per cent. is still covered with native forest trees, which when removed provide the richest of farm land. Much of this county is owned by non-residents. There was in 1900, 780 farms ranging from three to eight hundred acres. The total value of farm products in the year named was $59,000. Besides, there was fruit raised and sold to the value of $14,000. Grass grows well on the hills and in cleared timber lands. The total of all live stock in 1902 was $172,000. The same year there were reported 1,400 swarms of honey bees, valued at $5,000, producing 22,000 pounds of honey and two hundred pounds of beeswax. The total value of all dairy products that year was $36,000. The United States census returns for 1900 showed a list of fifty-five manufacturing establishments, including shops, with an invested capital of $2,000,000. But the greatest wealth comes from the mines of the county. This county lies in the midst of the Flat Top coal field, one of the finest coal regions in the United States, if not indeed the whole

world. The county a few years ago was nothing but a wilderness, with but few settlers and many wild animals. But by the development of the mining industries and the making of brick and other clay products, it has evolved from darkness into light. The whole county is underlaid with coal of most superior grade. It has been said that every landowner in McDowell county could, if he so choose, have a coal mine on his own farm. By the last reports it is shown that this county ranks second in the production of coal and first in coke of West Virginia. In 1902 there were forty-three mines, and they produced 4,372,000 tons; 1,500,000 were converted into coke. During one recent year 604 acres were excavated for coal. There are 537,600 acres of land in the county, and it is practically all underlaid with valuable coal. It will take centuries to take out the coal here deposited. The Norfolk & Western railroad was first to enter the county and commence to carry out its treasure. Another road now penetrating the county is the Panther Creek line. The total trackage of railroad in the county is 158 miles.

Welch, the present seat of justice, is a sprightly town of about 1,526 population. It is situated on the left bank of the Tug river, and is on the Norfolk & Western railroad. It is 329 miles from Cincinnati and 184 from Huntington.

The population of the above counties in 1910 was: McDowell county, 47,856; Wayne county, 24,078; Mingo county, 19,491.

Besides the counties already mentioned, and history briefly outlined, in the various valleys of the principal streams in West Virginia, the following completes the list of the counties within this commonwealth:

Barbour County—This county was formed by legislative act, March 3, 1843, from parts of Harrison, Lewis and Randolph, and derived its name from Philip P. Barbour, who was governor of Virginia from 1815 to 1825, Secretary of War during the administration of John Quincy Adams, and Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary lation of almost 20,000. Its seat of justice is Philippi. This town was named after the Christian name of the governor for whom the county was called, as above noted. It was established as a town February 14, 1844. Its population is now 1,038.

Boone County—This county was formed in 1847, and named in honor of Daniel Boone. The act creating the county placed the location of the county seat in the hands of men who located the same on land owned by Albert Allen, at the mouth of Spruce fork, but this was not satisfactory to the people, and in 1848 the Assembly changed it, after an election by the people to decide between the place named and another on lands owned by Thomas Price, near the mouth of Turkey creek. The seat of justice is now Madison, having a population of 295. The county contains 520 square miles, and is not thickly settled. Peytona, in the northern part of Boone county, on Cole river, was named for William M. Peyton, the first to discover cannel coal in that section of Virginia. He spent a fortune in developing these mines, prior to the civil war. The place is now but a mere hamlet of a few hundred people. Boone county lies just to the south of Kanawha county.

Braxton County—This county is one of the central in the state. It is west of Upshur and Webster counties, and contains 620 square miles. It was formed January 15, 1836, and took its name from Carter Braxton, one of Virginia's signers of the Declaration of Independence. The most extensive view to be had of the state is from the summit of High Knob, in this county. Here one can view the landscape in twelve

different counties—Gilmer, Lewis, Upshur, Randolph, Webster, Clay, Nicholas, Fayette, Greenbrier, Pocahontas, Calhoun and Roane.

Sutton, the county seat, was established a town named Suttonville, then in Nicholas county, by assembly act dated January 27, 1826. The year following, when it had come to be within Braxton county, its name was changed to Sutton, which place was incorporated February 20, 1860. It now has a population of 1,000.

Bulltown was named for Captain Bull, who headed the friendly Indians in Dunmore's war. Salt water here issued forth from the earth near the river at a very early day, and small quantities of salt were made as early as 1795, but no wells were bored until 1805, when Benjamin Wilson Jr. and the two Haymond brothers began drilling and established salt works that supplied the country for many miles around.

Calhoun County—This county is in the western portion of the state, west of Gilmer and east of Roane counties. It contains only 260 square miles. It was taken from Gilmer county in 1855, and named from John C. Calhoun, an American statesman. Its seat of justice is Grantsville. The county had a population in 1910 of 11,258. It is situated on the north bank of the Little Kanawha river. The place was laid out by Simon P. Stump, and became the county seat in 1869, after a long drawn out contest. Concerning this contest, Prof. V. A. Lewis wrote many years since as follows:

> In no other part of the state has there been so much difficulty regarding the permanent location of the seat of justice. The act creating the county provided for its location either at Pine Bottom, at the mouth of Yellow creek, or at the Big Bend on the Little Kanawha river, a vote of the people to decide between the two places. Further it required that first court to be held at the house of Joseph W. Burson. This last requirement appears to have been about the only one which was regarded, for when the first court adjourned it was to meet not at Pine Bottom or Big Bend, but at the residence of Peregrine Hays, on the West Fork. Accordingly, the second court convened at that place, September 9, 1856, and here it was held until 1857. But in August of that year two courts were in session at the same time, one at Arnoldsburg and another at the house of Collins Betz, on the Little Kanawha. For the purpose of effecting a reconciliation between the warring factions, it was decided to hold court at the mouth of Yellow creek, now Brookville. A contract for a court house was let for that place for $675. But legal proceedings were now instituted, and on June 15 the court again convened at Arnoldsburg, and here it continued to be held until 1869. It now seemed that the matter was settled. The erection of a substantial brick building was begun at Arnoldsburg. But after the basement story had been completed, all of cut stone, at a cost of $1,500, the question was once more agitated and another move made, this time to Grantville. Here a frame court house was erected, but burned to the ground before it was occupied. Another arose upon its ruins and was occupied until 1880, when a brick building was erected at a cost of $8,400.

Arnoldsburg derives its name from Charles Arnold, who patented the land on which it stands. A postoffice was established there in 1832, and during that year Charles Arnold taught a school there. Peregrine Hays commenced mercantile business there in 1833. Where the town now stands, Philip Starcher built his cabin in 1810. The chief industries are farming, grazing and timbering. The county had 1,700 farms, in 1900. The value of produce that year was $79,000. Besides, fruit brought $119,000. The farms contained 3,000 milch cows, giving 1,500,000 gallons of milk and 71,000 pounds of butter. Manufacturing is still in its infancy here, but the largest lampblack factory in the world is located a few miles from Grantville. In 1902, there were twenty-two manufacturing plants within the county, paying out $4,568 in wages, and producing goods amounting to $61,000.

Clay County—This was created from parts of Braxton and Nicholas counties, by act of March 29, 1858, and named in honor of Ken-

tucky's favorite son, Henry Clay. It contains 390 square miles. Its seat of justice is Henry, first called Marshall. Clay county has commenced to develop wonderfully in the last decade. It is surrounded by six other counties, with numerous small towns throughout its borders.

Doddridge County—This is one of the northwestern counties. It has an area of 300 square miles, and its population in 1910 was 11,672. The act creating this county was passed February 4, 1845. Its territory was made from parts of Harrison, Tyler, Ritchie and Lewis counties, and named in honor of the celebrated Philip Doddridge. He was a native of Bedford, Pennsylvania, born 1772, and became a famous lawyer, and of whom Daniel Webster remarked, "He is the only man I ever feared to debate with." He rose to congress, and died at Washington, D. C., in 1832. West Union is the county seat of this county. It was incorporated in March, 1850.

Gilmer County—This county lies in the northwestern portion of the state, and contains 360 square miles. Its county seat is Glenville. It was formed in 1845 from parts of Lewis and Kanawha counties, taking its name from Thomas Walker Gilmer, Secretary of the Navy, who was killed on board the steamer "Princeton," at Mt. Vernon, in 1844. It has a population of 11,379. It is one of the counties comprising the Little Kanawha Valley. The bottom lands are rich and productive. It is really within the "Blue Grass Belt" of West Virginia. There are about 1,800 farms ranging from five to 1,000 acres. Every variety of fruit grown in this climate does well here. More than 70,000 apple trees were bearing in 1902, from which there was produced 80,000 bushels. Stock raising is a paying enterprise, for the reason that as soon as the forest is removed, the blue grass comes in thickly and forms an excellent, permanent sod. The county is rich in natural resources, having both gas and oil pipe lines running into adjoining states. The finest source of wealth, however, is found in the great coal fields that abound on every hand. A five-foot vein is obtained seventy-five feet from the river. Up to this date shipping facilites have been against the county's development, but ere long this is to be remedied and the railroad will take great loads of coal from out the mines of this county.

Glenville, the county seat, was incorporated March 10, 1856. A branch of the State Normal School system is located at this place, it having been established here February, 1872.

Lewis County—This county was formed from Harrison by act of assembly, December 18, 1816, which act directed that the first court should be held at Westfield. The county was named in honor of Colonel Charles Lewis, who was killed at the battle of Point Pleasant. He was the youngest son of John Lewis, the pioneer settler of Augusta county, and a brother of General Andrew Lewis, who commanded the Virginians at Point Pleasant.

Lewis county has 400 square miles. Its seat of justice is Weston. This town was established under the name of Preston, January, 1818, on lands of Daniel Stringer and Lewis Maxwell; by an act of February 20, 1819, the name was changed to Flesherville. This does not appear to have been satisfactory, for on the 19th of the following December, it was enacted that "the town established in the county of Lewis, by the name of Preston, afterward changed to Flesherville, shall hereafter be known by the name of Weston." The first settler on the town site was Henry Flesher. He came as early as 1784, for during that year, while engaged in hauling logs to build a stable, he was attacked by Indians. The gun discharged at him had been charged with two balls, both of which took effect in Flesher's arm. Thus

wounded, he fled to his cabin, closely pursued by the Indians, one of whom was so close upon him as to strike him with the butt end of his gun as he entered the door. The blow seemed to throw him forward into the house. His wife closed the door and the Indians made no effort to force it open. Still the family felt insecure, and as soon as the savages had withdrawn, they left the house and concealed themselves in the forest. One member of the family, a young lady, succeeded in finding the way to Hacker's creek, where she gave the alarm. Early next morning, Thomas Hughes with others started out and succeeded in escorting the Fleshers to the settlement.

Mercer County—This county was formed by act of assembly, March 17, 1837, from parts of Tazewell, and was named in honor of General Hugh Mercer, who fell at Princeton. At the time of the formation of this county there was not a village in it, but the erection of the county buildings formed the nucleus of a town which, from the battlefield on which General Mercer fell, was called Princeton. A branch of the State Normal School is located at Concord Church, eight miles from the county seat. The county contains 400 square miles. Its population in 1910 was 23,023.

Monroe County—This is the most extreme southeastern county in West Virginia; it is south and east of Greenbrier and Summers counties. It contains 460 square miles. Union is its county seat. Its population in 1910 was 13,055. It was formed in 1799 from parts of Greenbrier county, and named for the fifth president of the United States. It was the twelfth sub-division of Virginia formed west of the Alleghenies. It is separated from Virginia by Peters and Potts mountains. Greenbrier river forms its northern boundary and the New river washes its southeastern corner.

The first court was held at the house of George King, one mile east of the present county seat, Union, May 21, 1799. After organizing and admitting John Woodward to practice law and appointing him commonwealth attorney, it being noon, it was ordered that for convenience they repair to King's barn. After reassembling, Isaac Estill presented his commission from the governor appointing him sheriff. John Byrnesides was appointed surveyor and John Arbuckle deputy sheriff. John Graham was recommended to the governor as suitable for colonel of the militia of the county.

The first term of circuit superior court was convened at the Sweet Springs, May 19, 1800, with Archibald Stewart on the bench. The first school was taught in 1795, by Samuel Harper. The school house was a cabin made of round logs. The clapboards of the roof were held in place by the ridgepoles, and the floor of thick slabs, bark side down. The first lands surveyed were within the present limits of Sweet Springs district. The first land located was a 140 acre tract, including Sweet Springs, by John Lewis, in 1760. In about 1775, John Alderson and brother-in-law, William Morris, visited the Greenbrier region, each bringing a patent for 1,200 acres. They decided to locate there, and did in the vicinity of present town of Alderson, but upon investigation found that Samuel Lewis had located a large tract just below where the town now stands. Alderson could not find the northern boundary of the Lewis lands, and made his survey so as to include the bottom lands just below the town. He later learned that his grant "shingled," or lapped over on the Lewis survey, and accordingly extended his further into the mountains, so as to include 1,200 acres. Morris crossed to the north side of the river, and selected his land. Alderson built his cabin on the exact spot on which the Alderson hotel later was built.

Among the early settlers were: James Moss, who reared his cabin in 1760, near Sweet Springs, and became the first settler in the district; Christian Peters, in 1770, for whom Peterstown takes its name. Several others came in 1770. Among these was Isaac Estill, who built Mann's Fort, where for many years the pioneers sought refuge in time of Indian troubles. Within its walls were married the first couple within the county. The bride was Christiana Cook, and the bridegroom Philip Hammond, who proved to be a genuine hero, for he was one of the two men who ran from Point Pleasant to Donnelly's Fort in Greenbrier and sounded the alarm in time to save that settlement from destruction by the savages.

Monroe is one of the three counties in West Virginia in which coal is not found, but nature has given other resources of wealth. In the eastern part, Pott's creek has its rise and flows northward to the James river. The mountains are masses of iron ore, and form what is known as the Pott's Creek iron region. There is every indication in the tests already made that oil and gas are to be another means of wealth. Now, grazing may be said to be the chief industry. Monroe is also a land of mineral springs.

Union, the county seat, was selected by the court in 1799. January 6, 1800, the assembly enacted "That twenty-five acres of land, the property of James Alexander, at the court house in the county of Monroe, as the same has been laid off into lots and streets, shall be established a town by the name of Union." The town was incorporated in 1868, Alfred Phillips being the first mayor. Population 300.

Alderson, another important town, derives its name from the pioneer Alderson family, in whose hands the lands on which the town stands have been for far over a hundred years. The town was surveyed and platted in 1871, George W. Nickell purchasing the first lot, and M. L. Harwood built the first building. The place was incorporated October, 1880. It has grown rapidly, and is a good business point.

Nicholas County—This county was formed from Greenbrier by act of assembly passed January 30, 1818. By it the boundaries were defined but so unsatisfactorily, that by an act of January 29, 1820, they were entirely changed. The former act declared that the first court should be held at the house of John Hamilton. The commissioners to locate the county seat were John Hansford and John Wilson, of Kanawha county; Samuel Brown and John Welch, of Greenbrier; and William Marteney, of Randolph. The county was named for Wilson Cary Nicholas, Virginia's governor in 1814. The county now contains 720 square miles, and its seat of justice is Summersville. In 1910 the population of the county was 17,699.

Summersville was legally established a town, January 19, 1820, on thirty acres of land, the property of the heirs of John Hamilton. The town was incorporated March 20, 1860. Population 204.

Raleigh County—Raleigh was formed from territory formerly belonging to Fayette county, by act of assembly, January 23, 1850, and derives its name in commemoration of Sir Walter Raleigh. The act made Beckleyville the county seat; it was incorporated in 1850. The first court convened in the village school house in March, 1850. The county contains 680 square miles. Its seat of justice is now known as Beckley. The county's population in 1910 was 25,683. Among the band of pioneers who settled in what is now Raleigh county are now recalled these: Vincent Philips, Samuel Pack, Samuel Richmond, Henry Hill, Joseph Carper, Sparriel Bailey, Booker Bailey, Joshua Roles, Daniel Shumate, Sr., Cyrus Snuffer, Owen Snuffer, James Bryson, John T. Starrett, Wilson Abbott, Lemuel Jarrell, Jacob Harper, John Stover and Fielding Fipps.

Randolph County—This is the largest county in West Virginia, containing 1,080 square miles. It was formed from parts of Harrison county, and derives its name from Edmund Randolph, governor of Virginia in 1787, later attorney-general of the United States. Elkins is the county seat. The county was organized by act of 1786. The same act provided that the justices for the new county should meet at the house of Benjamin Wilson, Tygart's Valley, and hold the first court.

About 1754, David Tygart and a man named Files attempted a settlement within the present limits of this county. Files settled at the mouth of the creek that still bears his name. Tygart settled a spot a few miles further up the river. The valley in which they settled has since been known as Tygart's Valley, and the river Tygart's Valley river. These men found it difficult to procure provisions for their families, and being close to the Indian villages, they did not feel secure. They determined to retrace their steps, but before preparations for removal were complete, the family of Files, one son only escaping, were killed by the savages. The son was near enough to his home to hear distinctly all that happened, and knowing he was utterly powerless to assist his friends there, fled in haste to warn Tygart's family of the danger threatening them. The country was at once abandoned by them.

Beverly, the old county seat, was established by legislative enactment December 16, 1790, on lands owned by James Westfall. January 17, 1848, it was incorporated under the name of the borough of Beverly. With the development of the county in way of mines and forests, the town of Elkins was established, and is now the seat of justice. It was the home of the late, lamented United States Senator Stephen B. Elkins, for whom the place was named, and where he had large property interests and a beautiful home. Population, 5,260.

Roane County—This was formed in 1856 from portions of Kanawha, Jackson and Gilmer counties, and its name and that of its original seat of justice, Spencer, commemorates that of him whose life and public services added lustre to the annals of Virginia jurisprudence. J. P. Tomlinson carried the petition asking for the formation of this county to Richmond, and laid it before the Assembly. He was a native of one of the lower counties of Virginia, and when a boy was engaged in teaming. On a certain occasion his wagon stuck fast in mud; while working to get it out, a gentleman rode up and alighted, assisting the boy in getting out of difficulty. That man was Judge Spencer Roane, then on his way to attend court in one of the tide-water counties. Tomlinson never forgot the kindness, and when the county was formed he asked that it be named Roane. Thus the distinguished jurist, by one kindly act, secured the perpetuation of his name in one of the counties of West Virginia.

Roane contains 350 square miles. Its population in 1910 was 21,548. The county seat, Spencer, is situated in Spring Creek Valley, within a survey of 6,000 acres, patented by Albert Gallatin in 1787. Later the land became the property of J. P. R. Bureau, a French colonist. The town is fifty miles from Charleston, and sixty-seven from Weston. The first settlers on the site of the town located there in 1812. They were Samuel Tanner and wife, one child, and a man named Wolf, who lived in Tanner's family. The first residence was beneath a shelving rock within a few yards of where later stood the house of Hon. J. G. Schilling. The birth of the first white child here occurred in this cave. In 1814 other settlers came in and settled in Spring creek, two miles below present Spencer. In 1816 the name Tanners Cross Roads was bestowed upon the place, and so continued until 1839,

when a man named Raleigh Butcher sold his property with the intention of emigrating to California, but instead settled where Spencer now stands, and in 1840 erected a large frame house, and the place was then known as New California, because it was the place at which Raleigh Butcher stopped. By this name it was known until March 15, 1858, when it was incorporated under its present name. The place was almost entirely destroyed by fire in 1887. It now has a population of 1,224.

Taylor County—This county was formed from portions of Harrison, Barbour and Marion counties, by act of assembly, January 19, 1844, and named for John Taylor, of Caroline county, Virginia. It only has 150 square miles. Its seat of justice is the sprightly city of Grafton. The county had a population of 16,554 in 1910. The surface of this county is hilly, but the land is fertile. The entire county is underlaid with coal seams of the lower measures. No better gas or cooking coal can be found in the state. While the county is very small, it yet has over 1,100 farms ranging from five to five hundred acres each. In 1902 the county produced farm products valued at $160,000, besides fruits valued at $40,000. June 1, 1900, there were listed 29,660 chickens in this county; 1,055 ducks, 729 turkeys; 576 geese, all valued at $12,000. The dairy products the same year were $83,000.

The chief towns in the county are Grafton, the county seat, and Pruntytown, the old seat of justice. When established in 1801, its name was Williamsport, and it was then within Harrison county. It was laid off on lands of David Prunty, at a place called Cross Roads. January, 1845, the Assembly changed the name from Williamsport to Pruntytown. When the county seat was located, it was designated as Williamsport.

Grafton, the more modern and up-to-date town, was incorporated March 15, 1856. It is one of the best, busiest, wealthiest places in West Virginia, for its size. Its population is 7,563.

Tucker County—This county was formed from territory once within Randolph county. It was established a separate county March 7, 1856, and named in honor of St. George Tucker, the eminent Virginia jurist. It contains 340 square miles. The act creating this county required that the county seat be located on the east side of Cheat river, on lands owned by Enoch Minear. The Minear family settled in this county in 1776. Other pioneers were the Simms, Parsons, Goffs, all in revolutionary war days. Jonathan Minear and Simms both fell at the hands of the brutal savages. The county is rough and hilly, yet has many natural resources, all of which will ere long be developed. Parsons, the present seat of justice, has a population of 1,780.

Ritchie County—This county was formed by act dated February 18, 1843, the territory being formerly a part of Lewis, Harrison and Wood counties. It was named for Thomas Ritchie, Virginia's most famous journalist. He was born in 1778, and edited the *Richmond Enquirer* from 1804 to 1845, when he became editor of the *Washington Union*. He died in 1854. This county contains 400 square miles. Its population in 1910 was 17,875. The county is chiefly drained by Hughes river, named for Jesse Hughes. In old works and state maps, however, it appears as Junius river. Its county seat, Harrisville, was once included in Wood county. It was laid out by Thomas Harris, and legally constituted a town January 2, 1822. It was designated the county seat of Ritchie by the act creating the county. It was not incorporated until February 26, 1869. Population, 608.

Smithsville, then in Lewis county, was established a town by the as-

sembly of February, 1842. Cairo, one of the oldest places in the county, did not begin its real activities until 1856, when the railroad came. Pennboro, laid out at an early day, named for a man of Baltimore, in 1858, now has a population of over 1,500; it was incorporated in 1885. Ellenboro, was established in 1844 by the appointment of a postmaster and an office known as Shummley. Burnt House village has about fifty population; was established in 1882. Auburn, first known as Bone Creek, then Newburg, and in 1872 changed to Auburn, dates back to in the forties. Berea was settled in 1848 by a settlement of enterprising pioneers, the first of whom were Preston Zinn and Thomas Pritchard; there was no town there until the establishment of a postoffice in 1867, when the name was changed from Seven-Day-Mill to Berea. Pullman was platted in 1883 by A. Hunter Hall; it now has about 175 population; was incorporated 1901, J. R. Lowther, being the first mayor. Petroleum was platted in 1854, named from the springs near the place; the Baltimore & Ohio railroad was completed through there in 1856; it now has 100 population. Highland was established about 1868, a mere hamlet yet. Cornwallis, established in 1856; Glendale, 1878; Mole Hill, 1860; Smith, 1869; Tollgate, on the old Northwestern Turnpike, 1832, went down during the civil war period.

This is one of the leading counties in the production of oil and gas. It was first known that oil existed here in 1844, when it was discovered after a careful drilling of a well for salt on Flint run, by George S. Lemon, who collected the oil and sold it to the druggists of Marietta, Ohio, for medicinal purposes. The first real oil development, however, was between 1865 and 1870, near Cairo, on Big Run. Gas and coal abound in great quantities.

Upshur County—This county was named in honor of Abel P. Upshur, a native of Virginia, lawyer, member of the constitutional convention of 1829-30, Secretary of the Navy, then Secretary of State, killed by the explosion on board the "Princeton," at Mt. Vernon. The county was formed March 26, 1851, and contains 350 square miles. Its seat of justice is Buckhannon. This was legally established January 15, 1816, while yet within Harrison county, and on lands of Robert Patton Jr. The county now has a population of 16,629. The various places for holding court and the court houses of this county have been as follows: Buckhannon has been the county seat of both Harrison and Upshur counties. The bill for the formation of Harrison county named the house of George Jackson, at Bush's Fort, as the place for holding the first court in Harrison county; this was in 1784. Upshur county has held its courts in nine different houses, public and private, and has had two court houses. The list is:

County seat of Upshur county, till the present time, Buckhannon, 1851; first court house, Andrew Poundstone's residence, 1851; second court house, Methodist Episcopal church, 1851; third court house, 1854; fourth court house, the Baptist church, 1856; fifth court house, John Maxwell's shop, 1857; sixth court house, the Baptist church, 1857; seventh court house, built for the county, 1857; eighth court house, Pifer's building, 1899; ninth court house, the present county building, 1901. The last named was erected at an expense of $37,650. In an airtight box placed within the corner-stone was placed a photograph of the old court house and a design for the new building; also other items, including the contract for constructing the present building.

Webster County—This county was formed in 1860, from parts of Nicholas, Braxton and Randolph. It has an area of 450 square miles and in 1910 a population of 9,680. It lies in the upper Elk Valley region and is slightly to the southeast of the center of the state. The

northern portion is hilly and rolling; soil, sandy loam. Here the "glades," or marsh lands, are 2,400 feet above sea level. The surface is absolutely level; the soil is black; some 3,000 acres require drainage to convert it into excellent farming lands. The central and eastern portions are mountainous and hilly. There are still to be found large native forests of excellent timber along the rivers and smaller streams. The county has over 1,000 farms; total value of farm products in 1902 was $92,000. At that date there were 40,000 apple trees growing. The county contains vast coal deposits, chiefly on New River. Mineral springs and good fire clay abound in many sections of the county.

The county takes its name from Daniel Webster. Its county seat is Addison, located on lands originally owned by Addison McLaughlin, at Fort Lick, on Elk river. The name Fort Lick continued to be the name until March 21, 1873, when the legislature enacted "that the town of Fork Lick, in Webster county, shall hereafter be known by the name of Addison." Its population is now 500.

Wirt County—This was created by act of assembly passed January 19, 1848, and named in honor of the distinguished William Wirt. It has an area of 290 square miles. In 1910 it had a population of 9,047. It was formed from parts of Wood and Jackson counties, and lies in the northwestern part of the State. Among the pioneers were: William Beauchamp, who located where the town of Elizabeth now stands, in 1796; Benjamin Roberts, Thomas Prebble, and Jonathan Shepherd, from the South Branch of the Potomac, the latter bringing with him his sons William, Samuel and Henry. Then came Samuel Coe and William Walls, who settled on Reedy creek; William Petty, John Petty and John Wilson, from Harrison county; John Bennett, who settled on Tucker's creek, and Jacob, Frederick and Andrew Bumgardner, Richard Reeder, Charles Rockhold, and Jeremiah Wiseman.

The first circuit court was convened April 4, 1848, at the house of Alfred Beauchamp, Judge David McComas presiding. The following attorneys appeared and were admitted to the practice at the courts of this county, and it is doubtful if there has ever been so great a number of lawyers assembled, from which came noted men, as were to be picked from this list: John F. Snodgrass, James M. Stephenson, John G. Stringer, Peter G. Van Winkle, Jacob B. Blair, Arthur I. Boreman, John J. Jackson, Clermont E. Thaw, John E. Hays and John O. Lockhart. Snodgrass was later a member of congress; Stephenson represented Wood county in the general assembly of Virginia; Van Winkle was one of the first United States senators from West Virginia; Blair was afterwards a member of congress, also minister to Costa Rica during Andrew Johnson's administration, and later judge of the United States district court for Wyoming Territory; Boreman became judge, served two terms as governor of West Virginia, and represented the state in the United States senate; Jackson was afterwards state attorney for Wood county, representing the same in the legislature, and was president of the Second National Bank at Parkersburg from 1865 until his death.

Elizabeth, the seat of justice, is situated on the south bank of the Little Kanawha river, thirty-two miles from its mouth. The first settler, William Beauchamp, built his cabin here in 1799, and was later joined by Charles Rockhold and Ezekiel McFarland. The Beauchamps built a mill for making flour in 1803, and from that time until 1817 the place was styled Beauchamp's Mills, but in that year the name was changed to Elizabeth, in honor of the wife of David Beauchamp,

whose maiden name was Elizabeth Woodyard. The place now has a population of 674.

Burning Springs, on the north bank of the Kanawha, has a history which reads like romance. Historian Virgil A. Lewis has written concerning this place as follows:

> Its recital calls to mind the early days of San Francisco, the metropolis of California. Here was the Eldorado of 1860-61. In the former year, news of the discovery of one of the greatest petroleum-producing regions then known on the globe went out to the world from this place. In August of that year there was not a score of souls in the vicinity, and six months later, the morning Fort Sumter was fired upon, there were no less than six thousand persons here. It was a swarming mass of humanity representing almost every nation on earth. Capitalists and adventurers from every part of the continent rushed hither, as did many thousands to California eleven years before. United States senators, members of congress—one of whom was James A. Garfield—governors of states, and many others in high position, came in pursuit of what proved to be another "South Sea Bubble." Fortunes were made and lost in a day. A town rose as if by magic, and in the spring of 1861 the Chicago Hotel, every part of which was rendered brilliant by means of mains filled with natural gas, had arisen upon what six months before was a thicket of underbrush. A single well furnished a sufficient quantity of gas to illuminate the cities of America. It was used for light, for fuel, and for generating steam, but at last it failed. It was a dark, stormy night in the winter of 1867, that every light and every fire in the town was suddenly extinguished. The supply in the great natural reservoir had become exhausted, and many families suffered from the extreme cold before a supply of fuel could be obtained from another source.

Hundreds of thousands of barrels of oil were shipped from this place within the years 1860 to 1870. On May 9, 1863, a detachment of Confederate troops commanded by General Jones visited the place and kindled the largest fire ever started in West Virginia. One hundred thousand barrels of oil were simultaneously ignited, and the light that night was plainly visible at Parkersburg, distant forty-two miles.

PART THREE

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

WINTER SCENE ON MONONGAHELA RIVER.

SCENE ON GREENBRIER RIVER, CHESAPEAKE & OHIO RAILWAY.

CHAPTER XXX

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

The beginnings of industrial progress in the territory embraced in West Virginia were described in former chapters of this book; but the subjects there treated were the beginnings only. There was subsequent growth which is subject for historical review. Progress has been gradual along most lines, and in most matters it has been satisfactory. The present chapter does not cover the whole field, for some features of the state's industrial progress are considered in other chapters, such as the development of oil, gas, coal, and agriculture. The following pages consider railroad matters; water resources; mineral springs and resorts; the manufacture of glass and the material for its manufacture; iron and the supply that has been or may be discovered; building stones with the extent and character of quarries; cement and the plants for its production and the resources within reach; and miscellaneous manufacturing industries both large and small. The capital invested is not much below one hundred million dollars, leaving railroads out of consideration, and also leaving out agriculture.

The total value of industrial plants and operations in the state falls much below values of similar lines in some other states; but it must be borne in mind that in West Virginia the beginnings have been recent. Some of the older states were rich in factories when the mountains of West Virginia had none. The older communities had many decades the start of this mountainous and almost inaccessible region, and it slept the sleep of peace and undisturbed repose while they were making themselves a place in the industrial world. Though West Virginia's start was late, its progress has since been rapid; and the most promising part of the state's industrial story is, that most of it remains to be told; it lies in the future. The present development is but the index to a volume that lies beyond.

In presenting statistics and other data which follow in this chapter, particular pains have not been taken to quote the latest figures and give the most recent details; for, at the best, what is up to date to-day will be out of date to-morrow among industries which are growing at the rate observed in West Virginia. A history is not an almanac which must be late or out of date. The mission of history is to give facts in their broadest aspect, and in such a way that their value will not decrease but rather increase with age. It therefore becomes one of the historian's most difficult tasks to write of things yet unfinished; because from the very nature of history, it must be considered complete as far as it has gone though it has not gone its full course.

The state's railroads have reached an advance stage of progress; the navigation of its rivers has also advanced far; its lumber interests have probably reached their maximum development in quantity but not in quality; but many industries and resources are yet in their infancy, among which are water power, and the making of glass, mining of iron, grinding of cement, and quarrying of building stone. Perhaps the production of oil, natural gas, and salt has passed its maximum, and their future history will deal with decline. The maximum of the coal mining and the burning of coke lies in the future—no man knows how far. The best era of agriculture, stock raising, and fruit growing also lies in the future.

RAILROADS

Railroad building within the territory now embraced in West Virginia has been in progress about eighty years. The first entrance was made by the Baltimore & Ohio railroad near Harper's Ferry. An account of the building of that railroad is given in another chapter of this book. Other roads entered the state from time to time; some were parts of trunk lines, and others were constructed wholly within the state. The presence of coal and timber in enormous amounts has been largely responsible for the construction of so much railroad in the region. In many instances the roads pushed into territory before the development of mines began, or before the timber was cut. In such cases, the roads were freight developers, if not directly, at least indirectly, by encouraging others to develop. A general history of all railroad building in the state would be of great value as a record of industrial progress in the regions; but such history cannot be undertaken here. The nearest approach to such a work is contained in Bulletin 2 of the West Virginia Geological Survey, published in 1911. That, however, is only a skeleton of facts which would need much additional material to make it history. The principal portion of the following data on railroads is condensed from that bulletin. It is prefaced with the following paragraph written by Dr. I. C. White, State Geologist. He says:

"These tables naturally begin with the great Baltimore and Ohio system which was not only one of the first steam railways built in America, but also the first to enter the area which is now West Virginia. This railway was begun at Baltimore in 1828, and through successive stages of extensions, finally reached the Ohio river, near Wheeling, on Christmas day, 1852. After the original line of the Baltimore and Ohio railway was constructed across the state to the Ohio river near Wheeling, it continued to grow and expand, sending another branch to the Ohio river at Parkersburg, from Grafton, connecting through Ohio to Cincinnati, and on through Indiana and Illinois to St. Louis, while its main line to Benwood and Wheeling reached out to Columbus, Sandusky, and Chicago. Another great branch, leaving the main line at Cumberland, along the Will's creek gap, crossed the Alleghanies through Somerset county, Pennsylvania, and following the waters of the Youghiogheny river, reached Pittsburgh at an early date in American railway history. This Pittsburgh line was finally, through the purchase of the Pittsburgh and Western railway, extended on beyond Pittsburgh, reaching Beaver, Shenango, and Mahoning valleys, and on the Akron, Cleveland, and Chicago Junction, finally becoming the main line from New York to Chicago, through the Philadelphia extension, and traffic arrangements with the Reading and Jersey Central railways. In the meantime, through the purchase of tributary lines, and the building of others, the Baltimore and Ohio railway system has gridironed the richest portion of the great Appalachian coal field, and furnishes an outlet to market for a greater area of coal and timber lands than any other railroad in America. Its lines cover practically all the remaining area of the great Pittsbugh coal bed; and its Gauley and Pickens branches reach into the New River and Kanawha series, while its Cumberland-Johnstown-Pittsburgh-New Castle-Butler-Clarion lines extend into the heart of the Alleghany series of coals, so that, as a freight producer, this great railway system occupies an impregnable position among the trunk lines of the country; and should its management ever decide to tunnel under the Alleghanies, as long advocated by one of its brilliant engineers, its passenger traffic between the east and west would soon surpass that of all competitors."

There are in West Virginia eighty-two roads and branch roads, varying in length for a single line, from one mile to 293.5 miles. It should be borne in mind that railroad building is active. Figures and values true this year will be out of date next year. Old lines will be extended and new ones built. For that reason, the figures following have a value only for the year in which they were compiled, 1911. In that year the 82 lines and branch lines in the state had a total length of 3091.8 miles, not counting double tracks, sidings, and switches. That would add many hundreds of miles more. The Baltimore and Ohio had 21 lines, with 846.3 miles in the

GRADE FOR RAILROAD.

By Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey.

state; the Chesapeake and Ohio had 21 lines with a total length of 652.4 miles; the Norfolk and Western had 10 lines with a total length of 318.8; the Ohio River railroad had three lines with a total length in the state of 269 miles; the Western Maryland had 8 lines, and a total length of 196.6 miles; the Coal and Coke had 2 lines and a length of 183.7 miles; the Virginian railway had four lines with a total length of 135.3 miles. Of the seven roads thus far named, the only one wholly in the State is the Coal and Coke. In addition to these, there were 17 short lines, supposed not to form parts of the systems of the seven listed above. The longest of these was 94 miles in length, the shortest 4 miles. Their total length was 426.7 miles.

The highest point reached by a railroad in West Virginia is Club House in Randolph county, near the head of Cheat river, 3,775 feet. The lowest point is Harper's Ferry 236 feet. That is likewise the lowest point in the state. The highest point in the state is Spruce Knob, Pendleton county, 4,860 feet, or 1,085 feet above the highest point reached by rail, and about 25 miles from it.

There are a number of coal and lumber roads in the state not included in the appended list. They do not carry passengers, and some of the roads are meant to be only temporary.

The following list gives the lengths of the lines, naming the points between which the stated distances apply; and giving also the highest and lowest points.

Baltimore and Ohio, main line, Harper's Ferry to Wheeling, 293.5 miles; highest point in the state, Terra Alta, Preston county, 2,549 feet; lowest point, Harper's Ferry, Jefferson county, 236 feet.

Baltimore and Ohio, Parkersburg branch, Grafton to Parkersburg, 103.1 miles; highest point, Brydon, Taylor county, 1,110 feet; lowest point, Nicolette, Wood county, 610 feet.

Baltimore and Ohio, Fairmont, Morgantown, and Pittsburgh branch, Fairmont to Pennsylvania line, 37 miles; highest point in state, Fairmont, 882 feet; lowest point, Hoard, 816 feet.

Baltimore and Ohio, Monongahela River branch, Fairmont to Clarksburg, 32.1 miles; highest point, Clarksburg, 1,009 feet; lowest point, Fairmont, 882 feet.

Baltimore and Ohio, West Virginia and Pittsburgh branch, Clarksburg to Richwood, 121 miles; highest point, Cowan, Webster county, 2,247 feet; lowest point, Burnsville, Braxton county, 775 feet.

Baltimore and Ohio, Pickens branch, Weston to Pickens, 50.2 miles; highest point, Pickens, 2,697 feet; lowest point, Weston, 1,022 feet.

Baltimore and Ohio, Sutton branch, Flatwoods to Sutton, 5.6 miles; highest point, Summit, Braxton county, 1,187 feet; lowest point, Sutton, 838 feet.

Baltimore and Ohio, Berryburg branch, from Hacker Junction to Berryburg, 3.8 miles; highest point, Berryburg, Barbour county, 1,372 feet; lowest point, Hacker Junction, 1,302 feet.

Baltimore and Ohio, Belington branch, from Grafton to Belington, 41.3 miles; highest point, Belington, Barbour county, 1,702 feet; lowest point, Grafton, 1,000 feet.

Baltimore and Ohio, Patterson Creek branch, from Patterson Creek to McKenzie, 6.2 miles; highest point in State, Knobley Tunnel, 724 feet; lowest point, Patterson Creek, Mineral county, 574.

Baltimore and Ohio, Raccoon Valley branch, from Newburg to Gorman Mine, 3.2 miles; highest point, Gorman Mine, 1,491 feet; lowest point, Newburg, Preston county, 1,217 feet.

Baltimore and Ohio, Hardman branch, from Hardman to Shrader Mine, 1.2 miles; highest point, Shrader Mine, Preston county, 1,134 feet; lowest point, Hardman, 1,116 feet.

Baltimore and Ohio, Burnsville branch, from Lemley Junction to Century, 4.8 miles; highest point, Century, Barbour county; lowest point, Lemley Junction, 1,377.

Baltimore and Ohio, Point Pleasant, Buckhannon, and Tygart Valley branch, from Tygart Junction to Buckhannon, 16.6 miles; highest point, Smith Summit, Upshur count; altitude not given; lowest point, Tygart Junction, 1,332 feet.

Baltimore and Ohio, Baker branch, from Engle to Aulls, 3.8 miles; highest point, Engle, Jefferson county, 379 feet.

Baltimore and Ohio, Cherry Run and Potomac Valley branch, from Cherry Run to C. V. R. R. Junction, 12.9 miles; highest point, Hedgesville Tower, Berkeley county, 517 feet; lowest point, Cherry Run, 402.

Baltimore and Ohio, Berkeley Springs and Potomac branch, from Hancock to Berkeley Springs, 6 miles. The elevations have not been published.

Baltimore and Ohio, South Branch branch, from Green Spring to Romney, 16 miles; highest point Romney, Hampshire county, 731 feet; lowest point, Greenspring, 558 feet.

Baltimore and Ohio, Pittsburgh-Wheeling branch, from Valley Grove to Wheeling, 10 miles; highest point in the state, Roney's Point, Ohio county, 837 feet; lowest point, Wheeling, 652 feet.

Baltimore and Ohio, West Virginia short line, from Brooklyn Junction to Clarksburg, 60 miles; highest point, Tunnel No. 3, Harrison county, 1,079 feet; lowest point, Brooklyn Junction, Wetzel county, 629 feet.

Ohio River railroad, from Wheeling to Ripley, 223 miles; highest point, Wheeling, 652 feet; lowest point, Huntington, Cabell county, 538 feet.

Ohio River railroad, Ripley and Mill Creek Valley branch, from Millwood to Ripley, 13 miles; highest point, Ripley, Jackson county, 599 feet; lowest point, Millwood, 577 feet.

Ohio River railroad, Ravenswood, Spencer, and Glenville branch, from Ravenswood to Spencer, 33 miles; highest point, Barrs, Roane county, 899 feet; lowest point, Silverton, Jackson county, 575 feet.

Morgantown and Kingwood railroad, from Morgantown to Rowlesburg, 48 miles; highest point, Summit, Preston county, 2,155 feet; lowest point, Morgantown, 824 feet.

Alexander and Eastern railroad, from junction of W. Va. and Pittsburgh Division of B. & O., to end of line, 17 miles; highest point, at the end of the line in Randolph county; lowest point at the junction, Upshur county, 2,565 feet.

Panhandle railroad, from Wheeling to Chester, 47 miles; highest point, Wheeling Junction, Brooke county, 714 feet; lowest point, Wheeling, 652 feet.

The Wabash-Pittsburgh Terminal railroad, from Pennsylvania-West Virginia state line to West Virginia-Ohio state line, 4 miles; highest point, Pennsylvania-West Virginia line, 794 feet; lowest point, Rockdale, Brooke county, 706 feet.

Western Maryland railroad, main line, from Keyser to Belington, 108 miles; highest point in state, Fairfax summit, Grant county, 3,070 feet; lowest point, Keyser, Mineral county, 803 feet.

Western Maryland railroad, Durbin branch, from Elkins, to Durbin, 47 miles; highest point, Summit Cut, Randolph county, 3,147 feet; lowest point, Elkins, 1,933 feet.

Western Maryland railroad, Elk Garden branch, from Harrison to Elk Garden, 7 miles; highest point, Elk Garden, Mineral county, 2,305 feet; lowest point, Harrison, 1,703 feet.

Western Maryland railroad, Hartmansville branch, from Hartmansville Junction to Hartmansville, 2.5 miles; highest point, Hartmansville, Mineral county, 2,169 feet; lowest point, Hartmansville Junction, 1,952 feet.

Western Maryland railroad, Davis branch, from Thomas to Davis, 6 miles; highest point, Kent Ridge summit, 3,153 feet; lowest point, Thomas, Tucker county, 2,956 feet.

Western Maryland railroad, Knobmount-Cumberland branch, from Knobmount to Cumberland, 2.5 miles; highest point, Knobmount, Mineral county, 631 feet; lowest point, Ridgeley, 625 feet.

Western Maryland railroad, Belington branch, from Belington to Weaver, 6 miles; highest point, Harts Summit, Barbour county, 2,023 feet; lowest point, Belington, 1,706 feet.

Western Maryland railroad, Huttonsville branch, from Elkins to Huttonsville, 17.6 miles; highest point, Huttonsville, Randolph county, 2,029 feet; lowest point, Elkins, 1,933 feet.

Dry Fork railroad, from Hendricks to Horton, 31.3 miles; highest point, Horton, Randolph county, 2,775 feet; lowest point, Hendricks, Tucker county, 1,713 feet.

Chesapeake and Ohio railroad, from Tuckahoe, Greenbrier county, to Kenova, Wayne county, 203.3 miles; highest point, Tuckahoe, 2,048 feet; lowest point, Central city, 548 feet.

Chesapeake and Ohio, Greenbrier branch, from Ronceverte to Winterburn, 103.7 miles; highest point, Winterburn, Pocahontas county, 2,868 feet; lowest point, Ronceverte, 1,670 feet.

Chesapeake and Ohio, Laurel Creek branch, from Quinnimont to Hemlock Hollow, 5.4 miles; highest point, Hemlock Hollow, Fayette county, 2,015 feet; lowest point, Quinnimont, 1,205 feet.

Chesapeake and Ohio, Piney branch, from Prince to Lester, 27.6 miles; highest point, Beckley Junction, Raleigh county, 2,278 feet; lowest point, Prince, Fayette county, 1,198 feet.

Chesapeake and Ohio, Loup Creek branch, from Thurmond to MacDonald, 10.3 miles; highest point, MacDonald, Fayette county, 1,705 feet; lowest point, Thurmond, 1,070 feet.

Chesapeake and Ohio, White Oak branch, from White Oak Junction to Stewart, 9.9 miles. The altitudes have not been published.

Chesapeake and Ohio, Rend Branch, from Thurmond to Midden, 3.5 miles; highest point, Midden, Fayette county, 1,600 feet; lowest point, Thurmond, 1,070 feet.

Chesapeake and Ohio, Southside branch, from Hawk's Nest to Thurmond, 18 miles; highest point, Thurmond, 1,070 feet; lowest point, McDougall, 836 feet.

Chesapeake and Ohio, Hawk's Nest branch, from Hawk's Nest to Ansted, 4 miles; highest point, Ansted, 1,463 feet; lowest point, Hawk's Nest, 837 feet.

Chesapeake and Ohio, Gauley branch from Gauley to Greendale, 14.5 miles; highest point, Greendale, Nicholas county, 949 feet; lowest point, K. & M. Junction, 673 feet.

Chesapeake and Ohio, Powelton branch, from Mt. Carbin to Powelton, 5 miles; highest point, Powelton, Fayette county, 914 feet; lowest point, Mt. Carbin, 644 feet.

Chesapeake and Ohio, Paint Creek branch, from Paint Creek Junction to Mahan, 15.5 miles; highest point, Mahan, Fayette county, 966 feet; lowest point, Paint Creek Junction, Kanawha county, 629 feet.

Chesapeake and Ohio, Cabin Creek branch, from Cabin Creek Junction to Honaker Lawson, 30 miles; highest point, Seng Creek, Kanawha county, 1,480 feet; lowest point Cabin Creek Junction, 630 feet.

Chesapeake and Ohio, Dacota branch, from Leewood to United, 7 miles; highest point, United, 1,365 feet; lowest point, Leewood, Kanawha county, 880 feet.

Chesapeake and Ohio, Acme and Kayford branch, from Acme to Kayford, 2 miles; highest point, Kayford, Kanawha county, 1,325 feet; lowest point, Acme, 1,110 feet.

Chesapeake and Ohio, Guyandot Valley branch, from Barboursville to Ethel, 70.4 miles; highest point, Logan, Logan county, 687 feet; lowest point, Martha, Cabell county, 570 feet.

Chesapeake and Ohio, Coal River branch, from St. Albans to Big Coal river, 50 miles; highest point, Big Coal River, Boone county, 790 feet; lowest point, Indian, Kanawha county, 578 feet.

Chesapeake and Ohio, Little Coal River branch, from Sproul to Madison, 37.3 miles; highest point, Madison, Boone county, 687 feet; lowest point, Sproul, Kanawha county, 610 feet.

Chesapeake and Ohio, Spruce Fork branch, from Pond Fork Bridge to Seng Camp Creek, 16 miles; highest point, Seng Camp creek, 880 feet; lowest point, Pond Fork Bridge, Boone county, 691 feet.

Chesapeake and Ohio, Laurel Fork branch, from Mouth of Laurel, Boone county, to, End, 5 miles; highest point, End, 928 feet; lowest point, Mouth of Laurel, 790 feet.

Chesapeake and Ohio, Pond Fork branch, from Woman's Branch, Boone county, to Casey Creek, 14 miles; highest point, Casey Creek, 842 feet; lowest point, Woman's Branch, 672 feet.

Michigan and Kanawha railway, from Point Pleasant to Gauley bridge, 94 miles; highest point, Gauley Bridge, Fayette county, 671 feet; lowest point, Wagner, Mason county, 556 feet.

Kanawha and West Virginia railroad, from Charleston to Blakeley, 33 miles; highest point, Blakeley, Kanawha county, 1,116 feet; lowest point, Charleston, 600 feet.

Coal and Coke railway, from Charleston to Elkins, 175 miles; highest point, Kingsville, Randolph county, 2,167 feet; lowest point, Charleston, 597 feet.

Coal and Coke, Sutton branch, from Gassaway to Wolf Run, 8.7 miles; highest point, Wolf Run, Braxton county, 854 feet; lowest point, Gassaway, 834 feet.

Buffalo Creek and Gauley railway, from Dundon, Clay county, to Murphey's 18.7 miles; highest point, Murpheys, 1,162 feet; lowest point, Dundon, 711 feet.

Virginian railway, from Kelleysville, Mercer county, to Deepwater, Fayette county, 109 miles; highest point, Clark's Gap, Mercer county, 2,523 feet; lowest point, Deepwater, Fayette county, 652 feet.

Virginian railway, Winding Gulf branch from Mullens to Pemberton, 23.7 miles; highest point, Sophia, Raleigh county, 2,322 feet; lowest point, Mullens, Wyoming county, 1,426 feet.

Virginian railway, Collins Spur, from Goodwin, Raleigh county, to Winding Gulf 1 mile; highest point, Winding Gulf, 2,288 feet; lowest point, Goodwin, 2,224 feet.

Virginian railway, Shockley branch, from Glen White Junction to Glen White, 1.6 miles; highest point, Glen White, Raleigh county, 2,136 feet.

Norfolk and Western railway, from Wills, Mercer county, to Kenova, Wayne

county, 225.5 miles; highest point, Bluefield, 2,556 feet; lowest point, Buffalo creek, Wayne county, 559 feet.

Norfolk and Western, Bluestone branch, from Bluestone Junction to Pocahontas, 1.5 miles; highest point, Pocahontas, Mercer county, 2,315 feet; lowest point, Bluestone Junction, 2,281 feet.

Norfolk and Western, Cooper and Goodwill branch, from Cooper to Goodwill, Mercer county, 8 miles; highest point, Goodwill, 2,262 feet; lowest point, Flipping Creek Junction, 2,210 feet.

Norfolk and Western, Crane Creek branch, from Flipping Creek Junction to Mora, Mercer county, 5.3 miles; highest point, Mora, 2,335 feet; lowest point, Widemouth, 2,210 feet.

Norfolk and Western, Widemouth branch, from Crane Creek Junction, Mercer county, to Clark's Gap, 12.3 miles; highest point, Clark's Gap, 2,520 feet; lowest point, Rock, 2,198 feet.

Norfolk and Western, Tug Fork branch, from Welch, McDowell county, to Pageton, 14.6 miles; highest point, Pageton, 1,581 feet; lowest point, Junction Tug Fork branch, 1,295 feet.

Norfolk and Western, Clear Fork branch, from Gordon, McDowell county, to Coalwood, 9 miles; highest point, Coalwood, 1,431 feet; lowest point, Gordon, 1,045 feet.

Norfolk and Western, Dry Fork branch, from Iaeger, McDowell county, to Canebrake, 29.3 miles; highest point, Canebrake, 1,550 feet; lowest point, Iaeger, 978 feet.

Norfolk and Western, Big Sandy branch, from Naugatuck, Mingo county, to Kenova, Wayne county, 59.1 miles; highest point, Naugatuck, 630 feet; lowest point, Cyrus, 561 feet.

Norfolk and Western, Shenandoah division, from Rippon, Jefferson county, to Shepherdstown, 17 miles; highest point, Rippon, 532 feet; lowest point, Shepherdstown, 418 feet.

Cairo and Kanawha railway, from Cairo to Macfarlan, 16 miles; highest point, Mellin, Ritchie county, 1,070 feet; lowest point, Elm Run, 665 feet.

Pittsburgh and Lake Erie railroad, Monongahela division, from the Pennsylvania-West Virginia line to Fairmont, 35 miles; highest point, Fairmont, 883 feet; lowest point, state line, 818 feet.

Greenbrier and Elk River railroad, from Cass to Club House, 22 miles; highest point, Club House, Randolph county, 3,775 feet; lowest point, Cass, Randolph county, 2,455 feet.

Hampshire Southern railroad, from Romney, Hampshire county, to Petersburg, Grant county, 36.7 miles; highest point, Petersburg, 934 feet; lowest point, Romney Junction, 670 feet.

Cumberland Valley railroad, from Falling Waters to Ridgeway, 24 miles; highest point, Ridgeway, Berkeley county, 581 feet; lowest point, Falling Waters, 364 feet.

Baltimore and Ohio railroad, Shenandoah division, from Harpers Ferry to Summit Point, 18 miles; highest point, Summit Point, 626 feet; lowest point, Harpers Ferry, 287 feet.

WEST VIRGINIA'S WATER RESOURCES

Water constitutes a great resource in this state, for power purposes, though development has scarcely touched it. In one respect it differs from coal, oil, and natural gas; it will last forever, while they may be used up and exhausted. The available water power in the state may be calculated with even greater certainty than the coal supply can be figured out; because an element of uncertainty must attach to coal which lies buried and has never been seen; but a flowing river, which remains the same yesterday, today, and forever, can be estimated and measured. There is no reason to believe that much change will take place in the average annual rainfall during the coming centuries which will affect the human race. Each year, as far as we can tell, the rivers of West Virginia will pour down their water as they have done in the past. Man may influence the result to some extent. He might destroy the forests and thereby increase floods and droughts; he may abuse the agricultural soil until it washes into the rivers and clogs their channels; but assuming that men will be sensible, and will do their part, it can be depended upon that West Virginia's rivers will pour down their supply of waters for all time, and always ready to be

BLACKWATER FALLS—TUCKER.

By Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey.

harnessed for the development of power; ready to carry commerce in boats and barges; and ready, if occasion demands, to furnish water to irrigate the valleys and make them more fruitful.

Waterpower has never been given much consideration in this state. Until recently, economic reasons forbade development of this resource on a large scale; that is, there has never been need for power. The sole demand was met when a few crude waterwheels ground the grain of the farmer, and sawed lumber for the rural community. The small streams which pitch over ledges of rocks here and there did that work. The large streams were not called upon. The old grist mill, once a familiar sight in this state, and still common, required from six to twenty horsepower to drive all its machinery. The old sash sawmill used about the same amount. The storage of water for reserve supply, or to increase the head or pressure, was not attempted, further than was afforded by the old-time milldam and its half acre pond. That kind of development served its day and generation; but that day and that generation have passed, and things of a larger kind must provide for the future's needs.

The average annual rainfall in West Virginia, including melted snow, is about 40 inches. The amount is 2,322,295,810,000 cubic feet, enough to fill a reservoir of sixteen square miles and one mile deep. The mass of water is disposed of in two ways. Part of it flows away by the rivers, and part of it evaporates before it reaches the large watercourses. The part which goes out by the rivers is about two-fifths of the whole precipitation, and in a year amounts to a sheet of water 16 inches deep over the entire surface of the State, or approximately 921,842,176,000 cubic feet. The portion which evaporates would equal a sheet of water 24 inches deep over the whole State.

The water which goes off as vapor renders plant growth possible. Part of it is taken in by the roots and after being used by the plant for various purposes, is evaporated through the leaves. But it is the water which gets into the rivers that counts for navigation, waterpower, and other purposes. The theoretical horsepower possible of development from the streams of West Virginia exceeds two million. One half of this should be set aside as not available in practice. In order to utilize the other remaining one million horsepower it would be necessary to develop all the streams, construct reservoirs on the mountain to collect floods, and provide means of maintaining a steady flow all the time. One million horsepower would go a long way toward meeting all the State's needs in that line. The following table shows the amount of power used in West Virginia for the years given:

Year.	*Steam, Horsepower.*	*Water, Horsepower.*	*Total.*
1870	17,176	10,195	27,331
1880	28,456	9,454	37,910
1890	44,680	10,552	55,457
1900	95,595	10,273	108,566

For the purpose of comparison, a similar table for the United States is given:

Year.	*Steam, Horsepower.*	*Water, Horsepower.*	*Total.*
1870	1,215,711	1,130,431	2,346,142
1880	2,185,458	1,225,379	3,410,837
1890	4,662,029	1,263,343	5,954,655
1900	8,742,416	1,727,258	11,300,080

Railroads are not included in these tables. It is important to note that in thirty years, both in West Virginia and in the whole United States, the

use of steam increased from 500 to 700 per cent., while the use of water power remained almost the same for the whole time. The building of railroads made coal cheap and plentiful and it was more convenient to use it than to develop waterpower. Besides, in recent years only has it been found practicable to carry power long distances by electricity. Formerly it was necessary to locate the power plant near the place where the power was to be used, and that generally made waterpower unavailable. It is now practicable to transport power long distances by wire, and this fact ought to open the way for development of waterpower in remote and rugged regions which was impossible a few years ago. Power might be profitably carried by electricity from any point in West Virginia to any other point. Water thus used is a resource which can never be exhausted. It cannot be used up so long as rains fall and rivers flow. West Virginia has a very liberal share of this resource. Its money value cannot be estimated except at so much per horsepower. Taking that at $20 a year, the full development would pay six per cent. on a capitalization of $330,000,000.

The impounding of water in enormous reservoirs by building dams across valleys high in the mountains would not be an experiment. Work of a like kind is being carried on in different parts of the country, especially in the West where the water is made available both for irrigation and power. Some of the dams rank with the world's greatest engineering feats, and they make possible the development of resources which have lain idle in all past time. Reservoirs are being built of sufficient capacity to store the entire flow of a river for many months. West Virginia has many excellent sites for storage reservoirs, some being two thousand or three thousand feet in elevation, others lower. The development of this rsource must, from the nature of the case, take a long time. Power will be produced faster than it can be used.

The construction of systems of dams in the mountain valleys would serve other useful purposes than development of waterpower. The storing of a large part of the storm water would lessen floods in the lower rivers, and much of the usual damage from high waters might be avoided. Extremely low water might be prevented likewise by gradually draining the stored water into the streams in dry weather. The flow of rivers provided with large reservoirs can be regulated as rivers are which flow from and through lakes.

Before electricity was made the vehicle of transmitting energy, the factory and the power plant were necessarily side by side. Science has made it possible, by means of electricity to use power hundreds of miles from the place of generation. This opens a large manufacturing field in West Virginia. It has the power and it may have the factories, or it may supply power to factories in regions beyond its borders.

On a map of the eastern part of the United States, note West Virginia's position. It occupies a mass of mountains with rivers and valleys leading in all directions. That mountain mass, with its water and its coal, is the center to which a large and populous region must look for power—if not now, certainly in the near future. Take the town of Buckhannon, which is approximately the center of the State, as a center, and with a pair of compasses describe a circle whose radius is a line which on the milieage scale represents the distance to which an electrical wire will carry power for practical purposes. The circumscribed circule will be the field tributary to West Virginia's power resources. The circle takes in Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, Indianapolis, Louisville, Cincinnati, Knoxville, Norfolk, Philadelphia, Rochester and Buffalo and all between. The population of the region is 20 millions.

It would be an ideal condition if all the State's power could be used in

UPPER FALLS—LITTLE BLACKWATER.

By Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey.

the State. But if a surplus remains after home demands are supplied, a market outside should be sought. This State holds the key to the manufacturing situation or it will hold it as soon as increased cost of steam coal compels factories to seek cheaper power. The regions east and west of West Virginia do not possess facilities for developing power. They must buy it. The regions north and south, particularly south, are a little more fortunate, but they cannot supply their own needs, and the place of last resort for power users within reach of West Virginia will be West Virginia.

The navigation of West Virginia's rivers is fairly well developed. The work began early. The canoe was first, then the small boat, the barge, and finally the steamer; and accompanying the more advanced stage of development came the locks and dams in most of the navigable streams. Discussing this subject in its report in 1908 the West Virginia Conservation Commission said:

"The ability of the streams of West Virginia to carry commerce is one of the State's most valuable resources. The road to market is the path to prosperity; and the easier and better the road the greater the prosperity. Wealth locked up is no better than poverty. Free exchange of commodities is the life and blood of business growth and national development.

"The United States Government has improved the West Virginia rivers and made them navigable, but the water and the commerce come from this State. It is for that reason to West Virginia's interest to provide water to fill the channels and freight to laden the barges.

"The total extent of navigable water in West Virginia is 748½ miles, according to the figures compiled by the National Bureau of Commerce and Labor. A table showing the mileage of each stream follows:

Monongahela	33 miles.	Guyandotte	50 miles.
Ohio	285 miles.	Big Sandy and Tributaries.	170½ miles.
Great Kanawha	90 miles.		
Little Kanawha	120 miles.	Total	748½ miles.

"Some of this mileage can scarcely apply to boats going up as well as down, but is calculated on the ability of the streams to carry rafts or boats in times of medium flood stages. The Monongahela is considered only from Fairmont to the Pennsylvania line; the Big Sandy, its whole length, and the Ohio along the State border.

"The Federal Goverment has spent large sums improving West Virginia rivers or those receiving their principal supply of water from the mountains of West Virginia. The expenditures from 1790 to 1907 have been as follows:

Big Sandy and Tributaries	$1,445,425 32
Guyandotte	22,500 00
Great Kanawha	4,730,108 02
New River	112,000 00
Gauley	15,000 00
Elk	35,000 00
Little Kanawha	488,844 38
Monongahela, its whole length	6,794,827 40
Ohio, its whole length	24,485,261 26
Buckhannon	5,500 00
Cheat	13,000 00
Total	$38,147,466 39

"The remarkable point in these figures is that approximately one-twelfth of the money spent by the Government, from 1790 to 1907, for the improvement of the rivers and the harbors of the whole country, has been spent upon rivers depending in whole or in part upon West Virginia for their water. Cut off or greatly reduce the flow from the West Virginia plateau region and every one of those rivers would immediately feel the effect, and would become nearly or quite dry. Without water from West Virginia, the Ohio river would dwindle to a stream practically worthless for carrying commerce. As a freight carrier, the Monongahela would be a thing of the past, although it is now one of the largest carriers of freight on the continent. No other territory of five times its size ex-

ercises the influence upon the inland navigation of the United States that is exerted by the West Virginia mountain region.

"It is not in man's power to cut off or lessen to any great extent the total quantity of water flowing year by year from the West Virginia mountains into the streams, but it is within his power to largely control the manner in which the water is furnished. By keeping the mountains forested, a steady supply will be available; but if the woods are destroyed, the water will go down as destructive floods when rain has fallen, and it will as quickly disappear when rains cease—too much at one time, and not enough at another. It is within man's power to protect navigable channels from another danger—that of filling with gravel and mud washed from the land. To accomplish this, the mountains should be kept well covered with woods.

"The commerce on West Virginia rivers, or those depending very largely upon this State for water, is shown in the following table, the figures being for 1906:

Big Sandy	148,623 tons.	Ohio	13,163,656 tons.
Great Kanawha	1,613,889 tons.		
Little Kanawha	106,510 tons.	Total	26,480,122 tons.
Monongahela	11,447,444 tons.		

"This is more than one-fifth of the total river commerce of the United States. There are 282 navigable streams, and the five named above carry 20 per cent. of the freight. Little of it would be carried without the water which flows from the mountains of West Virginia. For that reason, this State is of supreme importance to the Nation's inland water commerce. A greater tonnage originates on the banks of the Monongahela, and is carried by it, than any other river of the Western Hemisphere. A few rivers carry more, but much of it is furnished by tributary streams or comes from the sea. There are, however, only four rivers in the United States which actually carry more than the Monongahela, and two of these, the Ohio and the Mississippi, receive much of their tonnage from the Monongahela, and the other two, the Delaware and the Hudson, receive from the sea much of theirs."

MINERAL SPRINGS

Public resorts are a resource which have a place in industrial history. The mountainous character of West Virginia, and the remarkable distortion of many of the subterranean formations supply conditions favorable for mineral springs, and this region has many. As a general thing, however, the waters issuing from the ground are remarkable for their freedom from ingredients which give them taste and odor. The hard, coarse sandstones which lie near the surface in many parts of the mountain region, are so nearly indissolvable that underground water passes through them and over them without abstracting much from them. In limestone regions, the waters which flow from springs are not so free from foreign substances, though to the eye such waters appear clearer than water from sandstone springs. The "hardness" of limestone water is due to the lime dissolved from the rock and carried in solution in the water.

Mineral springs, as the term is ordinarily used, are different. Lime alone does not convert pure water into mineral water. A mineral water often has lime in it, but it must have something additional, as sulphur, iron, salt, and many others. These are obtained from the rocks or the soil. Spring water enters the ground somewhere as rainwater. It picks up foreign substances along its underground course. It finds the sulphur, salt, iron and whatever else it has, in the rocks, and it leaches them out. When these foreign substances in water are sufficiently abundant to make their presence known to the taste or smell, the water is classed as mineral. West Virginia has many such springs. A number of them are described on following pages, and in some instances analyses of the water are given, and in most instances something of the history of the spring as a resort is added.

White Sulphur Springs—Hunters discovered these springs before the Revolutionary war. They are situated in Greenbrier county, on the line

of the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad. The average quantity of water discharged is about 50,000 gallons a day. It is said that the first bathing convenience provided there was a log hewed hollow, and the water in this trough was heated to the desired temperature by dropping hot rocks in it. The first patient who took advantage of the water's healing properties was carried to that place on a stretcher, forty miles through the woods. The cure credited to that treatment was the beginning of the fame which the springs have acquired. The earliest settler there fell a victim to Indian barbarity during the Dunmore war in 1774. The place was several miles distant from the two early settlements in Greenbrier county, at the Big and Little Levels.

The reputation of the springs for curative properties attracted visitors very early; and long before any railroad was constructed into the region, the stage coaches over the Alleghany mountains carried passengers from the east. Many noted people resorted to the springs, and excellent accommodations were provided for their comfort. The place is only five miles from the summit of the Alleghany mountain, and is surrounded by scenery which perhaps contributes as much to the cure of visitors, and certainly as much to their pleasure, as the medicinal water that flows from the ground. The building of the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad, in 1873 made the White Sulphur Springs accessible to the people of the whole country, and thousands visited them yearly who would never have done so by the old stage coach method. Since that time the place has become a fashionable resort, and many spend portions of their summers there who are attracted more by the pleasures of the society than by the curative properties of the waters.

J. R. Dodge, writing in 1865, said in his book "West Virginia."

"The famous White Sulphur Spring is situated a few miles west of the height of the Alleghany, in a beautiful valley of half a mile in breadth, gradually widening in graceful undulations westward. This was the great pleasure resort of the South before the war, swarming with visitors, many in search of amusement, some courting the goddess Hygeia, pledging her often in full bumpers dashed with sulphate of lime, sulphate of magnesia, sulphate of soda, carbonate of lime, carbonate of magnesia, chloride of magnesum, chloride of sodium, chloride of calcium, peroxide of iron, phosphate of lime, sulphate and hydrate of sodium, precipitated sulphur, iodine, and flavored with various gases. It is not strange that dyspepsia, scrofula, rheumatism, and neuralgia should flee at the approach of a drugstore depository in epitome."

Berkeley Springs—In point of age, these springs are first in West Virginia, for they were well known at a very early period, though the name of the actual discoverer has not been preserved. They were first known as warm springs, though their temperature is only about 70 degrees, which of course does not place them in the same class with hot springs. Within twelve years after William Mayo, the old Virginia surveyor, passed up the Potomac, three miles distant, exploring as he went, and locating the boundary of Lord Fairfax's land, these springs were well known. George Washington, in the course of his first western tour, visited the place and spoke of the springs as famous, even at that early date. It is probable, however, that their fame at that time had not traveled very far. They were at first called Warm Springs, then Bath Springs, and afterwards Berkeley Springs, so called for Narbonne Berkeley, governor of Virginia some years before the Revolutionary war.

Lord Fairfax who owned the land, vested the title in Virginia, in order that the public might enjoy the springs with as few restrictions as possible. They remained the property of the state until June 20, 1863, when West Virginia, by becoming a separate state, succeeded to the proprietorship, and they have since remained the property of this state.

By 1776 a sufficient number of people had built houses in the vicinity of the springs to form a village, and the Virginia legislature established the town of Warm Springs. Lots in the town were offered for sale, and one of the terms was that each purchaser of a lot must within one year, build a house on it not less than twelve feet square, and conforming to certain specifications as to roof and chimney. Nine years afterwards it was shown that some of the purchasers of lots had not fulfilled the contract by building the houses, and they were granted an extension of time.

After the Revolution many prominent Virginians and Marylanders bought lots and built houses at the Berkeley Springs and spent part of their summers there. Among such were General Adam Stephen, General Horatio Gates who won the battle of Saratoga, Charles Carroll of Maryland, and General Washington. The brother of George Washington, Lawrence, had spent considerable time there years before, in hope of restoring his broken health. It was past restoring, and he died a few years later. George Washington built a house and a stable at the springs, and occupied them occasionally when the cares of public life permitted him to take a summer vacation.

In 1820 the seat of justice for Morgan county was located at the springs, and has since remained there. A branch railroad has been built from the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, opposite Hancock, Maryland, to the Springs, and the place has long been one of the most popular resorts in West Virginia. The property is controlled by a board of trustees appointed by the governor.

Three miles from Berkeley Springs, on Warm Spring run, are Orich's sulphur springs near the road that leads to Hancock. The water is about fifteen degrees warmer than that of Berkeley Springs.

Red Sulphur Springs—These springs are in Monroe county, on Indian creek, twelve miles from Lowell Station, the nearest point on the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad. Visitors have patronized these waters for more than a century, and much has been said of their healing properties. They are forty miles from the White Sulphur Springs. The water is clear, and has a temperature of 54 degrees. According to analysis made many years ago, a gallon of the water contains 4.54 cubic inches of sulphuretted hydrogen, 8.75 inches of carbonic acid, and 4.25 inches of nitrogen. There is in addition sulphate of soda, magnesia, carbonate of lime, and chloride of sodium in the water. The Virginia legislature took steps to establish a town there to be called Fontville. The county of Botetourt at that time included the region in which the Red Sulphur Spring are located. It was added to Monroe county in 1802. The proposed townsite contained 65 acres. The sale of lots was authorized, and trustees were appointed to lay them off and attend to their sale. One hundred were surveyed. Each purchaser was required to build within a certain time a house sixteen feet square on his lot; it must be of stone, brick, or wood with a stone or brick chimney, and was to be made habitable. It was clearly the purpose of the legislature that the proposed town should not become a manufacturing place, but must remain a choice residence village; for one of the restrictions was that there should be no butcher stalls, tan yards, distilleries, or a place in which to carry on any other business, occupation, or profession, that would annoy the inhabitants. The citizens were required to provide suitable baths for the accommodation of all persons who might resort to the springs.

The town did not materialize as the legislature planned, but accommodations for patrons and visitors were provided, and the place has been popular for more than a hundred years.

Salt Sulphur Springs—These are located on Indian creek, Monroe county, near Union, fourteen miles from Fort Spring station, on the

Chesapeake and Ohio railroad. Several other minerals springs are in the vicinity, differing from one another in chemical properties. The scenery in the vicinity is attractive, and the place became a popular resort many years ago.

Old Sweet Sulphur Springs, in Monroe county, are only a few miles from the Virginia state line, and ten miles from Alleghany station on the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad, in Virginia. These springs were among the earliest to attract attention in the whole region, and were known before the White Sulphur Springs. Improvements for the comfort of visitors were commenced many years ago, and have been carried out and maintained to keep them equal to demand. A number of substantial summer homes have been built in the vicinity. The chemical ingredients of the water of the springs are exceedingly complex, and it is claimed that a wide range of ailments are benefited by the use of the water for drinking purposes and for baths. The water has a temperature ranging from 72 to 76 degrees. The springs flow from a fertile valley at the base of Pott's mountain, and the surroundings are attractive. Most of the buildings connected with the resort are constructed of brick, and are substantial in character.

Capon Springs—The existence of these springs was known from early times, and the medicinal properties of the water here attracted many thousand visitors. The accommodations are ample for seven or eight hundred at a time, and the limit is often reached. Many prominent men have been guests at the resort, which is situated at the western base of North mountain, and on the east side of Capon river in Hampshire county. The nearest railroad point to the springs is Capon Road Station on the Valley branch of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. The springs were once known as Frye's Springs, from their discoverer Henry Frye, who brought his wife here in 1776 as the first patient to test the efficacy of the mineral waters. The flow of water is about 6,000 gallons an hour, and the temperature 64 degrees. The water contains silicic acid, soda, magnesia, bromine, iodine, and carbonic acid. It is used both for drinking and for baths. The tradition often recited in the region, that in early times the Indians for hundreds of miles around resorted to the springs to be cured of diseases which were beyond the skill of their medicine men, has absolutely no foundation in history. The tradition is of modern origin, and dates long after the springs were discovered by Frye in 1775; and long before that time the last Indian had departed from that region to return no more.

Webster Springs are so named because they are in Webster county, and the region is one of the wildest, most picturesque, and most mountainous in West Virginia. For many years after the medicinal properties of the water were well known, the almost inaccessible position prevented many from going. Until about 1850 there was no railroad within a hundred miles, and no good road, connected with the east and west, nearer than a long day's journey. Long after the Baltimore and Ohio railroad reached Clarksburg, which for nearly thirty years was the nearest railroad station, the springs remained almost unvisited by the general public; but finally a railroad passed within sixteen miles, and later, a branch was built to the springs. By that time thousands were in the habit of resorting there annually.

The earliest patrons of the springs were the deer and the buffalo. These animals were attracted by the salt in the water, and hunters discovered the springs by following the tracks of animals which converged at that point. The mountaineers within reach of the place patronized the springs half a century before the general public was attracted by their advantages. Nature in the vicinity is nearly as wild as ever, but civilization

has done its best to make the resort attractive, and a neat village, with notels, cottages, and a sanatarium has grown up at the place.

The springs are 1,430 feet above sea level, and the tops of the surrounding mountains rise from 1,000 to 1,500 feet higher. The Elk river flows past the village, and it is still one of the few mountain streams of the state which has not been much contaminated by the waste from mines and mills. The water of the springs contains chloride of magnesia, silica, chloride of calcium, chloride of lithia, chloride of sodium, sulphur, iron, and alumina.

Shenondale Springs—This popular resort is in Jefferson county, five miles east of Charlestown, at a bend in the Shenandoah river known as the Horseshoe The place became popular about 1820 when accommodations for visitors were provided. The beauty of the surrounding region is not the least attraction. The curative property of the water is well established. Analysis shows that it contains the following ingredients: Carbonate of lime, sulphate of lime, sulphate of magnesia, chloride of magnesium, chloride of sodium, sulphate of iron, carbonate of iron, sulphuretted hydrogen, and carbonic acid. The temperature of the water is 55 degrees. Three springs constitute the group, a red and a blue sulphur and a chalybeate.

Other Mineral Springs—A complete list of all the mineral springs in West Virginia has never been compiled, and is practically impossible. The number is very large, and most of the springs have never attracted attention, except in a very local way. Only some of the most noted have been described, and there are many others with curative properties of undoubted value. The Hardy White sulphur springs, fourteen miles south of Moorefield, at the base of South Branch mountain, have been a place of resort for three-quarters of a century. The water has a temperature of 48 to 50 degrees, and flows sixty-five gallons per hour. A sulphur spring near Romney, Hampshire county, has been patronized, but not as a resort, for a century and a half. A magnesia spring on Howard's creek, Greenbrier county, has seventeen ingredients as shown by analysis. The Mineral Wells near Parkersburg contain numerous ingredients, as shown when the water is analyzed. Among other springs in the state, well known on account of the curative properties of their water, are the Pence springs in Greenbrier county; Yellow springs, Hunter's springs, and Crimson springs in Monroe county; and Guinn's springs in Fayette county.

GLASS

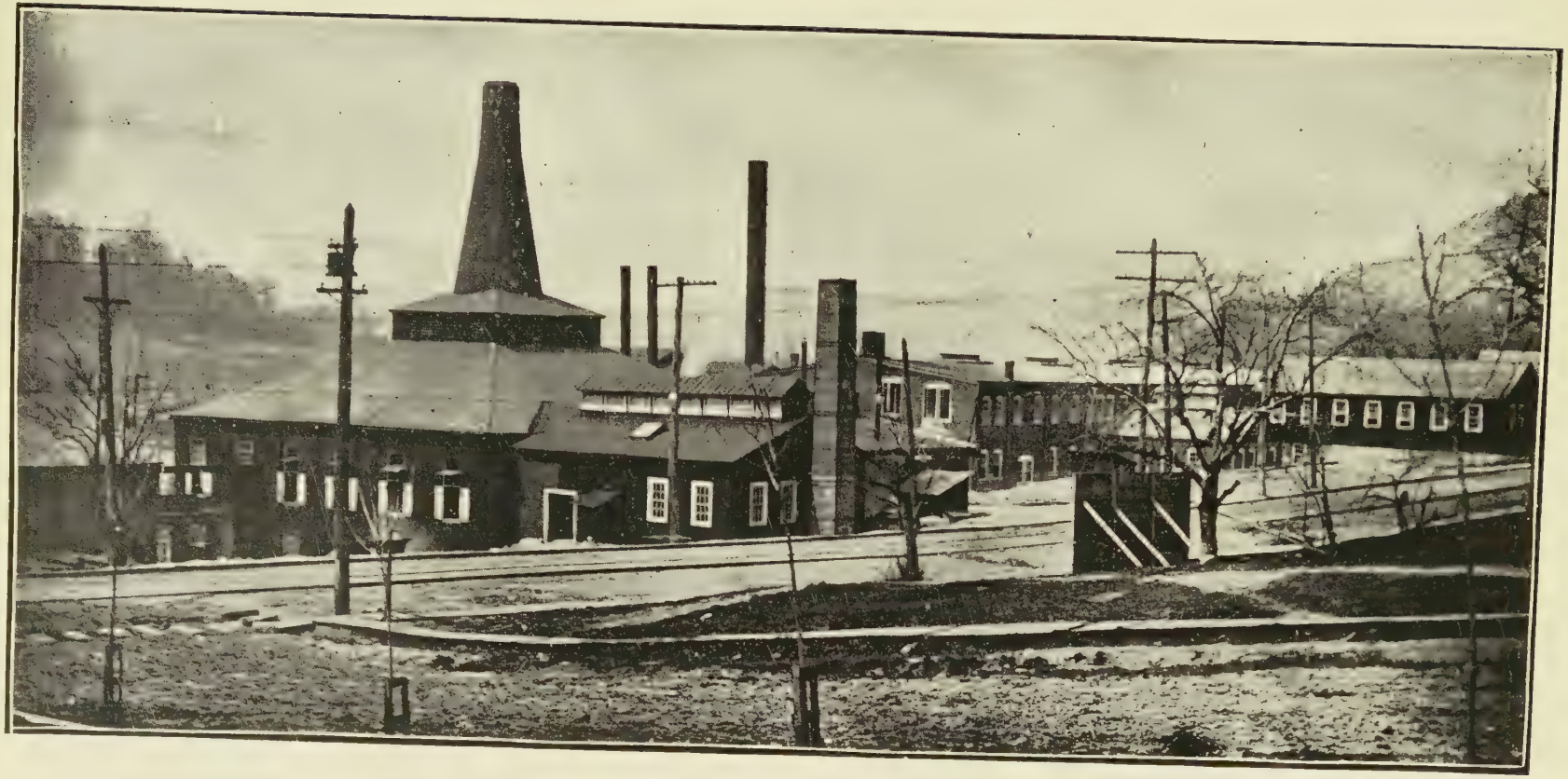
The abundance of natural gas in West Virginia attracted many glass factories in the years following the development of the gas and its application to manufacturing purposes. Heat for fusing the materials is one of the chief items of cost in glass making, and gas proved to be not only very cheap, but suitable in every way. It contributed much to the excellence of the manufactured product. There are seven kinds or qualities of glass, according to Linton who listed them in the Mineral Industry of the United States, 1899, Vol. 8.

Polished plate, including all glass cast upon a smooth plate, rolled with a roller, annealed, and then ground and polished;

Rough plate, including all glass cast as the last, but not ground or polished;

Window glass, including all glass blown in cylinders, and afterwards cut and flattened out and polished while hot. It is used for glazing, and for pictures and mirrors;

Green glass, including all the commoner kinds of glass, though not always green in color. It is used in the manufacture of bottle, carboys, fruit jars;



THE SENECA GLASS WORKS.

Crown glass, including glass blown in spherical form and flattened to a disk shape by centrifugal motion of a blowing pipe;

Lime flint glass, including the finer grades of bottles used by the prescription trade, tumblers, and certain lines of pressed table ware;

Lead flint glass, including all the finest products of glass manufacture, as fine cut glass, table ware, optical glass, and artificial gems.

Different kinds of glass are composed of ingredients which vary greatly, except that sand is common to all. The following table gives the proportions by weight of the different ingredients:

	Plate Glass.	*Window Glass.*	*Green Bottle.*	*Lead Flint.*
Sand	100	100	100	100
Salt Cake	00	42	38	00
Soda ash	36	00	00	00
Limestone	24	40	34	00
Carbon	00.75	6	5	00
Arsenic	1	2	00	0.15
Potash	00	00	00	34
Redlead	00	00	00	48
Niter	00	00	00	6
Manganese	00	00	00	0.06
Antimony	00	00	00	0.02

It is seen from this table that sand is the most important material in the mixture, and forms from 52 to 62 per cent. of all; but no glass is made wholly of sand. It is essential that sand of good quality be abundant and cheap, if the manufacture of glass is to be profitably carried on. West Virginia has an abundance of pure limestone which is crushed at Martinsburg to supply this trade. There are at several points in the state almost inexhaustible quantities of excellent glass sand. It not only supplies most of the factories in West Virginia, but is shipped to other states. In bulletin 285 of the United States Geological Survey, notes on the selection and test of glass sands are given, from which the following extract is taken:

"To the sand is due the absence of color (according to its purity), the transparency, brilliancy, and hardness of the glass. In other words, the hardness of the glass depends largely on the quality of the sand. For the finest flint ware, such as optical and cut glass, water-whiteness, absolute transparency, great brilliancy, and uniform density are required, and only the purest sand can be employed, since slight impurities, especially small quantities, of iron, tend to destroy these effects. For plate and window glass, which are commonly pale green, absolute purity is not so essential; but generally the sand should not carry more than two per cent. of ferric oxide. Green and amber glass for bottles, jars, and rough structural work, can be made from sand relatively high in impurities. An excess of the chief impurity, iron, is usually avoided in the quarries by a careful selection of the whitest sand, although the whitest sand is not invariably the purest. Repeated washings tend to remove the iron. Clay materials are objectionable because they cloud the glass. Magnesia, which is more apt to be introduced into the glass materials through limestone than through sand, is troublesome, because it renders the sand less fusible."

A number of plants for the development of West Virginia's glass sands have been installed. Brief accounts of some of them follow:

Hancock Plant—The most important center of glass sand in West Virginia is in the vicinity of Berkeley Springs in Morgan county, where the Oriskany white sandstone appears at the surface near the summit of Worm Spring ridge. Glass sand quarries have long been operated in that district. The ridge extends from the Potomac river opposite Handcock, Maryland, southwest for a distance of eight or ten miles. It has an elevation of 700 to 1,000 feet. The Hancock sand plant is located one mile west of the station of that name on the Bal-

timore & Ohio railroad, and the quarry is three-fourths of a mile southwest of the mill. It has been operated more than forty years. The stone is easily crushed. The capacity of the plant is 150 tons of sand daily.

Berkeley Plant—This is located four miles from Hancock on the railroad to Berkeley Springs. The plant's capacity is 180 tons of glass sand daily.

West Virginia Plant—This mill and quarry are located a mile and a half south of the Berkeley Springs plant. The quarry was opened in 1900.

Pittsburgh Plant—The daily capacity of this plant is 400 tons. It is located three-quarters of a mile south of the West Virginia, and was opened in 1905.

Speer Plant—This was built in 1905, has a daily capacity of 140 tons, and is located half a mile north of Berkeley Springs.

Berkeley Springs Plant—This was built in 1891 in the town of Berkeley Springs, and has a capacity of 85 tons of glass sand daily. The combined capacity of the glass sand plants in this district was 955 tons daily in 1909.

White Rock Sand Plant—This plant is located in Preston county three miles east of Terra Alta, and commenced operations in 1906. Its capacity is 200 tons daily. The sand stratum is the upper member of the Pottsville Conglomerate.

Decker's Creek Sand Plant—Nine miles southeast of Morgantown, and located on the Morgantown and Kingwood railroad is the Decker's Creek Sand Plant with a capacity of 90 tons daily. Both building and glass sand are prepared for market. The stratum is the upper member of the Pottsville Conglomerate.

Silica Sand Plant—This plant was built in 1905, and is located in Upshur county, four miles northwest of Pickens. The daily capacity is 150 tons. The stratum is the Homewood or Roaring Creek.

Enterprise Silica Sand Plant—At the town of Silica, in Upshur county, is located this plant, which began operations in 1904.

A glass factory, using a thirty-six blower tank, will use about 3,600 tons of sand in a working year of about six months, and about 750 tons of limestone.

SLATE

In 1904 work was commenced in Berkeley county, near Martinsburg, looking to the development of a slaty formation covering twenty-five or thirty square miles of surface. Considerable work was done and some of the product was placed on the market. Experts declared, however, that the rock was not true slate, but a shale, and that the output would not do for roofing slate because it cracked under exposure to the weather. It was pronounced satisfactory as an interior slate. The formation is known as the Martinsburg shales, and it seems to be a slate in process of formation, that is, the process came to an end before the shale had fully changed to slate. The process will never be completed. The slow agencies of geology have ceased to work to that end. Shale, which is a soft sedimentory rock, usually in thin layers, and fine in texture, is changed to slate by pressure and heat. The pressure is supplied by the thrust which folds mountain ranges, and the heat is supplied from the interior of the earth, or is mechanically developed by the pressure. One of the characteristics of slate is its cleavage. It splits into slabs. The cleavage is often directly across or perpendicular to the original bedding plane of the shale. That is supposed to be due to the pressure which acts endwise upon the beds of shale—that is, the push is from each end.

This results in flattening the particles and develops a new plane of cleavage. The Martinsburg shales split fairly well. The most extensive work that had been done up to 1909, was by the Shenandoah Slate Company, of Washington, D. C. The material was used in interior decoration work with satisfactory results. Large slabs were obtained, and they took a good polish.

IRON

In a former chapter of this book the early history of the iron industry was given for the region now embraced in West Virginia. That history belongs to the old period of iron mining and reducing when things were done on a small scale and by primitive methods. Mining was carried on and furnaces were built and operated in many parts of the state. They produced iron in sufficient quantity to meet local demand, and there was not much need to produce more, for the transportation facilities were so primitive that long distance shipments could not be made. Every region, almost every locality, was under the necessity of supplying itself with iron, or get along without it. Under conditions then existing. West Virginia fared fairly well. Iron could be mined and reduced about as cheaply here as anywhere. Ore was abundant and wood for fuel was cheap.

That condition did not last. Enormous deposits of very rich iron ore were discovered about Lake Superior and elsewhere, and the construction of railroads and the equipment of steamers distributed the ore to the markets. Iron deposits such as West Virginia has could not meet that competition. The Lake Superior iron could be laid down at Pittsburg, Wheeling, or Cumberland, for less than the West Virginia ore could be delivered at the furnace ready for smelting. The only thing for the West Virginians to do was to shut down their iron mines, and they still remain closed. The old chimney stacks may be seen in all stages of dilapidation, and some have disappeared. They will never have fire in them again, for that type of furnace is a thing of the past.

Though the old furnaces have been shut down forever, there is a future for the iron industry in this state. The time will come when the superabundance of high grade ore in other regions has become somewhat lessened, and when better methods have been provided for mining and reducing the low grade ores in this state. At the present time an inventory of West Virginia's iron ore resources is the best that can be done. The data for a complete summing up are not available. The several iron districts of the state are fairly well surveyed, but the volumes of ore in the ground have not been measured, and only in a few cases have they been estimated. A systematic reconnaisance was made by the West Virginia Geological Survey, and was published in Volume 4 of the Survey in 1909. This brought together all the available information on the iron deposits, and gave a summary of the history of early development. But in most instances it was not found possible to measure the volume of ore in a district, because the necessary prospecting had not been carried on to show the thickness, length, and depth of ore bodies. In one instance only was this undertaken on a large scale. That was in Pendleton county, where some measurements were made. On page 169 of Volume 4 of the State Geological Survey, the following account is given of an attempt to measure a deposit of iron:

"In the South Fork mountain, the Clinton red hematite ore bed can be followed from near the south line of the county to within a few miles of the north line, a distance of 24 miles, by outcrops and prospect openings more or less separated from each other. Where outcrops were not found, loose pieces of float ore have indicated the presence of the bed at a number of places.

"The maximum width reported is six feet, but the maximum measured at the present work was thirty inches at the south, twenty inches at the center, and twenty-eight or thirty inches at the north. If the average thickness be taken at twenty-four inches, and if it is assumed that the bed is continuous and workable to a depth of 700 feet, there would be in this red hematite bed in South Fork mountain in Pendleton county, about 6,750,000 cubic yards of ore. If one cubic yard of this ore weighs three tons, there would be 19,710,000 tons of ore, which would last three blast furnaces with 500 tons each daily capacity, over 40 years. If a value of one dollar a ton be placed on this ore it would represent a value of $19,710,000 for one of the undeveloped resources of this county, not including the value of other iron ores also present."

The same report speaks of another iron deposit in Pendleton county, the Oriskany, as follows:

"It would be at the present time, useless to estimate the quantity of available ore, as such an estimate would not be founded on proved facts. It might, however, be of interest to look at the possibilities, which are certainly sufficient to justify a company opening along these contact lines. The ore where it could be measured was 12 to 15 feet wide, and it has been followed to a depth of 25 or 30 feet and not any indication of the bottom of the bed. If there should be a bed of this ore averaging 10 feet in width and 60 feet in depth over one half of the length of the outcrop, this would yield 10,000,000 tons of ore, which would last two 500-ton furnaces thirty years.

"Within the area of Pendleton county there are three groups of ores; the Clinton red fossil hematite which, on a conservative estimate, should yield nearly 20,000,000 tons of ore; the non-fossileferous red hematite of the Clinton, which has been opened only at a few places; and the Oriskany brown hematite which will furnish a large quantity of ore, but lack of openings will not permit a reliable estimate. There is here fine opportunity for valuable prospecting work with the great possibility of exposing large ore deposits. There is ore enough in sight to justify development if a railroad was available."

Pendleton is but one of several counties in the state that are known to have iron ore in considerable amounts. The old iron furnaces are proof of this, and they are scattered over much of the state. Some regions, however, are known to be much richer than others. Grant and Hardy counties lie north of Pendleton. Formations known to bear iron extend entirely across Grant from north to south, following the general courses of the mountains and rivers. The necessary tunnels and openings have not been made to uncover the ore beds and determine their extent and nature, but in certain places the iron-bearing rock is abundant. Fanny Furnace was operated many years ago in this county, and experienced no lack of ore.

The same ores that cross Grant county extend into Mineral, but it is not possible to say what their value may be. Hardy county lies east of Grant, and large iron deposits are known to exist within its borders. Furnaces were operated there many years ago, the final shut down of the last one taking place in 1882. In one locality an estimate places two and a half millions of tons of ore within a given area. Hampshire county was an important iron region nearly a hundred years ago, and many mines were once opened, and numerous prospects were made; but all the works have long since fallen into decay, and it is not known what amount of ore may lie within the earth waiting for the time when the beds can be profitably worked.

The same situation exists west of the Alleghanies. Greenbrier, Monroe, Pocahontas, Randolph, and Barbour counties have iron, and it is known to exist in many other localities.

BUILDING STONES

In almost all parts of West Virginia stones suitable for building purposes are abundant. It could not well be otherwise in a region with so much rock exposed or just below the surface. All stone, however, is not

suitable for building purposes, for many conditions must be met. The stone must be solid, and free from cracks and defects; it must be hard enough to resist the action of weather for long periods; it must be strong enough to carry the load placed upon it; and it should be handsome in appearance, if used for work which will be exposed to view. Another matter to be considered in selecting a stone quarry is convenience to rail or water transportation unless the market is near at hand. Stone is heavy and cannot go far unless good transportation is available. If a stone is very hard, the cost of cutting it will be too great. When all of these matters, and many others, are considered, it becomes apparent that an exposure of stone on some hillside is not necessarily a good place to open a quarry. Those who have observed the operation of a quarry and have noted the large quantity of waste material that must be removed, can understand how necessary it is to select locations and formations with care. Some quarries have four or five tons of waste where they use one ton of stone.

The stone business is small as yet in West Virginia. It is not one-fifth that of the small state of Vermont. The value of quarried limestone (which is not employed directly for building purposes) is much greater in this state than the value of the sandstone taken out for building purposes. The United States Geological Survey's report on mineral resources in 1907 credited West Virginia with $855,941 worth of limestone, and $197,926 of sandstone products for the year. The sandstone products were itemized thus:

Rough building stone	$46,263	Road making	240
Dressed building stone	59,609	Railroad ballast	1,220
Paving stone	3,085	Concrete	27,845
Curbing	12,038	Other uses	704
Rubble	42,021		
Riprap	4,901	Total	$197,926

The same source gives the value of sandstone products in the state for the years 1890 to 1907 both inclusive:

1890	$140,687	1899	$33,863
1891	90,000	1900	72,438
1892	85,000	1901	103,010
1893	46,135	1902	423,532
1894	63,865	1903	252,204
1895	40,000	1904	287,381
1896	24,693	1905	171,309
1897	47,288	1906	113,369
1898	14,381	1907	197,926

No very large stone quarries are operated in this state, but there are numerous small ones which meet local demands for stone, and in several instance ship their products beyond the state. A list of all the quarries which have been operated in West Virginia is not practicable within the limited space which can be given the subject here, and much less is it practicable to deal with local history. Some of the more important quarries in several of the counties follow. The facts are taken chiefly from Volume 4 of the West Virginia Geological Survey, by G. P. Grimsley.

Barbour County—The Poling quarry a mile and a half southwest of Philippi was opened some years ago on the farm of A. G. Dayton. It is operated in the Buffalo sandstone of the Conemaugh series.

The Woods quarry, on the farm of S. V. Woods, one mile east of Philippi, has supplied stone for local use. It is in the Upper Freeport sandstone, in the Allegheny series.

Cady and Shield quarry, a mile south of Belington, was opened pri-

marily to supply stone for the Coal and Coke railroad bridge across Tygart's river. It is in the Upper Freeport sandstone, Allegheny series.

The Haskins quarry was opened in 1896, at Junior, fourteen miles west of Elkins. It was operated ten years, in the Roaring Creek sandstone, Pottsville series.

The Riverside quarry, originally opened by L. M. Viquesny, in 1895, is situated on the line of the Western Maryland railroad two miles east of Junior, and operates in the Roaring Creek sandstone, Pottsville series.

Braxton County—The Gassaway quarries, one mile west of the town of Gassaway on the Coal and Coke railroad, supply local trade. The stone is of greenish-brown color. Little powder is used and the stone is worked by wedges. It is the Morgantown sandstone of the Conemaugh series.

The Shade and McCale quarry is near Gassaway, and the rock is a greenish gray. The Catholic and Presbyterian churches at Gassaway were built of this stone. It is the Morgantown sandstone.

The Simmons quarry is at Frametown on the Coal and Coke railroad, and is in the Buffalo sandstone of the Conemaugh series.

Brooke County—The quarry near Wellsburg, where the Bethany pike passes under the trolley road, has been worked many years to supply local demand. It is in the Saltzburg sandstone of the Conemaugh series.

Cabell County—The Bennett quarry is two miles southwest of Huntington, and is in the Morgantown sandstone, Conemaugh series.

Hancock County—Casparis quarry is located half a mile above the mouth of Kings creek and four miles south of New Cumberland. It was opened in 1891. It is one of the largest quarries in the state and ships four or five carloads of stone a day during the working season. It is used for bridge piers, culverts, and building stone. It is the Lower Freeport sandstone, Pottsville series.

The Toronto Pulp and Grindstone quarry is one mile below New Cumberland. It has been used for building purposes, grindstones, glass cutting wheels, and for pulp mills. The pulp mill stone is cut 54 inches in diameter with a 27 inch face, and the glass-grinding stone as large as 72 inches in diameter with a 12 inche face. It is the Lower Freeport sandstone.

Harrison County—The McGeorge quarry was opened in 1900 on the top of a high hill one mile south of Clarksburg. Much of the stone is crushed for concrete. It is the Uniontown sandstone of the Monongahela series.

The Jackson quarry is located on top of Pinnickinnick hill, and has been worked about forty years. It is used for foundations, trimmings, and walls. The Presbyterian church at Clarksburg was built of this stone in 1893, and the Lowndes bank building was trimmed with it in 1896. It was used in building the wall round the Jackson home at Clarksburg. It is the Uniontown sandstone.

The Porter Smith quarry one mile below Farnum Station and seven miles from Clarksburg, supplied much bridge stone for the railroad. It is the Connellsville sandstone of the Conemaugh series.

Jackson County—The Hoover and Kinnear quarry is near Muses Bottom, a station on the Ohio River railroad 26 miles below Parkersburg, and was opened in 1893. This stone was used in the piers of the elevated track of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad at Wheeling. It is the Waynesburg sandstone of the Dunkard series.

The Murray Brothers quarry was opened in 1899 at Murrayville. The stone has been used in the Baltimore and Ohio railroad at Wheeling, and for other building. It is Waynesburg sandstone.

Kanawha County—The Sattes quarry is located at St. Albans, twelve miles west of Charleston, and its product goes into building stone and grindstones. Rock for the Kanawha river locks were quarried nearby. The stone is shipped to Charleston and other points. It is the St. Albans sandstone of the Conemaugh series.

The Coal and Coke railroad quarry on Elk river near Charleston supplied large quantities of ballast for the railroad. Stone was formerly quarried there to build locks and dams on the Kanawha river. It is in the Allegheny series.

The Patrick Ryan quarry is one mile northeast of Charleston. It has been in operation over twenty years, and when in full operation it has turned out from 100 to 200 tons of crushed stone daily. It is in the Allegheny series.

The Savage quarry at the north end of Capitol street, Charleston, is one of the oldest quarries in that vicinity. The stone is used for building purposes and is crushed for concrete. A cubic yard of this stone is said to weigh 2,700 pounds. It is in the Pottsville series, but the stone is uncertain, and may be Buffalo, Mahoning, or Freeport.

The Kanawha quarry was opened seventy-five years ago on the Ruffner farm southeast of Charleston at the Alum Springs station of the Kanawha and Michigan railroad. It is the Coalburg sandstone in the Pottsville series.

Lewis County—The Donlan quarry is located north of Weston and was formerly known as the Abe Hale quarry. The stone is the Connellsville, of the Conemaugh series, and it is used for building purposes.

The Garret quarry is near the Baltimore and Ohio passenger station at Weston, and is in the Connellsville sandstone. The stone at the quarry is of greenish color and is very fine grained.

Marion County—The Charlton quarry in the west edge of the town of Mannington has supplied the town with stone for several years. The stone is of greenish gray color and is in the Dunkard series, and is the Mannington sandstone.

The Wilcox quarry at Downs, four miles east of Mannington, is in the Waynesburg sandstone, Dunkard series.

The Georges Creek Coal and Iron Company quarry is at Underwood, three miles east of Downs. Some of the stone has been used in the towns, but its general use has been by the coal company for houses, mine buildings, and Coke ovens. It is the Waynesburg sandstone.

The Conoway quarry, near Barracksville, has been worked, or other quarries nearby in the same formation have been worked for many years. Much of the stone has gone to Fairmont where it is used for buildings and bridge work. The retaining wall of the Fairmont depot was constructed of this stone in 1897; and the new piers (and also the old ones) of the bridge spanning the Monongahela river were built of this material which is the Waynesburg sandstone.

The Lilley quarry on Washington street, Fairmont, is in the Upper Pittsburgh sandstone, Monongahela series.

The Ice quarry east of Fairmont, supplies much of the building stone used in the city. It is mined chiefly by wedges, very little powder being used. It is the Upper Pittsburgh sandstone, Monongahela series. Some years ago the company worked a quarry a few blocks nearer town.

Mason County—The Charles quarry at Point Pleasant was opened about 1889. The stone weathers to a buff color. It belongs to the Upper Pittsburgh sandstone, the Monongahela series.

Mineral County—The Brydon ganister quarry at Bloomington was opened in 1900. In the shipping season 25 or 30 cars of stone are shipped a month. It is in the Connellsville series. That is the only ganister rock

quarry in the state, though there are many other places where such a rock could be obtained. Ganister rock is a siliceous sandstone which is refractory, and is used in lining Bessimer converters in manufacture of steel. The Bloomington rock has proved very satisfactory for this purpose, and the principal shipments go to Pittsburgh. The stone is quarried entirely for ganister and firestone. It is gray to grayish white in color, and varies from fine to coarse grain in texture and is very hard. The rock is party broken by sledges into blocks eight or ten inches thick, and is further broken by dropping a heavy iron weight raised by a derrick. On chemical analysis, the rock is found to be more than 96 per cent. insoluble silica.

Monongalia County—The Cox quarry one mile southwest of Morgantown was opened more than fifty years ago. It furnished a large part of the piers of the old suspension bridge over the Monongahela river at Morgantown, and after more than half a century of use they were found in such excellent condition that when the new bridge was built, the contractor went back to the old quarry to procure stone for the new piers. It is the Connellsville sandstone of the Conemaugh series.

The Zevely quarry northeast of Morgantown furnished the stone for many of the buildings in the city; for the old buildings of the West Virginia University; and it is the type locally of the Morgantown sandstone. It is of the Conemaugh series.

The Gaston quarry at Morgantown is near the Zevely quarry and is of similar formation.

The Christian quarry is located on the west bank of the Monongahela river a short distance above Morgantown. It is the Buffalo sandstone, Conemaugh series.

The Keck quarry in the Buffalo sandstone, is located on the west bank of the Monongahela river at Morgantown. Stone from this quarry was used in building the president of the university's house at Morgantown, and also the New Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Gowing quarry near Dellslow furnished stone used in the Baltimore and Ohio railroad tunnel on the Cumberland cut-off line. Some of it was used for street curbing in Morgantown. It is the uppermost portion of the Pottsville sandstone.

The Decker's Creek Sand Company quarry at Sturgisson is nine miles east of Morgantown on the Morgantown and Kingwood railroad. The stone is crushed for building purposes and for glass sand. It breaks in blocks. The grains are loosely cemented, and it is easily crushed. It is the Roaring Creek sandstone, of the Pottsville series.

Monroe County—The Alderson Brownstone quarry, near Alderson, is three miles from the station of Mohler on the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad. The stone has been used as far west as Charleston, and as far east as Richmond, as a building material. Blocks of this stone are cut seven inches wide, three thick, and ten long, and are employed in large quantities for street paving, and have gone as far west as Columbus, O. The stone is hard enough to give good wearing qualities. A similar red sandstone was worked for many years near Hinton, Summers county. An analysis shows a rather high percentage of iron and alumina. It is a lower Carboniferous sandstone.

Pleasants County—The Rigg's quarry is located at the lower edge of the town of St. Marys in Tanyard hollow. It is probably the Uniontown sandstone of the Monongahela series.

Preston County—The Gocella quarry at Albright was opened in 1907 and the stone was used in the abutments of the new Baltimore and Ohio railroad bridge near Rowlesburg. It is the Saltzburg sandstone of the Conemaugh series. A quarry in the same stone a mile west of King-

wood furnished much of the curbing used in paving the streets of Morgantown.

The Stoer quarry near Manheim, and five miles below Rowlesburg on Cheat river, is in a blue and buff sandstone. It was used for the buildings of the Buckhorn Portland Cement Company's plant at Manheim. It is the Mauch Chunk sandstone of the lower Carboniferous.

The Rowlesburg quarry is in the Rowlesburg sandstone, a Devonian formation, in the edge of the village of Rowlesburg on the bank of Cheat river. It is considered one of the most attractive building stones in the state. It was used in the trimmings of the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, and in some of the bank buildings of that city. In one of these bank buildings near the center of the burnt district in Baltimore, this stone passed through the great conflagration with but little injury. It is now shipped in carload lots to Philadelphia and New York. The quarry was first opened about 1850.

Ritchie County—The Zinn and Moats quarries near Harrisville have been worked for some years. The Zinn quarry is just west of the town, and the Moats quarry half a mile southwest. This stone was used for ornaments for the First National bank at Harrisville.

Taylor County—The Ramsey and Stork quarry across the river from Fetterman was opened in 1907. It is in the Buffalo sandstone, Conemaugh series. An older quarry was located in a ravine near the old distillery about half a mile from Fetterman.

The Willhide quarry, a mile west of Grafton, is in the Buffalo sandstone. The product has been used for building purposes in Grafton.

At the eastern edge of Grafton is located the Stozenfels quarry, in the Buffalo sandstone. This stone was used in the piers of the bridge which spans the river in South Grafton, and is also used for buildings in the town. The old quarries just east of the present one were worked many years ago, and supplied stone for the Baltimore and Ohio railroad bridges from Grafton to Parkersburg. The stone for the piers and approaches of the railroad bridge across the Ohio at Parkersburg came from this old quarry.

The Sims quarry is probably in the Mahoning sandstone, Conemaugh series. It is four miles up the river from Grafton. Much stone from this place has been used for railroad work. It was employed in building the Baltimore and Ohio main line bridge piers at Grafton.

Tyler County—The McCabe quarry on the hill at the east end of Sistersville was opened about 1897. It is in the Waynesburg sandstone, and has supplied stone for local use.

Wetzel County—A quarry about a mile east of Littleton was opened in 1899 and the stone has been used in railroad construction and has been shipped to various towns on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. The stone for the Annex to the Moundsville penitentiary came from this quarry. It is the Fishcreek sandstone, Dunkard series.

The Batson quarry was opened a mile west of Hundred in 1904, and the stone has been used for bridge piers and for building purposes in various towns along the railroad in the vicinity. It is the Dunkard sandstone of the Dunkard series.

The Harbinson quarry is located two miles below New Martinsville. It is in the Marietta sandstone.

Wood County—The Dunlop quarry, a mile and a half south of Parkersburg, was opened about 1887. The stone has been used in the city for building purposes and for curbing. It is in the Marietta sandstone.

The Doyle quarry near Lubeck avenue, Parkersburg, is in the Mari-

etta sandstone, and has been used as a trimming stone in Parkersburg buildings.

The Hettick quarry, in the same formation as the foregoing, is located two miles east of Parkersburg at the side of the public road, near the roofing tile plant.

The Merrick quarry, near Tavenersville two miles up the Little Kanawha above Parkersburg, is in the Marietta sandstone. The stone is used in the city for curbing and other purposes.

The Keenan quarry in Parkersburg, located on east seventh street, was one of the first in that vicinity. Some of the older buildings in Parkersburg are trimmed with this stone, and the first story of the high school building was constructed of it in 1891. It is in the Marietta sandstone.

The Cleveland Stone Company has two quarries seven miles north of Parkersburg. The old quarry is in the Ohio river bluff at Briscoe. Much material for grindstones has been quarried in this vicinity, and some of the workings are large. A building stone quarry is located a short distance from the grindstone workings. Some large grindstones are made from this stone. They are six feet and less in diameter, and some weigh 8,000 to 10,000 pounds.

CEMENT

The development of West Virginia's cement resources has been in progress fifteen or twenty years, and it has reached large proportions but it has not yet made a real beginning in comparison with the possibilities which the future holds. Cement is made of limestone with a mixture of clay, sand, or shale. The material exists in this state in amounts as nearly inexhaustible as any natural resource can be which is usable only once. The shale and clay are in almost every locality, the sand is still more common; and while limestone is not everywhere, it exists in this state in such enormous amounts in certain regions that no practical limit can be fixed for the supply. It is not to be estimated by tons as coal is, but by square miles. Its depth varies of course, but there are limestone deposits many hundreds of feet thick, and of excellent quality for cement. It has been said that, at the present rate of consumption, West Virginia has the material for supplying the whole United States with cement for five thousand years, and at the end of that time only surface deposits would have been touched.

The chief cost of cement is not the material but the manufacture. Enormous plants which use vast power must be erected at great cost in order to make cement profitably on a commercial scale. It is one of the industries which cannot be carried on cheaply. It is and must be big business if it is transacted at all. The heavy machinery and the substantial buildings seen at a number of West Virginia cement works give an idea of permanency to the industry.

MISCELLANEOUS INDUSTRIES

As the people of West Virginia have increased in numbers they have turned more and more to manufacturing, or the statement may be more logical that as they have turned more to manufacturing they have increased in numbers. In the earliest times they made their living by farming and hunting. They still farm, but they long ago ceased to hunt, and turned their attention to many other natural resources within their reach. Sources of wealth were discovered which had remained unknown and unsuspected, and labor and capital united to make them valuable.

Occupation was furnished for thousands in fields which once had been totally neglected.

There were 2,109 manufacturing establishments in the state in 1905. Employment was given to 43,758 wage earners whose total annual pay amounted to $21,153,042. The capital invested in the various enterprises aggregated $86,820,823, while the annual value of the output was $99,040,676. In addition to the wage earners, there were 2,895 salaried employes to whom was paid the yearly sum of $2,898,830. Children to the number of 1,131 were at work, and their yearly earnings were $231,978, or a little more than $200 each.

The principal motive power used was steam, but water supplied a considerable part. The gas engine as a means of generating power was not separately listed in the statistics for 1905, although it was much used in some parts of West Virginia at that time. Neither were many statistics of electric power given. Electricity itself is, of course, not a source of power in applied mechanics, but is simply a means of conveying it. In the use of the steam engine for power, it must be directly applied to the machinery to be driven. For practical purpose, the steam engine, and the machinery driven by it, must be under the same roof, or at least very close together, unless the power is transmitted by electricity. The same is equally true of water power. In early years the power was directly applied; but later, electricity came in, and the power plant and the factory may be many miles apart.

In 1870 the state used 27,000 horsepower, more than one-third of which was developed by waterwheels. Ten years later the total had risen to 37,910 horsepower, but there was a slight decline in the amount of waterpower in use. In 1890 the total power aggregated 55,457, but the waterpower showed very little increase. During the next ten years the total rose to 92,321 horsepower, but water supplied only 5,425 of it. The decline in power furnished by water was probably due to the convenience of natural gas which was then coming into general use. Its application increased steam power because it was a cheap fuel, but it could not be applied in a way to increase waterpower. In 1905 the manufacturers of the state used 143,001 horsepower, and 6,404 of it was developed by water, and 776 was transmitted by electricity. Later statistics for the whole state have not been compiled in a way to make them available, but it is well known that the increase in the amount of developed power in the state has been rapid and that natural gas has become an important factor.

It is not possible to compile a complete list of industries in West Virginia, with their capitalization and their output. Changes are so rapid from year to year that constant revision would be required to bring the figures up to date. Below is a list of industries carried on in West Virginia in 1905:

Kind of Industry.	*Number of Establishments.*	*Value.*
Brass Castings and Finishings	2	$124,345
Bakery Products	111	298,278
Brick and Tile	37	1,962,217
Brooms and Brushes	5	35,435
Preserved Fruits and Vegetables	14	25,204
Carriages and Wagons	4	179,240
Car Manufacturing and Repairing	24	1,054,421
Men's Clothing	6	486,061
Women's Clothing	3	157,876
Coffee and Spice Roasting and Grinding	3	29,150
Coke Making	74	8,063,570
Confectionery	10	118,991
Cooperage	18	107,216
Copper Smithing	6	193,904

Dyestuffs and Extracts	5	295,668
Flour and Mill Products	194	2,622,906
Foundry and Machine Shops	73	1,909,269
Furniture Making	19	759,204
Gas Manufacturing	7	675,908
Glass Making	39	4,299,860
Gypsum and Wall Plaster	4	91,661
Ice Manufacturing	36	1,286,955
Iron and Steel Rolling Mills Work	12	8,716,170
Lamp Black	9	774,244
Leather Manufacturing	33	8,750,696
Lime Making	5	160,683
Liquors (Distilled)	5	141,215
Liquors (Malt)	10	3,556,366
Lumber and Timber Products	633	12,442,475
Marble and Stone	3	20,200
Mattresses and Spring Beds	4	64,479
Mineral and Soda Water	48	209,785
Monuments and Tombstones	10	69,005
Paper and Wood Pulp	7	2,215,436
Patent Medicines	11	217,075
Pickles and Preserves	5	324,990
Pottery	17	2,267,416
Printing and Publishing (Books and Job)	37	278,064
Printing and Publishing Newspapers	185	1,476,374
Roofing Material	5	158,889
Saddlery and Harness	9	189,050
Salt Making	3	110,800
Ship and Boat Building	3	125,614
Shirt Making	3	50,181
Slaughtering and Meat Packing	6	477,646
Tobacco, Cigars, Cigarettes	79	541,970
Wood, Turned and Carved	6	251,346
Woollen Goods	12	425,611

The growth of iron and steel manufactures in the state is well illustrated by quoting the value of the output by decades. In 1880 it was $2,390,191; in 1890, $5,012,842; in 1900, $7,122,357; and in 1905, $8,716,170.

The growth of the glass industry may be shown in the same way. In 1890 it amounted to $945,234; in 1900 it was $1,871,795; and in 1905, $4,598,563.

CHAPTER XXXI

COAL, OIL AND GAS

Three great resources were bountifully stored beneath the folds and layers of rock which underlie West Virginia, when nature performed her creative work ages ago. They were coal, oil, and gas. It is believed that the three were formed from similar material and by the same agencies. They are of vegetable origin. Buried swamps where luxuriant vegetation once accumulated formed the coal; and pressure, heat, perhaps chemical action, and the lapse of untold years, formed the oil and gas from the coal. The three are so closely associated now in West Virginia that in many instances the same region produces all. It is not the purpose of this chapter, however, to investigate the origin of those great resources, but rather to take them as they exist, and give an account of what man has done and may do with them. There has been abuse as well as use, and the former is no less a subject for historical inquiry than the latter. Development which does not waste is a rare thing in this country, particularly with regard to what may be called the natural resources, such as coal, oil, gas, forests, water power, soils, and the things which have been produced without assistance from man. Some of the West Virginia developments have been accompanied by waste so profligate that it astounds, but in many instances it has attracted little attention. Great development has overshadowed waste; and there has been a general belief that enough of the natural resources exist to last forever, in spite of use and abuse. Thoughtful, well-informed men know better.

Speaking at the White House in Washington, D. C., in May, 1908, at the Conference of all the Governors in the United States, Dr. I. C. White, State Geologist of West Virginia, said concerning one waste alone, that of natural gas:

> "For ten long years your speaker has appealed in his official capacity as State Geologist to the legislature of West Virginia to put some check upon this frightful waste of our State's most valuable resource. Three patriotic Governors, including our present able executive, Governor Dawson, have in every biennial message besought the legislative branch to end this criminal destruction by appropriate legislation, but some unseen power, greater than governors or legislatures, has so far thwarted and palsied every effort to save to the state and the nation this priceless heritage of fuel, so that, although five successive legislatures have attempted to deal with the question in biennial sessions, not an effective line has yet been added to the statutes, and at this very hour not less than 250,000,000 cubic feet of gas, and possibly more than double that quantity, is daily being wasted in this one state alone, 80 per cent. of which is easily and cheaply preventable."

The three kindred natural resources, coal, oil, and gas, will be considered separately as they have figured in West Virginia history.

COAL

The greatest coal field in the known world passes across West Virginia, and the state has the best of it, though regions both north and south share it in liberal amounts. The value of this wealth was unknown and unsuspected when the bulk of the land west of the Alleghany mountains passed from the ownership of the state into private hands. A few outcroppings of coal were early discovered, but no one took the trouble to calculate how much lay hidden from sight beneath the ground. Data

for such calculation did not exist, had anyone desired to make the calculation. Even if the quantity of coal had been known a century ago it would have affected land values little or not at all. Some coal was bought and sold at that time; but none that was as far from market as the Western Virginia fields; and there was little demand anywhere in this country. The first shipload of coal had already gone to the eastern market at that time. It went down the Ohio and the Mississippi and by the ocean route to Philadelphia. The circumstance seems to have attracted no attention whatever at the time, much less to have been interpreted as a prophecy of great things to follow.

Generations passed before anyone undertook to estimate or describe the extent of the coal fields. Even at this day some uncertainty exists, though the state has been accurately surveyed, shafts have been sunk, and hundreds of borings have been made. Speaking of the shape and extent of the coal formations, Dr. I. C. White summed up the matter in the second volume of the State Geological survey. The following quotation from that book is much abridged:

"Those who seek gold, silver, copper, tin, lead and other costly metals, should waste no time in West Virginia. Traces she may have of all, but none in commercial quantity. Volcanic disturbances, great faults, quartz veins, and extensive metamorphism of sedimentary rocks, which always accompany the rare metals, are comparatively unknown within her borders. But while the precious stones, gems, and metals have been denied the state, generous nature has so richly dowered her with common minerals and with other common things, that her natural wealth is unsurpassed by any equal area on the continent. These are some of her riches: A genial climate midway between extremes of heat and cold, with an average rainfall of 45 inches well distributed throughout the year, giving abundant moisture for crops as well as ample water supply for numerous streams and rivers; a fertile soil, yielding abundant returns to agriculture, grazing, and horticulture; virgin forests of both hard and soft woods; clays, shales and silica beds for brick manufacture of every description, and glass of every quality; limestones of purest composition and of exhaustless quantity; building stones of every kind except marble, granite, and other metamorphic rocks; and natural gas fields far exceeding those of her sister state, Pennsylvania; and last but not least, coal in great variety and quantity. These are some of the common possessions of West Virginia which, within the last few years, have attracted to her domain investment capital from many portions of the world.

"To the greatest coal field of the world, geologists have given the name Appalachian. Beginning near the northern line of Pennsylvania, it extends southwestward through West Virginia, Southeastern Ohio, Eastern Kentucky and Central Tennessee, ending in Western Alabama, 900 miles from its northeastern terminus. The shape of this field is that of a rude canoe the two prows of which lie in Pennsylvania and Alabama respectively while the broadest portion of its body is found in West Virginia.

"Three great railroads cross this coal field and a fourth, the Wabash, is building [1903]. The Baltimore and Ohio crosses the northern portion of the state, 162 miles from Piedmont to Benwood; the Norfolk and Western the southern portion 194 miles; while the Chesapeake and Ohio and the Wabash are intermediate, 147 miles.

"These are the distances between the southeastern margins of the coal field and the Ohio river boundary of the state. The actual distance across the coal field between its eastern edge and the Ohio river, at all the points named is practically the same, and in a straight air line would be considerably less than the figures given above—in fact only about 100 miles.

"The length of the West Virginia field north and south is about 150 miles air line measurement. Hence, in a rough way, the coal measures area of the state may be said to occupy an irregular rectangle 100 miles wide by 150 in length, and extending from the Alleghany mountains northwestward to the Ohio river. This would give 15,000 square miles as the approximate area of the West Virginia field, over and under which the coal measures rocks extend. But not all of this 15,000 square miles is underlaid with good coal of commercial thickness, since the drill of the petroleum seeker finds many regions in the central portion of the basin where there is apparently very little coal in the entire coal measures column of rock. Hence it is possible that if proper allowance were made for these barren zones, there would remain not more than 10,000 or 12,000 square miles of productive coal territory in

the state, reckoned by the standard thickness and quality as exhibited in the areas now operated as drift mines.

"As to how far eastward from the Alleghany mountains the coal measures may once have extended, we can only conjecture, but reasoning from such isolated patches as the Broad Top field of Pennsylvania, preserved in a deep wrinkle of the strata far eastward of the Alleghany escarpment, we can well believe that if the synclines in Morgan and Berkeley counties, near the North Mountain region, which now hold some coal of the Pocono, or lower Carboniferous age, had been two or three thousand feet deeper, we would find, as in the case of Broad Top, several small areas of genuine coal measures bound up in their stony embraces, and the coal, in all probability, like the Pocono coal there now, converted into a good quality of anthracite by the intense crumpling and the consequent slight metamorphism to which all the strata of that region have been subjected. It is even possible, and indeed quite probable, that the coal measures may once have extended entirely across the Shenandoah valley to the ancient shore line of the present Blue Ridge, since the deep trough of the Massanutton mountain, in the center of the valley, is reported still to hold a small area of the Pocono beds in its summit, from which erosion must have removed many thousand feet of sediments in the long aeons since the Carboniferous beds were deposited.

"The easily destructible nature of the Greenbrier limestone and the Mauch Chunk red shales, which immediately underlie the coal measures, would readily account for the complete removal of the lattter over all the steeply folded area between the Alleghanies and the Blue Ridge region. Hence, although the deeply buried coal measures along the western or Ohio river border of the state have been preserved from erosion, they may, in many localities, prove comparatively barren of good coal beds, while the same measures which may have been destroyed by the ceaseless ages of rain, heat, and cold from all the southeastern region of the state, probably once contained richer and thicker coal beds, than any of the areas remaining, since the individual coal beds, with rare exceptions, exhibit a tendency to thicken eastward, analogous to that of the series themselves."

The coal which underlies the area of ten or twelve thousand square miles is not the same in all parts. One continuous vein does not extend to all portions of the region, and a well, if bored down through all the rocks of the coal measures from the highest to the lowest, would not pass through all of the coal seams which have been discovered in the coal area. It makes no difference what point might be selected for the test, a well put down at that point would hit some of the veins of coal and miss others. That would be because all of the veins are not coextensive. One may extend a considerable distance and then disappear. The strata which form the floor and the roof of the seam may gradually come together, and the coal is pinched out. Miles away another seam appears. It may be enclosed by the same roof rocks and floor rocks as the other. In that case, it is said to be on the same horizon as the first, and it may or may not be the same vein—but is usually considered to be the same if it lies on the same horizon.

There are probably forty or fifty veins of coal in the West Virginia area. Some of them underlie hundreds or thousands of square miles of surface; others are large in area, though not so large. Still others are more restricted, occupying mere patches here and there. The geologist's task has been to find out how extensive each one of the veins of coal is —how many acres or square miles there may be of it. That would be a simple matter of surveying and measurement if the coal were on the surface, where it could be seen; but it is not on the surface, and it cannot be seen, except in rare instances where the seam is laid bare against the face of a cliff or in the bed of a stream. The geologist takes advantage of all occurrences of that kind; but they are totally inadequate to determine the area of the entire seam of coal.

Additional data are procured by drilling holes deep in the ground, passing through many or all of the coal seams which underlie that point. In that way the thickness of each vein of coal at the place of boring is determined. Operators and prospectors in search of oil, gas, and salt in this state have bored thousands of holes in the coal territory. These are

scattered far and wide, from end to end and side to side of the coal area. In most instances, especially in recent years, a record is kept which shows what the drill penetrated in the process of boring the wells. If it passed through beds of coal, they were counted, their respective thicknesses were measured, and the thickness and character of the rock strata were noted.

The geologist collects available well-boring records from all parts of the region, and with that material to work with, he takes up the work of determining the extent of any particular coal beds. If the drills throughout an area of a hundred or a thousand square miles penetrate a vein of coal every time they go down, the result is accepted as evidence that the particular vein underlies the entire area. If drills further on fail to find it, the conclusion is that the vein does not extend so far in that direction. In that way the area of each seam that is of commercial value is slowly worked out. The process has been going on in West Virginia during many years, and the approximate extent of all the important coal veins is now known.

The forty or fifty seams of coal in this state are not all of commercial value. Many are thin, ranging in thickness from a inch or two up to a foot or two. Coal in that form cannot now be profitably mined, and some of it will never be mined. In future years, when coal becomes more valuable and when methods of mining shall have been improved, some of the thin veins which are now not reckoned, may be mined. There are other seams and parts of seams in which the coal is of poor quality. That, too, is omitted from present estimates of total quantity in the region; but some of this low grade coal may go to market in the future.

There are several reasons why all the veins of coal which are present in some part of the region do not extend over it all. In the first place, some seams were small in area at first. They were local when they were formed, probably extending only a few miles in any direction. At the best, such seams can exist only in restricted patches now. Other seams which once extended far and wide, in unbroken formations, now exist only in isolated patches—islands as it were here and there in different parts of the original area. That condition is due to erosion. In some regions the coal and the rocks enclosing it have been worn and washed away. Valleys have been excavated right across the field, down to the coal, and deeper. Of course under such circumstances the coal in the eroded area disappears. That has been one of the most common occurrences in the coal's long geological history. An outcrop of a bed of coal in the face of a hill on one side of a valley corresponds with a similar outcrop against a hill on the opposite side. All that once lay between has been washed away. Sometimes the top of an isolated hill contains a seam of coal. It may be only an acre or two. None other is to be found anywhere near. The hill is the remnant of a sheet of coal which once extended far on all sides. Erosion has cut it up and carried it away.

The enormous work involved in estimating the quantity of available coal in the state is difficult to comprehend. The merchantable veins had to be determined; the extent of each ascertained; its average thickness; deductions had to be made for missing fields where erosion had cut deeply. The acreage was first ascertained, and the tonnage was calculated from that. It has been found necessary to revise early estimates, because some of the thickest veins were found to be less extensive than was formerly supposed. Bulletin 2 of the West Virginia Geological Survey, 1911, gave the revised areas for the state by counties. The figures which follow represent square miles, and show good, commercial coal, not the inferior stuff.

Barbour	300 sq. miles	Mingo	35 sq. miles
Berkeley	000 "	Monongalia	300 "
Boone	500 "	Monroe	000 "
Braxton	310 "	Morgan	000 "
Brooke	75 "	McDowell	700 "
Cabell	20 "	Nicholas	500 "
Calhoun	10 "	Ohio	120 "
Clay	195 "	Pendleton	000 "
Doddridge	30 "	Pleasants	10 "
Fayette	700 "	Pocahontas	25 "
Gilmer	100 "	Preston	350 "
Grant	100 "	Putnam	20 "
Greenbrier	100 "	Raleigh	480 "
Hampshire	000 "	Randolph	100 "
Hancock	75 "	Ritchie	10 "
Hardy	000 "	Roane	20 "
Harrison	300 "	Summers	20 "
Jackson	20 "	Taylor	100 "
Jefferson	000 "	Tucker	50 "
Kanawha	640 "	Tyler	50 "
Lewis	200 "	Upshur	150 "
Lincoln	400 "	Wayne	150 "
Logan	400 "	Webster	150 "
Marion	250 "	Wetzel	200 "
Marshall	240 "	Wirt	10 "
Mason	30 "	Wood	10 "
Mercer	80 "	Wyoming	500 "
Mineral	60 "		

Total, 9,500 sq. miles=6,080,000 acres.

Although forty-eight counties of West Virginia have coal in commercial quantities, the main producing areas fall in groups. A report on the mineral resources of the country in 1901 by the United States Geological Survey, had this to say of the coal areas in West Virginia:

"The principal coal producing regions of West Virginia may be divided into four distinct districts. These may be distinguished by certain geographic and physiographic features. They do not include all of the coal producing counties of the state, but do include the more important ones, and they contribute nearly ninety per cent. of the total output of the state. Two of these districts are in the northern part of the state, and two in the southern portion. The two in the northern portion of the state are designated respectively the Fairmont or Upper Monongahela district and the Elk Garden or Upper Potomac. Those in the southern portion of the state are the Pocahontas or Flat Top district, and the New and Kanawha river district.

"The Upper Monongahela district is penetrated by the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, and sends its coal to market over that highway. The Upper Potomac region is also reached by the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, and is penetrated by the West Virginia Central and Pittsburgh railroad [Western Maryland]. The Pocahontas or Flat Top region is tributary to the main branch of the Norfolk and Western railroad. All of the product of this district goes either west, or to tide water over that line. The New and Kanawha river district is named from the two rivers which drain it, the coal being shipped partly by the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad, which passes through it, and partly by barges on the Kanawha river. The most important district from the productive point of view is the New and the Kanawha river, which embraces the counties of Fayette and Kanawha. The coal from these two counties is drawn from two different areas, most of the coal from Kanawha county being from a higher geologic horizon than that of Fayette county; but the district is practically compact and continuous, is drained by the same waters, and reached by the the same railroad, so the two areas are considered as the same district in this report."

The statistics of coal mining in West Virginia were not compiled systematically before 1873. It is not possible to go much back of that, nor is it necessary; for the beginning of real mining in the state may be placed at about that date. Some coal went out long before. It constituted some of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad's freight during and before the civil war, but the total quantity taken from the mines prior

to 1873 was small. In 1873 the coal output of many states surpassed West Virginia's, and few persons at that time saw in West Virginia a rival for Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Ohio in coal production. But in a few years the contest was keen. The table below shows this state's output each year during a period of thirty-seven years. During the first few years the increase was very slight, and then a rapid advance began which never slacked except in years of strikes or of business depression. The following table shows the yearly output of coal in the state by tons of 2,000 pounds each:

1873	672,000	1892	9,738,755
1874	1,120,000	1893	10,708,578
1875	1,120,000	1894	11,627,757
1876	896,000	1895	11,387,961
1877	1,120,000	1896	12,876,296
1878	1,120,000	1897	14,248,159
1879	1,400,000	1898	16,700,999
1880	1,568,000	1899	19,252,995
1881	1,680,000	1900	22,647,207
1882	2,240,000	1901	24,068,402
1883	2,335,833	1902	24,570,826
1884	3,360,000	1903	29,337,241
1885	3,369,062	1904	32,406,752
1886	4,005,796	1905	37,791,580
1887	4,881,620	1906	43,290,350
1888	5,498,800	1907	48,091,583
1889	6,231,880	1908	41,897,843
1890	7,394,654	1909	51,446,010
1891	9,220,665	1910	65,000,000
1892	9,220,665		

The cheapness of coal is responsible for much waste. Only that which can be conveniently mined is taken out and saved. The first of the losses on a large scale, now occurring and threatened for the future, concerns the inferior coal. In the first place, one-fourth of the total quantity in the earth, or 20 billion tons, is low grade, consisting of bony coal, and streaks high in ash, and other impurities. Miners reject this, because no sale exists for it. If taken from the ground at all, it is dumped with the waste. Should present methods continue until the seams are exhausted, this inferior coal would be all lost. Yet, it could be made valuable. If manufactured into gas, and used in gas engines, it produces more power, ton for ton, than our very best coal when used in a steam engine. Operators cannot sell it along with the better grades, so they throw it aside or leave it in the mines where it can never be recovered.

A second source of loss concerns merchantable coal, temporarily left as pillars and columns to support the roof of the mine. Sometimes nearly half of the coal is thus left. The purpose is to take it out later, but frequently the roof falls, and the pillars are buried beyond recovery.

A third loss of large amount is due to the manner of mining. Thick seams are frequently separated in two parts by a layer of slate. If this layer does not exceed a foot in diameter it is usually taken out, and the coal both above and below it is mined. But if the seam of stone is thicker, it is frequently left in, and coal beneath it, or above as the case may be, is left also, and cannot subsequently be recovered, except at great expense.

Another waste which will be enormous in some fields if a change in method is not brought about, is caused by mining a lower seam first. There may be several seams, one above the other, with rock formations of various thicknesses between. One of the lower seams may be better than the others, and it is worked first. The removal of the support breaks

the rocks strata and the coal seams above, and they may become so badly dislocated that the coal cannot be taken out, and it must be added to the waste.

The extraction of the deepest seams threatens serious results when the time comes to take out the overlying coal. Gas from the diggings below will rise through crevices and permeate the overying seams and may render it impossible for miners to work there.

In some parts of West Virginia another source of danger exists. Hundreds of abandoned borings, in the track of oil and gas operators, penetrate the coal beds. Gas is present in many of these holes, and when miners tap them, explosions or asphyxiation will be probable. No chart shows the location of many of these abandoned wells, and a serious state of affairs will result when mining operations reach them.

The total of the losses enumerated amounts to from 40 to 70 per cent. of the actual cost deposits. The remainder is what is being drawn upon for the millions of tons a year, present output in West Virginia, and the prospective output of 100 million tons a year in the near future.

The West Virginia Conservation Commission's report in 1908 said on the subject of mining and utilizing coal in the state:

"The time that the West Virginia coal will last may be lengthened from two to three fold by stopping the waste and using the whole product. Is is easier, however, to say what ought to be done than to find a way to do it. Human statutes cannot override nature's laws, and the rule of supply and demand comes nearly being a natural law. If there is no demand for the bony coal, it will not be easy to sell it. There is no demand now. The owner who is obliged to take it out along with the merchantable coal cannot be compelled to put it on a market which will not take it, nor can a buyer be forced to take what he does not want. It is apparent, therefore, that a point is soon reached which no law can go beyond without becoming an instrument of tyranny and confiscation.

"The remedy for the waste of unsalable coal does not lie in the direction of new laws. It must rest on a broader foundation, the cornerstone of which consists in finding a use for the commodity. After that, if laws seem to be needed to faciliate putting it to use, they may, with justice, be enacted. But a way must first be found to give a commercial, not a theoretical, value to the impure coal which is associated with the good grades, and must be taken out with it, or abandoned in the mines.

"In another part of this report, which deals with the manufacturing possibilities in West Virginia, the value of the impure coal when converted into gas is discussed. It would be sufficient to develop one million horsepower and keep it in continuous operation for 2,300 years. The waste will end when a market shall be found for the power which may be produced from the coal now thrown away. The remedy should be looked for in that direction. Let boards of trade, commercial bodies, corporations, and individuals give attention to the building of factories which need power, and let the mine owners convert their waste into power. That will solve the problem, and in solving it, the way will be open to the solving of many other problems of conservation. The key to the situation is in finding ways to put to use such resources as are now idle. Make them valuable. Make it worth while for the owners to save them. This is a work of education and investigation. Markets exist within reach of the West Virginia coal fields—by transmitting power by electricity—to take all the power possible of development from coal now going to waste. It is a work belonging to the business men of the State to devise means of selling the power to factories and traction companies that will take it. It might be found practicable to manufacture producer gas from the inferior coal and carry it in pipelines to furnaces and factories many miles distant.

"The lessening of waste caused by mining deep coal seams, by which overlying seams are ruined, is a problem somewhat different. In some mining regions—in foreign countries at least—it is customary to support overlying strata, when coal is removed, by packing the vacant space with rock. The expense would be considerable in many cases, but it would save the coal above, and would be profitable in the long run. It would likewise be profitable in the end, though somewhat expensive at the time, to provide supports, where pillars of coal are left now to hold the roof in place. By that means the pillars could be taken out and serious waste prevented. The coal that might be saved is marketable, and the cost of its removal is the principal thing to be considered. It is not a question of finding a place to sell it as in the case of the inferior grades now left in the mine or at its mouth.

"The shoring up of the roofs of mines would have good results in saving the

surface of the land from cave-ins. This is particularly desirable in agricultural districts where the land is valuable for farming. It is well known that much damage sometimes results from the breaking of the surface of agricultural land by the falling in of galleries and chambers where coal has been taken out. This matter is of no small importance and is worthy of consideration in all plans intended to conserve resources."

The manufacture of coke is a subdivision of the coal industry. At the present time the output of coke in the state exceeds six million tons a year, and it will increase. In 1908 there were 18,855 coke ovens in West Virginia, not all active at one time, but most of them were at work. The black smoke by day and red flame at night, issuing from crater-like mouths, are the signs by which they may be known. In certain coal regions they are seen in long lines, against hillsides or along river banks. For convenience and for economy they are built in proximity to railroads, and are thus more familiar sights to travelers through the region than are the coal mines, oil wells, and sawmills. The pall of smoke hanging over a coke region is an ever-present though somber reminder that vast development is going on. Not every coal will make good coke, and when a region's mines prove suitable for that commodity, it is regarded as particularly fortunate. West Virginia has large fields of coking coal, not in one region alone, but in many.

The old style apparatus for making coke was the beehive oven. They are still far more numerous than any other, but they are losing favor because they are wasteful. A ton of coal is made into coke, but more goes into the air in the form of gases and is lost than remains in the coke and is saved. The by-product oven is coming into use. It makes coke and also saves the other valuable materials which coal contains. Another quotation from the State Conservation Commission's report deals with this question:

"The old style beehive coke oven," it says, "with red flame issuing from its top, is an agent of waste which seems out of place in this day and age. If West Virginia's smoke were in Germany, the Germans would make enough money out of it to maintain their standing army. There are 23 pounds of nitrogen in an average ton of West Virginia coal, and 5,700,000 tons of coal a year are made into coke in the state. The coke is worth about $6,856,000. The nitrogen, which is useful in making fertilizers, is worth from 20 to 25 cents per pound. In making the coke of one year (year ending June 30, 1906) the value of the nitrogen that went into the air was $26,221,771. Yet the nitrogen is only one of the wastes.

"Nitrogen is absolutely necessary for the growth of plants, and the supply is failing rapidly. It is abundant in the air, but very hard to extract, and fix in a form available for fertilizers. The world is being ransacked for it, and science is doing its utmost to find new sources; for if the supply runs out, the bread crops will fail. Four sources of nitrogen are available: Vegetable remains, slaughter house by-products, natural nitrate deposits, and ammonium compounds from coal and gas retorts and coke ovens. The supply is running short from every source, except from coal, and that seems capable of enormous development. That from coke ovens alone need be considered in this connection. In 1905 the gas works and coke ovens of the world produced as by-products 557,000 tons of ammonium sulphate, of which 80 per cent. was used in the manufacture of fertilizers. The United States is credited with only 14 per cent. of the total. West Virginia coke makers lost a great deal more than all the by-product ovens of the western hemisphere saved of this valuable commodity. The annual waste of nitrogen by coke ovens in this State is more than the equivalent of 280,000 tons of nitrate of soda from Chile.

"This waste is not necessary. It could be prevented by the substitution of the by-product oven for the old style beehive arrangement.

"A little figuring will show what the State will lose in nitrogen if present methods of coke making should go on to the end of the coal supply. West Virginia has over 60 billion tons of coal yet unmined. At the present rate of mining and coke making, about one-sixth of the coal taken from the mines is made into coke. If this continues while the coal resources last, the total used for coke will be 10 billion tons. Each ton has 23 pounds of nitrogen, worth about $4.60. The nitrogen in 10 billion tons will be worth 46 billion dollars, or 20 million dollars a

year, for 2,300 years. This is the waste now threatened in one coke by-product alone in West Virginia. But it is easy to save it, and it will without question be saved.

"Why not begin to figure on something practical for that waste? Why not see if a plan cannot be evolved—not all at once, but in time—to build roads, found and endow schools, construct bridges, pave streets, and carry on public works in West Virginia, by diverting the columns of smoke from the coke ovens into the treasury. The great Ural highway in Russia and Siberia cost $10,000 a mile, and is 900 miles long. The nitrogen from coke smoke, now totally lost in West Virginia's mining regions, would build that road in five and a half months. Andrew Carnegie has set apart $10,000,000 for a great University. Six months of waste from one of the State's resources alone would provide a like sum; and what a great school it would build. The demand for better roads in West Virginia is universal, and no less universal is the excuse that funds for their building cannot be had. Yet twenty million dollars a year in one item is lost. How many years would it take, if that resource were utilized, to gridiron every county in the State with pikes like Appian and Napoleon built? They save the by-products of coke ovens in Germany. They do not seem to find it a marvelously hard thing to do there.

"The demand for commercial fertilizers outruns the supply, and nitrogen is an indispensible and the most costly element in them. The United States is paying over $100,000,000 a year for fertilizers, and would buy more if they could be had. The Chilean Government in South America derives a revenue of $21,000,000 yearly from its share of the sale of this commodity, from natural beds of nitrate of soda which will be exhaused in thirty-five years, and that will practically end the world's natural deposits of nitrate. Secretary James Wilson says that the vast areas of agricultural land in the Mississippi valley cannot be given fertilizers because the supply is too short to go round. It is nitrogen that is short. All else is plentiful. Yet, more of that valuable element exists in West Virginia coal than Chile ever had—ten, yes a hundred times more. Every ton of coal passing through the oven gives to the air—lost forever—$4.60 worth of this nitrogen, and about six million tons of coal go to the ovens yearly. And this, too, while tax hunters rake the state in efforts to discover something that is escaping taxes.

"The nitrogen is not the only by-product in coke making. The gas that now goes into the air is valuable for heating purposes, and can easily be collected and made available. There are other products which, with various combinations, enter into the manufacture of coloring materials, and useful commodities of many kinds. So many and so valuable in fact are the by-products now lost in coke making that they may be worth more than the coke. In Germany where they have learned to save, it is said that coke is looked upon as a by-product, the other materials being worth more. But in West Virginia the other materials are burned, and the coke only is saved. It is certainly true that half the value of the coal is lost in the making of coke by present methods.

"This waste is not excusable on the ground that there is no market for what is wasted. It is not a thing like bony coal, which must wait until a market has been created for it. The market is ready, but not usually in the immediate vicinity of the coke plants.

"A by-product oven costs four or five times as much as the common bee hive oven. That is one of the reasons why it has not come more extensively into use. Another reason is that some of the by-products could not be conveniently carried to market. For example, gas is a by-product, and a demand for it does not exist in remote mining regions where coke plants are frequently located. The substitution of by-product ovens for the old kind would require important changes in coke manufacture before the new method would pay. It would be necessary to build the plants near the market for by-products, particularly the gas. Instead of coke ovens near the mines, and the shipping of the coke to its market, the coal would be shipped and the coke would be made in the vicinity of its own market, and of that for the manufactured gas.

It might be argued that so radical a change in the manner of coke making would not be to the interest of West Virginia; that it might result in the transfer of manufacturing plants beyond the State. That would be true to some extent, but there would be offsets which would more than make up any loss on that ground. Coke makers would not ship coal beyond the state to reach by-product market if they could find one nearer. The result would probably be the development of manufactures within the state. It is not unlikely that one of the first good results would be the building of glass factories, and other furnace-using plants, to get the benefit of the gas from coke works. A broader survey of the question will, at least, show general advantages. The saving of valuable products, heretofore going to waste must result in benefits which would reach far and wide. It would be better in the end for all concerned. Temporary inconvenience and expense would be offset by permanent gain.

"Some large and progressive companies have abandoned coke making by the old method, and are building no more bee hive ovens. Their example will without doubt influence others to do likewise. Public sentiment, when once the question is understood, will not look with favor upon the system which wastes half a resource to get the other half, when the waste is unnecessary."

PETROLEUM

The devolpment of the petroleum industry has brought large amounts of capital into the state for investments, and has stimulated industries of other kinds; but it is doubtful if the historian of the future will be able to point out much permanent good which this great resource has done for West Virginia. The same might, perhaps, be said with equal truth of other industries which are of an ephemeral nature. They attract much attention for a while, and change the course of events greatly; but they pass away. The oil business does not last a great while in any one district, though individual wells may continue to produce during many years. It is apt to leave the roads and the farms in a developed oil region worse than it found them; but to offset this—if it can be classed as an offset—many farmers suddenly become rich from oil royalties, leave the farms to the tender mercies of tenants, move to town, build fine homes, and live in ease on their money.

The future years will cast up the balance sheet and see whether the district which produced the oil was a gainer or a loser in the long run. The immense wealth derived from the sale of West Virginia oil in the world's markets went into hands of comparatively few companies and thereby swelled some fortunes to enormous proportions; but aside from the payment of royalties to land owners, the purchase of a moderate amount of material, and the payment of wages to laborers, not much of the fortunes made from West Virginia oil has been invested in West Virginia. The state and the counties have derived a not inconsiderable income from taxes on oil property and operations, and this has gone to help build schools, roads, and court houses, and this investment should be considered as permanent gain. The country in general, and the world, have profited from the petroleum industry, and to a certain extent West Virginia has shared in that prosperity, in addition to what it received directly from the oil business.

In a former chapter of this book a brief history is given of the discovery of oil in the state, and of some of the early efforts at development. It is interesting as history, but it gives little idea of what West Virginia's real oil development was when it came in earnest. The dipping of oil from springs and holes in the mud with cups, and pumping a few barrels from shallow wells here and there with crude machinery, which was not much improvement upon the pumps used by Archimedes or the ancient Egyptians, cannot properly be considered as the beginning of the real petroleum development which took place in West Virginia, and the date of which may be placed about 1889.

The beginning of that development was brought about by an important discovery in geology made, or at least put to the first practical test, by a West Virginia geologist, Dr. I. C. White, who subsequently became state geologist. The discovery had to do with the location of probable oil territory, in advance of drilling operations, by a study of a region's rock formations.

Anticlinal Theory—The investigation and the consequent discovery were based on what has been called the "anticlinal theory." An anticline, in geology, is a stratum of rock, or many strata, forming a series, folded in the form of an arch. It had been long known that many wide and long anticlines existed in West Virginia; some buried deeply under-

ground, others approaching the surface. Some of them are measured in length by scores of miles; and from side to side many miles wide. The general course of the largest anticlines are northeast and southwest across the state, generally parallel with the ranges of the Alleghany mountains, and in fact, owing their origin for the most part to the same agencies which formed the Alleghany and associated ranges of mountains. They are vast folds in the layers of rock, due to crumpling by lateral pressure. Though the general direction of the folds is pretty regular, there are many local irregularities, which if studied in detail, would involve many complex problems.

Observation had led a few practical oil operators to the belief that oil had collected under those arches or anticlines, and when a well was put down at the right spot, it made a strike. The belief was somewhat shadowy, and led to no results among the well drillers. Borings continued to be made at random, hit or miss. Many persons who were investing large sums in boring for oil were firmly convinced that it was all chance. It was a gamble whether a well would strike oil or not. Of course, some struck oil and made fortunes; and a success of that kind tempted other to try their fortunes.

Prior to 1889 there was little oil development in West Virginia. Less than 600,000 barrels were produced in the state that year, and only 119,000 the year before. In 1889 Pennsylvania's production exceeded twenty-one million barrels, or more than forty times that of West Virginia. The operators in Pennsylvania were sending half a million barrels of oil to market a year in 1860, and the amount increased with fair steadiness until it reached 30,000,000 barrels in 1882, and in 1888 it had fallen below seventeen million, but rose a few years later to 33,000,000 barrels. The well-boring operations had worked southward, from the northern part of Pennsylvania in 1860 to the southwestern counties of the state in 1888. No important venture had been made in West Virginia in many years. The difficulty of boring through the crumbling strata in West Virginia discouraged the Pennsylvania operators several years before, and they had come to look upon the territory south of the state line as unpromising, to say the least.

That was the situation when Dr. White undertook to apply the principles of geology in determining probable oil territory. Geologists were in bad repute among practical oil men, who were firmly convinced and stubbornly maintained that the only way to prospect a region was to bore down through the rocks to see what was under them. That being the state of feeling among men in the business, Dr. White received little encouragement when he undertook the field work as a basis for the test to determine whether geology can assist the drill in locating oil. The preliminary work required much surveying, and much minute examination of the region's formation. He chose his territory the region about Mannington, Marion county, West Virginia, which was twenty miles from any producing oil well. An account of how the work was done, and its result, deserves a prominent place in the industrial history of West Virginia. The successful outcome, and the repetition of the test with success nearly every time, in boring two hundred wells in the territory, placed Dr. White among the first economic geologists of the world. "The Mannington Oil Field and a History of its Development" was published in the Bulletin of the Geological Society of America, Volume 3, 1892. It was from the pen of Dr. I. C. White and gives an account of the work he did to test the anticlinal theory. It is quoted below, but slightly abridged in a few places:

"The Mannington oil field was developed by myself and associates, and as its location was made from purely scientific deduction illustrating certain theories concern-

ing oil and gas accumulation which I taught for several years, a brief history of these theories and their application in the discovery of the Mannington field may not be without interest to geologists; and this must excuse much that is personal to myself in connection therewith.

"As is well known, it was formerly a popular saying among practical oil men that geology has never filled an oil tank; and to such a low estate had oil geology fallen that a prominent producer of oil and gas, disgusted with geology and geologists, was once heard to remark that if he wanted to make sure of a dry hole he would employ a geologist to select the location. It has been my pleasant task during the past eight years to help remove this stigma from our profession.

"The essential principles involved in the 'anticlinal theory' have been very forcibly and graphically set forth by Professor Edward Orton, whose philosophical mind and skillful hand have grappled with and unraveled so many tangled threads of geologic history. Grasping at once the truth of the anticlinal theory, he applied its principles in a striking and beautiful way to the explanation of the oil and gas deposits in Ohio. Expressed in his words, relief of structure is the essential element in the accumulation of large quantities of either oil or gas, for if the rocks lie nearly horizontal over a wide area, we find, when we bore through them, 'a little oil, a little gas, a little water, a little of everything and not much of anything; while if the rock reservoirs be tilted considerably so that the small quantities of oil, gas, and water in all sedimentary beds can rearrange themselves within the rocks in the order of their specific gravities, then and then only can commercial quantities of each accumulate, provided the reservoir and cover are good. The anticlinal waves which traverse the great Appalachian plateau westward from the Alleghanies and practically parallel to these mountains, present just such relief as the theory requires in the New York, Pennsylvania, Southern Ohio, and West Virginia oil and gas field.

"This theory, so simple and consonant with well known physical laws, as well as so harmonious with the facts of geology, was heartily welcomed by most of the oil and gas operators, and by nearly all geologists who had given any thought to the matter, as a satisfactory solution of the geologic problem connected with oil and gas accumulation. A few have attempted to relegate the great principle of relief to a subordinate position, but the facts have pointed so conclusively in the other direction that opposition has been silenced at least, whether convinced or otherwise.

"Guided by this theory, I located in 1884 the important gas and oil field near Washington, Pennsylvania; also the Grapeville gas field along the great arch of the same name in Westmoreland county; and the Belvernon field on the Monongahela river. On the same theory I located and mapped out the celebrated Taylortown oil field nine months before the drill demonstrated the truth of my conclusions. On the Mannington-Mount Morris belt a derrick was built to bore for oil on one of my locations at Fairview more than five years before the drill finally proved that my location was immediately over one of the richest pools in the county, and before the drill had shown that there was any oil in that portion of West Virginia. These are only a few of the positive fruits of the theory to which we can point. The negatives results in condemning immense areas of both oil and gas are even more important in preventing unnecessary expenditure and waste of capital where a search for either gas or oil would certainly have been in vain.

"My working hypothesis was that since the gas pressure is due to a column of water, and since this must be practically the same for any limited area where the rock lies at the same depth below sea level, the oil deposit in this particular rock must extend across the country along the strike of the beds, in a pool comparable with the surface of a lake, or chain of small lakes if the rock reservoir should not be equally porous everywhere along the strike. Hence, if my theory is true, it would only be necessary to follow the strike of any particular coal bed, limestone, or other stratum outcropping where the oil was actually developed in order to trace the cause of the oil belt upon the surface, and thus determine with approximate accuracy, many miles in advance of the drill, the location and width of such possible oil territory. Very fortunately for my purpose, two persistent coals, the Waynesburg and the Washington beds, cropped to the surface at Mount Morris, the first well finished there starting immediately on top of the Waynesburg seam.

"My first work was to determine the tide elevation of these coal beds, especially the Waynesburg, with reference to oil, gas, and saltwater as developed by the Mount Morris borings. For this purpose one of my associates ran a line of levels from the Monongahela river (Using a Baltimore and Ohio railroad datum) out to the oil field, and made a complete survey and map of the twenty or more wells that had been drilled at that time (February, 1889) in and about the village of Mount Morris. He also obtained the elevations of the coal beds at every possible point. From the data thus acquired, it was learned that wherever the Waynesburg coal had an elevation of 950 feet above tide, gas and not oil was found, and that where it had dipped down below 870 feet, saltwater was a certainty—in the Mount Morris region at least. As the Washington coal is 155 feet above the

Waynesburg bed, the gas and saltwater limits were found to be 1,105 and 1,125 feet above tide, respectively, when referred to the Washington bed as a datum line.

"With these facts in hand, it was only a question of correct identification, or tracing of coal beds, and a simple matter of leveling in order to follow the strike of the surface rocks at least, for a hundred miles or more. But the query arose: Suppose the surface rocks do not lie parallel to the oil sand, then where will the oil belt be found? The interval between these coal beds and the oil sand might either thin away considerably, or thicken up an equal amount in passing southward from Mount Morris. Of course, if either of these things should happen, the strike of the oil sand would not run with the strike of the surface rocks, but would gradually veer away from the latter either eastward or westward, depending upon whether the intervening measures should thicken up or thin away. To meet any such possible contingencies, the territory within which it was considered possible for oil to exist, was gradually widened southward, and at Mannington extended eastward to where the Waynesburg coal had an elevation of 1,025 feet instead of 950 (the eastern limit of oil at Mount Morris), and carried westward to where it had an elevation of 800 instead of 870 feet (the western limit of oil at the north).

"In following the strike line from Mount Morris to Mannington its direction was found to vary greatly. For the first five or six miles between Mount Morris and Doll's run, the strike was about south 30 degrees west; but toward the head of Doll's run, the line turned rapidly westward, making a great curve or elbow, and running westward past the village of Fairview, from which, with many curves and sinuosities, it crossed successively Plum run, Mods run, and Buffalo creek at Mannington, on a general course of south 45 degrees west, but varying from this 10 to 15 degrees either way in certain localities. The strike line carried on southward from Mannington, passed into Harrison county.

"This course which I thus mapped out for the extension of the Mount Morris oil belt was so crooked, and passed so much farther westward than the practical oil men had considered possible, that my geologic line, or hypothetical belt, furnished occasion for many jokes and jibes at my expense among the oil fraternity; and it was with the greatest difficulty, and only by liberal gifts of supposed oil territory, that I could induce any of them to risk their money on a purely geological theory. Finally however, a contract to drill a test well in the vicinity of Mannington was entered into in the spring of 1889. As this was to be a crucial test of my theory, the proper location for the test, twenty miles distant from any producwould either thicken or thin; since, upon my theory, if I made a location at Manoil geology would receive a fatal blow, in the eyes of practical oil men, while if successful their confidence in geology would be greatly increased and strengthened.

"The problem I had to solve was, whether the interval between the surface rocks and the oil sand would remain the same as at Mt. Morris, or whether it would either thicken or thin; since, upon my theory, if I made a location at Mannington where the Waynesburg coal had an elevation of 900 feet above tide, and the interval from it to the oil sand remained the same (1,625 feet) as at Mount Morris, then if the oil rock proved open and porous, a fair oil well should be found; while if, on the other hand, this interval should thin away to, say, 1,575 feet, then gas would be found, and if it should thicken up to 1,675 feet, saltwater would be obtained, and this, especially, would be fatal to my theory, for practical oil men were predicting that Mannington was several miles too far west, and hence was a saltwater territory.

"In the absence of any evidence bearing upon the subject, and rather in opposition to a general geological fact, viz.: that the sedimentary beds thin away rapidly westward from the Alleghanies, I made up my mind to take no chance on saltwater in this, the first test well, and in finally determining the location, placed it where the Waynesburg coal had an altitude of 970 feet, and the Washington about 1,125 feet. Such a location at Mount Morris would have been in the gas belt by an elevation of 20 to 25 feet to spare.

"As the drill progressed it was found that the intervening rocks were thickening instead of thinning when compared with the Mount Morris column, and when the top of the oil sand (Big Injun) was finally struck, the interval from it to the Waynesburg coal measured exactly 1,725 feet instead of 1,625 feet as at Mount Morris. Finally, on October 11, 1889, the drill penetrated the oil-bearing zone of this sand, and was immediately followed by a copious showing of oil, the result being that my theory was at once raised from the domain of conjecture to that of demonstrated fact. Thus a great victory was won for geology, since it taught the practical oil men once for all that they could not afford to disregard geological truths in their search for oil deposits.

"This thickening of the interval between the Waynesburg coal and the oil sand to the extent of 100 feet in the distance of 25 miles from Mount Morris to Mannington, proved to be exactly the effect that I had anticipated, that is, it caused the oil belt to veer westward until it gradually encroached upon the territory occupied by the gas belt in the vicinity of Mount Morris; so that the western edge of

the oil belt at Mannington is found where the Waynesburg coal has an altitude of 950 feet above tide, which is where the western edge occurs at Mount Morris, and the gas belt begins; and hence, had the first location at Mannington been made without taking into account a possible thickening, the well would have been too far westward, and a dry hole or saltwater would have been the certain result. The amount of this eastward shifting of the strike of the oil sand compared with the strike of the surface rocks between Mount Morris and Mannington is something more than half a mile.

"Since this Mannington test well was drilled, about 200 others have been sunk along the belt, as previously defined by me, between Mount Morris and Mannington; and the correctness of my theoretical work has been demonstrated by the drill in opening up this belt through Marion and Monongalia counties one of the largest and most valuable oil fields of the country. Fewer dry holes have been found along this belt than on any other oil belt known to me, not more than five per cent. of the wells drilled within the defined limit proving totally dry.

"It is not claimed that the same chain of reasoning can be applied with like successful results to the discovery and development of every great oil field that yet lies hidden below the surface of the Appalachian plateau, but it is believed that a correct understanding and appreciation of the principles involved and used in the discovery of the Mannington oil field cannot fail to prove most useful and helpful to both operator and geologist in limiting the expensive exploration of the drill to regions where the geological structure would indicate favorable locations for oil deposits. Of course, no sedimentary bed can extend indefinitely in any direction, or even for considerable distances, without undergoing a change in the character of its constituent elements. The individual particles of which it is composed must vary in size, and the cementing material, or the lack of it, must be an ever changing quantity. For these reasons, any oil rock must be quite variable in porosity, and hence its productiveness cannot be a constant amount. Where the oil sand is a mere bed of coarse gravel or pebbles, like that in the famous McDonald region of Washington county, Pennsylvania, or in the great Russian field, then the production of an oil well seems to be limited only by the size of the bore hole; while, on the contrary, the producing rock may become so close and compact within a few feet from a large producer as to be practically barren of oil. If such a change as this can happen in the character of an oil rock reservoir within a few feet, much more would we expect such changes within a few miles; and thus it happens that, although there appears to be a continuous deposit of oil in the Mount Morris sand, from the Pennsylvania line southward to Mannington, and for at least six miles beyond, yet the productiveness of the rock is not everywhere the same, because the character of the sand (reservoir) is not constant. This condition of affairs tends to concentrate the richest territory into pools of greater or less extent, which are separated by territory that is 'spotted,' or less productive.

"When this tendency to change in the character of the sand or reservoir is carried so far as to render the rock impermeable to gas, oil, or water for a considerable distance, then any oil belt must come to an end, and we need not expect it to set in again on the same strike of the rocks (though that is possible), but rather when the stratum becomes again productive, it will be found at a lower or higher level, and on a different strike line, so that, in this way, we may have several parallel belts of oil in the same stratum, and occupying different levels with reference to their tidal elevation. Thus there are numerous productive belts of the old Third Venango oil sand from Titusville, where it lies several hundred feet above tide, down to the southwestern corner of Pennsylvania, where it is 2,000 feet below tide. Hence the principles here illustrated have a local as well as a general application—local, to enable the operator to follow the course of the oil belt when discovered; and general, to enable him to limit his search for oil territory to the localities where the geological structure is favorable."

Life of Oil Wells—An ordinary well of water may be drawn upon with pumps and buckets from generation to generation and it will contain as much water at the last as at the first. That is because the supply is renewed by rains from year to year. There is no such renewal of the oil supply, and when the area drained by a well is exhausted, the well goes dead. The history of one oil well in that respect is the history of all, and therefore an oil region will sooner or later cease to produce. There seems to be no evidence that any new oil is being made in the earth's deep laboratories. At any rate, there is no reason to believe that it is being made in quantity sufficient to have any appreciable effect in keeping up the supply in a well that is being pumped. The probability is that several millions of years were required to produce what is now

stored among the subterranean strata. It is quite generally believed that oil, and likewise natural gas, are in some way a by-product of the coal beds. It is well known that coal is very ancient, and oil and gas are probably not much younger.

Though some oil wells fail in a rather short time, others continue to yield some oil for long periods. Two or three of the Burning Springs wells which were drilled in 1861, were still yielding a barrel or two of oil a day after 43 years.

The quantity of oil which may be obtained from an acre of good oil land can be estimated within cerain limits. A good pay streak—a seam or stratum of rock containing oil—in West Virginia, may be expected to yield about one gallon to the cubic foot of rock. There are 43,560 square feet to the acre, and when the thickness of the pay streak is known it may be multiplied by the number of square feet per acre, to obtain the number of cubic feet of rock which produces oil. The cubic feet of rock equal the gallons of oil. The pay streak seldom exceeds five feet in thickness. If of that thickness it will yield about 5,000 barrels of 42 gallons each. This has been taken as an average for West Virginia developed territory. If the rock is dense in structure it will yield less; if very open, it will exceed the average.

The words "oil sands" as operators use them do not mean sand in the usual sense, but simply a layer or stratum of sandstone, or some other formation which contains petroleum. The oil exists in the cavities of the rock, and when the drill opens a passageway for it, it flows into the well and may be pumped out, or sometimes the pressure of natural gas or of something else forces the oil upward and out of the well. Instances are recorded of oil spouting from a well like a geyser. It happens in most instances, however, that oil must be pumped from the wells. In early stages of development it was customary to pump one well at a time, with a steam engine for each well. That made the process expensive. When wells were tolerably near together, a central boiler was rigged up, and steam was sent through pipes to engines located at several wells, and they were pumped in that manner. The plan was wasteful, for so much steam condensed in the transmission pipes that a large part of the power was lost. Another plan made use of connecting rods from a central engine to several pumps; but when distance between wells was considerable, this method was not practicable.

The operators were not slow to learn that natural gas could be made to do the oil pumping. There was nearly always plenty of gas within piping distance of oil wells. This gas frequently issued from the wells under great pressure—it was sometimes as great as the pressure of steam in a boiler. The gas was occasionally piped directly into steam engines and was made to act as steam. The pressure forced it into the cylinders and it drove the pistons just as steam would do. A steam engine might be seen running smoothly and pumping the wells, without any fire near. The gas did the work but the waste was enormous. Enough of the gas was blown through the cylinder in running one pump to have operated fifty pumps by the use of good gas engines. In many parts of the oil fields nobody thought anything of wasting gas, and no protest was heard against using it in any amount. But better methods finally prevailed, and gas engines came into use. These were operated by exploding, by means of electric sparks, small quantities of gas in cylinders by which pistons were driven to and fro, and the pumps were operated. It made one of the cheapest powers in the world. A twenty-horse power gas engine could be run at a cost for gas of only three or four dollars a month, the gas costing but a few cents per thousand cubic feet. The availability of that cheap power grealy facilitated oil development

in West Virginia. The gas engine needed no engineer. Once started, it would run hours or even days without attention. One overseer could look after a considerable number of such engines in a small territory.

The petroleum was not only pumped from the wells, but it was pumped to market. Railroads never carried much West Virginia crude oil as freight. Large pipe lines were laid from the oil fields to the Atlantic seaboard, and the oil was forced hundreds of miles through the pipes. The pipes vary in size, but many are six inches or a foot in diameter. They are of iron, and are put sufficiently deep beneath the ground to equalize the temperature and prevent expansion and contraction of the metal by heat and cold. The pipes are buried for another reason. They go in straight line through fields, farms, forests, over mountains, and under rivers. By being deeply buried, the fields through which they pass may be cultivated over the top of the pipes. They are also less liable to injury if beneath the surface. Pump stations are located at certain points along the lines to force the oil forward. Immense power is required, for ranges of mountains are crossed by the lines, and the oil must be forced from the base to the summit.

The designing, constructing, and maintaining of the long oil pipe lines involved engineering problems that were worked out by master minds which made the development of the oil industry possible on a gigantic scale.

The depths of the wells from which the most of the oil is pumped which goes from the West Virginia fields, is an interesting matter for consideration. Of course, scarcely any two oil wells are of exactly the same depth. Some are quite shallow, others penetrate far down into the hidden recesses of earth. But one thing holds fairly true, that practically all the West Virginia oil comes from far below the level of the sea. The hills, ridges, and plateaus where the wells are bored, are pretty high above the level of the ocean; but to reach the oil, the drill must go down to sea level, and keep going for hundreds, and in some instances thousands, of feet farther but in no case is the bottom of a well much more than two thousand feet below sea level. Nearly half of the good oil wells in West Virginia are nearly or quite 3,000 feet deep. What was the deepest productive oil well in the world at the time it was drilled, and has probably not been surpassed since, was located two miles from Amos post office, Monongalia county. It went to a depth of 3,631 feet, and produced twenty barrels of oil a day. The bottom of the well was considerably more than 2,000 feet below sea level. It lacked nearly two thousand feet of the depth of a dry well bored near Pittsburgh in 1908, which had penetrated 5,575 feet when the cable broke and the tools were lost beyond recovery in the well. All efforts to grapple them and bring them up were unavailing, and failure also attended attempts to dissolve them with sulphuric acid. After two years of effort to clear the well, it was finally abandoned. The heat at a depth of 5,380 feet was 127 degrees Fahr.

The quantity of oil produced from all the wells of the state since operations began can be estimated with a pretty close degree of accuracy. Most of the large companies have measured their production. The West Virginia Geological Survey, in a report published in 1904, Volume 1(a), gives the following as the output of oil in the state by years:

1859 to 1876	3,000,000 barrels	1883	126,000 barrels
1876	120,000 "	1884	90,000 "
1877	172,000 "	1885	91,000 "
1878	180,000 "	1886	102,000 "
1879	180,000 "	1887	145,000 "
1880	179,000 "	1888	119,448 "
1881	151,000 "	1889	544,113 "
1882	128,000 "	1890	492,578 "

1891	2,406,218 barrels	1899	13,910,630 barrels
1892	3,810,086 "	1900	16,195,675 "
1893	8,445,412 "	1901	14,177,126 "
1894	8,577,624 "	1902	13,513,345 "
1895	8,120,125 "	1903	12,900,000 "
1896	10,019,770 "		
1897	13,090,045 "	Total	144,601,296 barrels
1898	13,603,135 "		

In summing up the petroleum industry in West Virginia, and the method by which it has been carried on, the State Conservation Commission, whose report in 1908 has been already liberally quoted from in these pages, says:

"After the long list of wasted resources in foregoing pages, it is a relief to reach one which has not been squandered. The petroleum industry in this State, as elsewhere, has been well managed. It is an example of what is practicable in developing a great resource and at the same time practicing business economy. The oil men wasted enormous quantities of natural gas, but they did not waste oil.

"The custom of criticizing the methods of the great oil companies has become so nearly universal that any commendation runs the risk of being misconstrued by demagogues who never speak of a good quality and never fail to make the most of a bad one. Is is a fact, however, that no great enterprise in West Virginia has developed one of the State's resources with more economy or along safer lines than its oil developers. Had other resources been handled in that manner, products worth hundreds of millions of dollars would have been used, or saved for future use, which have gone forever without doing good in any way.

"Condemnation was loud—in certain quarters at least—a few years ago, because, as was said, 'West Virginia oil built the Chicago University'—meaning that money from oil operations had been spent that way. It would be more pleasing to the people of the State of course, if the money made from this State's products were spent in West Virginia; but there is another side to the question which appears to have been overlooked. The millions given to found an educational institution at Chicago represented no more than a small part of the savings made possible by utilizing oil by-products—the odds and ends scraped together in that one branch of development, and which other so-called developers would have thrown away. If some one had possessed the business ability to scrape up this State's forest waste—merely what has gone to the waste heap—he could have built ten Chicago Universities, and used nothing in doing so except material that has rotted in the woods or gone up in smoke. The savings would have done it. The coal waste—that which has been thrown away in this State—would build ten more such universities. The waste in smoke from coke ovens, which nobody thinks worth saving, is enough to found such a university every year. The State's unused water power would do as much. The natural gas waste up to the present time would build a hundred universities and endow them.

"The oil companies grew wealthy because they saved. Although engaged in vast enterprises, they did not 'despise the day of small things.' The Standard Oil Company's exhibit at the Jamestown Fair was worth serious study by every West Virginian who has any part in the development of natural resources. It was an exhibit showing the by-products from petroleum. It looked like a drug store with its jars, bottle and other articles. Each was a commodity, useful and valuable in the every day life of the people—wax, oils, vaseline, soap, paints, dyes —dozens and scores of things, nearly everyone of which was a by-product. Under present forest management, coal workings, gas handling, coke making, and so forth, in West Virginia, all of them would have gone into the rubbish pile or into the air."

NATURAL GAS

In a former chapter of this book a sketch of the early history of natural gas in the state may be found. A small amount was used nearly a hundred years ago to boil the salt kettles at the Kanawha river salt works, but aside from that, no attempt was made for a long time to utilize the gas. When the oil development began in the state, the drillers soon encountered gas, and often in large quantities. It was generally regarded as a nuisance or a curiosity, and the oil operators permitted it to escape. It was not supposed to have any value as a commercial com-

modity. At length experiments were made with it to develop power to pump oil wells by the employment of engines—first a steam engine converted into a gas engine, and then a specially constructed gas engine, operated by the exploding gas in the cylinders. In a short time villages in the vicinity of large wells commenced the use of the gas for light and fuel. It was found so cheap and so satisfactory that its use spread rapidly. Pipe lines were laid to towns many miles from the region of production, and coal and wood nearly went out of use as fuel in the towns; and many farm houses in the gas territory put down pipes, and employed gas to heat their homes, light their premises indoors and out, and in some cases flambeaux were installed in sheltered places in fields where cattle congregated in cold weather to warm by the cheerful blaze. The use of gas for domestic purposes was an innovation which spread with remarkable rapidity among the people.

It spread with equal rapidity among manufacturers. It drove coal and coke largely out of use for heating furnaces and boilers; and it quickly displaced artificial gas and electricity for lighting purposes in many places. It was not long in reaching large manufacturing centers, and in a short time Pittsburg and Wheeling had undergone a remarkable change. Writing on the subject of the use of natural gas for manufacturing purposes Andrew Carnegie said in *MacMillan's Magazine:*

"In the manufacture of glass, of which there is an immense quantity made in Pittsburgh, I am informed that gas is worth more than the cost of coal and its handling, because it improves the quality of the product. One firm in Pittsburgh is already making plateglass of the largest size, equal to the best imported French glass, and is enabled to do so by this fuel. In the manufacture of iron, and especially that of steel, the quality is also improved by the pure new fuel. In our steel rail mills we nave not used a pound of coal for months, nor in our iron mills for nearly the same period. The change is a startling one. Where we formerly had ninety firemen at work in one boiler house, and were using four hundred tons of coal per day, a visitor now walks along the long row of boilers and sees but one man in attendance. The house being whitewashed, not a sign of the dirty fuel of former days is to be seen, nor do the stacks emit smoke. In the Union iron mills, our puddlers have whitewashed the coal bunkers belonging to their furnaces. Most of the principal iron and glass establishments in the city are to-day using either this gas as fuel or making preparations to do so. The cost of coal is not only saved, but the great cost of firing and handling it; while the repairs to boilers and grate bars are much less."

The gas which brought about that remarkable change in the methods of manufacturing in Pittsburgh, was piped to that city from the gas fields, the most productive of which were in West Virginia. Gas was piped from this state also to Cleveland and Columbus, Ohio, and eastward to Cumberland, Maryland. The gas lines, like the oil lines, were carried across country, over mountains and under rivers, as nearly straight as it was possible to construct them. The pipes used in the distribution of the gas were of all sizes, from one to twenty inches in diameter. The main lines were made of the largest sizes of pipe; and the enormous quantity required may be calculated from the fact that some of the lines were from fifty to nearly two hundred miles in length, and the number of short and small lines is unknown. Some of the region is a network of such lines.

Oil has to be forced through pipelines with powerful pumps. In many instances gas went through without any artificial pressure. When the lines were long, and after many of the strongest wells had partly exhausted themselves, it became necessary to install pumps to force the gas to its destination, if it had far to go, say, fifty miles or more.

The pressure which forces gas from a newly-bored well has been a subject of discussion and dispute among geologists. The fact that there is great pressure is not disputed, but there has been different opinions

as to the origin of the force. From some wells the rush of the gas is tremendous. It is stronger than would be the rush of steam from an orifice in a boiler heated to the limit. Tools weighing hundreds of pounds are sometimes blown from a depth of a thousand feet or more in the well, high into the air. The roar of such a well in full discharge may sometimes be heard many miles—fifteen or twenty in some cases. The flow of gas at such a time amounts to millions of cubic feet daily—blown into the air and wasted. Two hundred or two hundred and fifty pounds pressure per square inch is about as much as safety will allow in a steam boiler; yet some gas wells have shown much more when the outflow has been stopped. A well six miles from Mannington developed a pressure of 800 pounds per square inch almost instantly in a three inch pipe. Some of the greatest gas wells in West Virginia were never tested for pressure; but measurements or attempted measurements have been made for others. A well in Wetzel county which blew several months before is was possible to shut it in, was finally curbed in July, 1898, and after all the waste—perhaps four or five billion cubic feet of gas—the pressure was still 1,200 pounds to the square inch.

Another well in Wetzel county showed a pressure of 1,075 pounds in one minute, which was the limit of the apparatus measuring the pressure. The well was 2,800 feet deep. A well in Monongalia county went to the limit of the gage in one minute, at 1,200 pounds. What was believed to be the largest gas well ever struck in West Virginia, or in any state, both in volume of gas and in pressure, was drilled in 1893 six miles southwest of Mannington, Marion county, to a depth of 3,055 feet. The West Virginia Geological Survey, Volume I(a), page 69, reported that well, in part, as follows:

"At about three feet in the sand at the Morgan well, or 3,055 feet from the surface, the gas was struck, and so great was its pressure that the drilling tools, weighing several thousand pounds, were lifted from the bottom of the well, and blown above the top of the derrick, through 6⅝-inch casing, more than 100 feet into the air. The well defied all the usual methods of procedure in shutting in large gas wells, and only after three months of uninterrupted work was it finally conquered. The three inch tubing could not be inserted in the 6⅝-inch casing in the customary manner, but required the pull of block and tackle to force it into the well. Then when the proper depth, 2,270 feet, had been reached, where it was decided to set the rubber packer, it would not 'take hold,' and on withdrawing the tubing, no rubber was visible, the fine sand and pebbles having been blown by the gas against it with such force as to destroy the rubber entirely and blow its material out as dust. This occurred several times, until the packer was wrapped with iron wire before inserting it, which finally proved successful, and the well was shut in. This well gave a pressure of 800 pounds (the limit of the gauge) almost instantly. The well was completed on the 19th of August, 1893, and after supplying the towns of Fairmont and Grafton, 25 miles distant, for four years, still showed a rock pressure at the well of 765 pounds January 1, 1898, and 550 pounds January 1, 1899. Its production through the open casing when first struck must have been enormous, probably between thirty-five and forty million cubic feet daily."

The exact pressure of some of the large deep wells has been only estimated, because gauges of sufficient range were not used. A well in the Nineveh region, in Greene county, Pennsylvania, ran the gauge to its limit, 1,500 pounds, but it did not stop there; for the pressure increased until it blew up the two inch pipe with which it was shut in. It was believed that the pressure in that instance ran to 1,600 or 1,700 pounds per square inch; as the pipe that was used is supposed to be tested at the factory to 2,000 pounds. It is quite probable that the total rock pressure of the deep wells in the West Virginia field would exceed 1,500 pounds per square inch in the deepest portion of the field, if shut in and packed down.

Sometimes when deep wells of high pressure are shut in, the gas from the producing rock fills the well and is forced into porous rock layers above, where it may be stored away for future use. In most of the gas fields, high pressure is a thing of the past. The supply has been drawn upon until the store is greatly lessened.

The cause of the pressure of gas in the ground is not wholly agreed upon. In some instances it corresponds pretty accurately to the pressure of a column of water as high as the well is deep. That is, if the gas issues from a stratum three thousand feet beneath the surface, it develops a pressure such as would result from a 3,000-foot column of water. That fact led some investigators to believe—particularly in the early period of gas well boring—that water had penetrated to the gas stratum, and rested upon the imprisoned gas, so that the pressure shown by the gas simply recorded the weight of the column of water. The theory seemed plausible enough so long as it fitted observed facts; but instances began to be noted where the facts and the theory did not agree. Sometimes the pressure was more than could result from any column of water that, under the circumstances, could possibly act upon the gas. The theory, therefore, failed because it did not conform to the facts. Another theory was then put forward, and the term "rock pressure" was substituted for water pressure in accounting for the behavior of the gas issuing from a well.

The occurence of gas under rock folds follows the same law as petroleum. Gas, oil, and water arrange themselves within the subterranean reservoir according to their respective specific gravities. When the three substances are imprisoned beneath an anticline—a wide arch of rock—the gas which is lightest takes its place in the top of the arch; petroleum being second in lightness, occupies the space beneath the gas; while water, the heaviest of the three, settles still lower. It is a stratified arrangement, the heaviest at the bottom, the lightest on top. Where this stratification exists, a well in penetrating the highest part of the anticline strikes gas; if it is part way down the side, it will penetrate the oil belt; and if still further, water will be the result. Much of the gas development in West Virginia was carried on with full confidence in the theory. The wells were bored on the highest part of the anticlines, and good gas wells usually followed. A map of the productive oil and gas wells in West Virginia, where all may be seen at one view, shows that they follow lines across the country many miles. These lines mark the direction of the anticlines which hold the gas and oil.

Many oil borers struck gas as well as oil. Some struck gas only. They were prospecting for oil and most of them cared nothing for the gas, and it was permitted to blow into the air, and become a total waste. Not until demand for it had made it valuable was any serious effort made to save it. In some instances, wells blew into the air for months or even for years, and had nearly or quite exhausted themselves before the openings were plugged and the remainder of the gas was shut in, and made to flow into pipes where it could be used.

Lampblack—One of the products of natural gas is lampblack. The capital invested in the plants in West Virginia for making this product is said to be about three-quarters of a million dollars. The industry is of comparatively recent origin, for it began after the custom of plugging gas wells and saving the gas became popular. The apparatus for converting the gas into lampblack is usually housed in sheds which, from their outside appearance might be mistaken for brick kilns. They send up much smoke, and soot settles down upon the surrounding objects, to a greater degree than it accumulates about coke ovens. The process of manufacturing the lampblack is exceedingly wasteful. Ninety per cent.

of the gas is said to escape as waste where ten per cent. is utilized. It would of course be impossible to manufacture a product at a profit, where the waste is ninety per cent., if the raw material was bought at its worth; but in West Virginia the lampblack factories generally have owned the gas wells. As long as there is plenty of gas issuing from the wells, money can be made by utilizing only ten per cent. of it. As a question of public policiy it is, of course, wrong to commit such waste to make a temporary profit. It is in keeping with many other customs which have prevailed in West Virginia, such as the sacrifice of poor grades of coal to get some of the good; the blowing of natural gas into the air to secure the oil which issues from the same well; the burning of forests to improve the range for cattle, and many more of a like kind.

CHAPTER XXXII

TIMBER REGIONS AND LUMBER INDUSTRY

When nature placed the area now embraced in West Virginia among ranges of mountains which are cut by innumerable valleys; gave it a fertile soil, sufficiently varied in its constituents to meet the requirements of many species of trees from the spruce and fir which love the mountain tops, down to the sycamore and the buckeye which delight in the low valleys; when a climate was provided which afforded abundance of rain, with summers not too warm and winters not too cold—when nature did this through the agencies of geology and geography, it was foreordained that it should be a remarkable timber region. More than one hundred species of trees grow naturally in that area, and everyone of them is fit for some useful purpose in man's economy; and in the aggregate, they greatly assist nature in preserving the region's usefulness and beauty.

Said the West Virginia Conservation Commission's report in 1908: "Forests are maintained for two general purposes, one to grow timber and the other to protect the soil and the watercourses. The same woodland can, of course, answer both purposes. In West Virginia certain tracts ought to be kept permanently in woods, whether any revenue shall ever be derived from the timber or not. Soils which wash badly if bare, and are not suited to grass, ought to grow trees. The steep ravines about the sources of creeks and rivers should remain forested, even if in nothing better than laurel. The purpose is to prevent the drying up of fountain springs which feed the streams. Other patches of woods are useful as windbreaks to protect buildings and live stock. Such forests are not maintained primarily for the wood they may grow. In a state forest policy for West Virginia, protective forests should be well considered. Every mountain stream should have its share. In most cases the natural forests, when properly protected from fire, would be ample.

"The soil may be removed through deforestation. The vegetable ingredients in a soil may be burned out, and where the constituents of a soil are largely vegetable in its composition it may be almost entirely consumed, as was the case on the Roaring Plains and other high, stony plateaus of the Alleghanies. The removal of the natural covering may also prove very injurious to deep mineral soils which are proof against the direct attack of fire. When the ground is laid bare on the steep slopes, rains wash the soil away. It is sometimes worn down over its whole surface, as may be seen in old clay-fields on hillsides; or gullies may form, as is often the case where soils are sandy. In either instance the loss is serious. Every rain carries down a load of silt or sand, and the rivers carry it toward the sea or drop it in their own channels where it forms bars, islands, and shoals. In West Virginia the erosion has not yet progressed far, but agencies are at work, and rapid denudation may be looked for in the near future. In the Appalachian region south of Pennsylvania it has been estimated that the soil from 100 square miles goes into the river every year, from the naked hills. The soil is gone forever—worse than that, for it is not only lost to agriculture which sorely needs it, but it fills navigable channels which must be dredged at great cost. Much of the hundreds of millions of dollars which the Government has spent dredging rivers has gone to remove silt washed in from fields which ought never to have been cleared, and from deforested mountains.

"West Virginia can attack this waste in its infancy. It should be borne in mind that every yard of soil that gets into the streams is lost for all time, because it takes ten thousand years for enough rock to decompose to form a foot of soil. The people of West Virginia should profit by the fate of Dalmatia which let its forests be destroyed and its soil washed away. In some districts of that region the wretched people pound rocks into sand with hammers and make little plots of ground for gardens, some of them scarcely longer than bed quilts. Care of woods once abundant would have prevented the irreparable loss in that country, and it will prevent it in West Virginia.

"Forests exercise a considerable influence over the behavior of rivers. This influence is not the same in all climates and countries. Each river system must

MILL AT DAVIS'.

By Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey.

be studied by itself, for deduction under one set of conditions may not hold true under another. Generally speaking, a woodland soil absorbs more water than naked ground. The decaying leaves, the roots and stems, and the more porous nature of the upper layers of a forest soil, take up the rain and melting snow, and hold it for a time, permitting it to filter away slowly and enter the streams gradually. Sudden rushes of water down steep slopes after a rain are thus hindered, and the streams rise more slowly, flow more regularly, and seldom reach excessively low stages. When the same has been laid bare and packed by its own weight and under the unobstructed beating of rain drops, its surface hardens, its porosity is lessened, and it sheds water like a roof. The streams catch it quickly, and floods follow. That is the difference between a forested and a treeless region. A country well cultivated, and producing farm crops, may have a soil almost or quite as affective as a woodland soil in preventing storm water from flowing too quickly to the streams. The dangerous region is the one with steep, bare slopes. West Virginia mountains would, if denuded, be a constant menace to all the lower valleys. Floods surpassing everything known in this region heretofore would be sure to follow. On the other hand, streams would speedily become dry after the rains had ceased.

"Public opinion has long held that the floods are increasing in number, not only in West Virginia but in other regions where rapid deforestation has been going on, but only recently were figures compiled showing just what is taking place in this State. Records of river stages and rainfall have been kept daily during many years, at numerous points, by the United States Geological Survey, the War Department, and the Weather Bureau. A compilation of results shows a very disquieting state of affairs in West Virginia. Floods in the Ohio at Wheeling have increased 28 per cent. in number in 26 years; Potomac floods at Harper's Ferry have increased 36 per cent. in 18 years; the Monongahela's floods, at Greensboro, Pa., show an increase of 73 per cent. in 24 years; and at Charleston an increase of 83 per cent. is shown by the Kanawha in 20 years. The increase in low water periods, for the same time, follows: Ohio river 39 per cent.; Potomac 40 per cent.; Monongahela, 36 per cent; the Kanawha about the same as the Monongahela. The actual quantity of water discharged by the Potomac per year is 8 per cent. more than twelve years ago; and for the Ohio at Wheeling, the quantity is 13 per cent. greater.

The average rainfall for the whole State of West Virginia seems to be about 2½ per cent. less than it was eight years ago. This does not necessarily imply that the decrease will be permanent or that it will continue. It is well known that rainfall varies greatly. It sometimes increases during a term of years, then declines, and again increases. The cycle of change seems to be about 35 years; but that matter needs additional proof before it should be accepted as settled. The increase in the total discharge of West Virginia rivers, in spite of diminishing rainfall and a greater fluctuation than formerly in the periods of high and low water, is due solely, so far as available data can be interpreted, to the deforestation of the mountains. There is no reason to doubt that a continuation of the timber cutting and burning will increase the fluctuation of the streams if, indeed, it does not permanently reduce the rainfall which is by no means improbable."

The estimate has been made that when the area now embracing West Virginia was in its wild state, before civilized man had disturbed it, the unbroken forests contained approximately 150 billion feet of timber. There must be less than thirty billion feet now, counting large and small. In their original state the forests stood at rest. They were not increasing or diminishing. Just as many trees grew as fell. The yearly loss balanced the yearly growth. When men began to cut and burn the forests, the equilibrium was disturbed, and the total amount of wood in the region declined. It has gone down from perhaps 150 billion feet to probably twenty billion. At a very rough estimate, four and a half billion feet were made into fence rails since the earliest settlement began; one billion went into farm timbers other than fences; and half as much into town houses; ten billion feet were cut for fuel, and about twenty billion have been cut by sawmills; and there may still be, all told, twenty billion feet remaining. The quantity which has grown since settlements began must nearly equal the amount standing in the original forests, a century and a half year ago. All this is gone, together with what was left of the original forests after men used what they needed. That is, fully 200 billion feet of timber have been wasted, through natural decay and fire, since white people first came into West Virginia.

It is of interest to know how much timber West Virginia can grow, year by year, if its forests are properly cared for, and the vacant spaces are put to work as they should be. Take it for granted that 8,000,000 acres in the State will be kept permanently in productive forests. It can be figured out with a fair degree of accuracy how much timber will grow on an acre, and how much the yearly growth will be. The same rule does not hold everywhere. The growth depends on climate, soil, kinds of trees, and the care given them. In some of the finest Japanese forests the yearly growth is as much as 80 cubic feet per acre. In some of the neglected and fire-wasted woods of West Virginia it is not one-tenth that much. In the vigorous hardwood forests of this State the annual increment may be as much as fifty or sixty cubic feet, but in choice localities only. The State's 8,000,000 acres, if guarded from fire, and well cared for in all ways, ought to yield twenty-five cubic feet of timber yearly for each acre. The estimate is conservative. That would provide for a yearly harvest, from the whole State, of 1,600,000,000 feet, board measure. At twenty dollars a thousand feet, the gross income from lumber sales would be 32 million dollars a year. That would not be the rake-off of several years' growth at one time, as at present, with nothing for many succeeding years, but it would come in every year, and as time went on the yield would increase rather than diminish.

Planted forests are wholly in the future as yet in this state. They will come in course of time; but the historian is authorized to speak only of the past and the present. The forests must be considered as they are and were.

THE FOREST TREES

The woods and what they have produced have been closely identified with the state's history and development. Timber is and has been a resource of the first order. The wild land's crop of trees has been enormous, and the manufacture of these trees into useful commodities has furnished a livelihood and made fortunes for many people. The trees themselves, are, therefore, worthy of acquaintance. The region is rich in woods, and was once far wealthier in that resource than at present. Many persons who have not been so fortunate as to make the personal asquaintance of the native tree species of West Virginia have little idea of what the forests contain. The list which follows contains the principal woods, but is by no means complete. It is proper to begin with white pine, now practically a thing of the past in this state. Much of the data in the sketches of individual species which follow are taken from Volume V of the West Virginia Geological Survey, by A. B. Brooks.

White Pine (Pinus strobus)—This was once among the most important softwoods of West Virginia, and it occurred in many parts of the state, but most abundantly on the east side of Greenbrier river in Pocahontas and Greenbrier counties; on the heads of Piney river and Glade creek in Raleigh county; on Bluestone river in Mercer county; and on Horseshoe run and adjacent tributaries of Cheat river in Tucker county. A few trees are scattered from Hampshire county to the Ohio river, and from the Pennsylvania line to the southern part of the state. As a timber tree in this region it is almost a thing of the past. When it was plentiful it was much used for houses, barns, fences, and bridges. Though not very strong, the wood is so light that large beams and planks can be used without overloading the structure. Many of the old style covered bridges for wagon roads, across rivers in the mountain sections of the state were chiefly white pine. When it could be had it was almost

PULP MILL.

By Courtesy of West Virginia Geological Survey.

universally used in its region for shaved shingles. It had no equal for that use, in ease of manufacture and lasting qualities. There are serviceable white pine roofs in the state now which were put on from forty to sixty years ago. The most of the white pine cut in the region was not used at home, but was shipped to distant markets, the important shipments commencing about 1870. Few white pine seedlings are to be found, even where old trees remain, because forest fires kill them before they attain sufficient size to live through the heat. This tree, where it has a chance, restocks the ground with great rapidity, but it has little chance in this region where fires occur every year or two.

Pitch Pine (*Pinus Rigida*)—The pitch pine was the tree of which the pioneers made torches, from the knots of which they manufactured tar and shoemaker's wax, and made the chimney corner lights which sometimes answered for candles. The tree is fairly well distributed over the state, and is found in at least half the counties, but it is not very plentiful, and never was worth much for lumber. Its hardness fits it for floors, but its knots give it a poor appearance. It grows on dry ridges and poor land, not because it prefers such situations, but it takes those places because it cannot stand crowding, and it creeps off to itself where few other trees can follow. It resists fire much better than most pines, because its bark is thick.

Shortleaf Pine (*Pinus echinata*)—The common name in West Virginia for this tree, among those who are acquainted with it, is yellow pine. It is one of the southern yellow pines, and is somewhat out of its range in this state. Its home is in the south from North Carolina to Texas. It is not abundant in West Virginia, though some of it has been cut for lumber on Hughes river, the Little Kanawha, and in a few other places. It is found in Pendleton, Grant, Hardy, Mineral, and Hampshire counties, and in the southern part of the state, and along the Ohio river, but is scarce. It is one of the most valuable timber trees of the southern states.

Loblolly Pine (*Pinus taeda*) is another of the southern yellow pines which has found its way northward into this state, but only a tree here and there, and of no importance as a source of lumber. It is found in Wood county, and also east of the Alleghanies in Hardy, Mineral, and Hampshire counties. This is the tree which in the past seventy years has overrun and taken possession of thousands of old abandoned plantations in eastern Virginia and North Carolina. It grows very rapidly, and in forty or fifty years will make sawlogs.

Scrub Pine (*Pinus virginiana*), often called Jersey pine, is scattered about the state both east and west of the Alleghany mountain. It is not worth much; the trunks are small and the wood is brittle and weak. A considerable amount is made into boxes and crates in Maryland, and a small amount in this state. Within the past hundred years this pine has overrun much of New Jersey as the loblolly pine has overrun tidewater Virginia. Like most other softwoods, it does best on poor land where the hardwoods cannot crowd it to death.

Table Mountain Pine (*Pinus pungens*), occasionally called hickory pine, is not plentiful, and many a lumberman never saw it. A little is found in the Kanawha valley, and in Mineral, Hampshire, Hardy, Pendleton, and Grant counties. It is named for a mountain in North Carolina where it was first discovered. For many years it was supposed that it did not grow anywhere else.

Tamarack (*Larix laricina*), also called larch, barely touches West Virginia near Cranesville in Preston county, and is too scarce in the state to be of any commercial use. It is a tree of the north where it occupies cold swamps. It has been planted further south than its natural

range. It sheds all its leaves in winter; but in other respects it bears considerable resemblance to spruce.

Red Spruce (Picea rubens)—This is the common spruce of the high mountains, the kind cut for pulpwood. Little is found in this state at an altitude of less than 2,500 feet, though it has been found as low as 1,800 feet. The best forests are on the highest mountains of Greenbrier, Pocahontas, Pendleton, Randolph, and Tucker counties. Many heavy stands were cut in recent years. The total acreage in the state was estimated at 469,000 in 1890, at 225,000 in 1895, and at present perhaps not half that much. The wood is white, light, and soft.

Black Spruce (Picea mariana)—This tree is so much like the red spruce that it is not easy to tell one from the other. It is a high mountain tree near the southern boundary of its range, and some botanists maintain that it does not grow as far south as this state, but what has been taken for black spruce in this region is really red spruce.

Hemlock (Tsuga canadensis)—Probably every county of the state has a little hemlock, and some have large quantities. It grows on mountains and in valleys, and one of its favorite situations is deep, damp ravines, where shade is dense. If given an opportunity it furnishes its own shade, for the trunks are covered with limbs, and the limbs are loaded with leaves. Unless shade is dense, young hemlock seedlings will do little growing. That is the reason why a new hemlock forest seldom comes on to take the place of an old one when it is cut. The sunshine kills the young growth. The most abundant forests of hemlock in the state, before lumbermen and tanbark peelers began operations, were in Tucker, Randolph, Webster, Pocahontas, Nicholas, Raleigh, Clay, Greenbrier, and Mercer counties. Hemlock and the large laurel are often associated. Both seek dense shade. Hemlock is a coarse wood, but it is strong, and its principal use is in rough construction. Enormous quantities of the bark have been used for tanning purposes, both in the state and out. When hemlock grows in open ground it assumes a form of almost faultless symmetry, and is one of the finest ornamental trees. Sometimes the form of a forest-grown hemlock is so nearly perfect that the most skillful tree gardener could make no improvement. Only in the densest forests are the limbs of the lower part of the trunk shaded off, leaving the trunk bare. Large trees grown in open ground often have limbs extending nearly to the ground. In this respect it is the opposite of white pine. The abundance of limbs on hemlocks makes the lumber nearly always very knotty. The trunk is apt to show defects due to wind shake and frost cracks.

Fraser Fir (Abies fraseri)—The common names for this mountain tree are balsm fir and blister pine. The latter name is due to blisters on the bark of young trees, and near the tops of old ones. These blisters are filled with resin which by some is supposed to have medicinal properties. This fir has never been of much commercial importance in the state, because it was always scarce, and is much scarcer now than formerly. It is a high mountain tree, and it is known to exist in the state now in only three localities, on Blister run, a tributary of Shaver's fork, near Cheat Bridge, Randolph county; in Pocahontas county, near the head of the east fork of Greenbrier river, south of the Sinks of Gandy; and in Tucker county, in the Canaan valley. The light, straight saplings are used for stack poles by the few farmers who can get them.

Northern White Cedar (Thuya occidentalis), commonly known in this region as arborvitae, is scarce, and is not known to grow wild in this state west of the Alleghanies, though it is often planted for ornament. The wild trees are found in Grant and Pendleton counties, clinging to the faces of cliffs and precipices, or crowded in rocky ravines. In the

far north, in New England and about the Great Lakes, it is generally a swamp tree, but in this region it seems to prefer the rockiest, roughest ground it can find.

Red Cedar (*Juniperus virginiana*), is sometimes called savin, and is not abundant anywhere in this state, and is seldom put to any use here except for a few posts. Its botanical range covers the whole state, and possibly a few trees might be found in every county; but in most parts of the state it is seldom seen, except when planted in yards. In Hampshire county and other sections east of the Alleghany mountains it is more abundant, but still not plentiful. It is also rather common in some of the southwestern parts of the state. This has proved to be a very hard tree to kill out. Birds carry the seeds, and seedling cedars spring up in unlooked-for places, but particularly in old fields, and it makes little difference how poor or how stony the ground is. It is therefore probable that future West Virginians will see more of the red cedar than their ancestors saw in the primeval forests of this region. Most good lead pencils are made of the wood of this cedar. Clothes chests and wardrobes are occasionally made of this wood, because it is reputed to keep moths out by its strong odor.

THE HARDWOODS

Although West Virginia once had enormous quantities of softwoods, and still has much, it is chiefly a hardwood region. The softwoods grow in restricted localities, but hardwoods are found, or were once found, everywhere. The number of species of hardwoods much exceeds the number of soft woods.

White Oak (*Quercus alba*)—This fine timber tree may be regarded as the most important in the United States, when all things are considered; and it is no less proper to consider it the most important in this state. It grows in every county, and usually it is abundant. Except on some of the highest mountains, where softwoods prevail, it is difficult to find a timber tract of much size in which white oak is not present. It has been a standby of the people from the first settlements down to the present time. It has fenced more farms in this state than any other wood; it has been a common material in house and barn building, when the houses were of logs and the floors of split puncheons and it is still a common and capital material when houses are made in up-to-date ways and with fine floors and finish.

The wood of white oak is heavy, strong, and hard. Except the fence rails made in early times, the most of this wood that has been cut has been sent to market outside the state. The most valuable grades are found here, but some parts of the state have exceptionally good grades, and these were among the first to go to outside markets. The stave business had early choice, and many a fine stand of white oak was culled of its finest trees in order that the molasses makers of the West Indies might have barrels in which to ship the product of their plantations. Then the shipbuilders came into the region for planks and took what they wanted, or what they could get. With the multiplication of railroads, buyers of every kind came in for a share.

White oak is a rich land tree; not as much so as yellow poplar, but it will not suffer itself to be crowded off to poor ridges and dry slopes. Chestnut oak goes there, and gives up the choice soils to white oak. Land speculators in early times often judged of the quality of soil by the character of the timber growing on it, and white oak was one of the trees depended upon. The white oak grows to large size and attains great age before it reaches its full maturity. There is no reliable data

concerning the age of the fully matured white oak trees of this region, but an estimate of two hundred years is low enough, and many show by the number of their annual rings that they are twice that old.

Post Oak (*Quercus minor*)—This oak is not sufficiently abundant in any part of West Virginia to make it of much value as a resource; but in some localities it is found useful. The appearance of the tree, either in bark or leaves, would scarcely cause it to be mistaken for white oak, but the wood is somewhat like that of white oak, though not quite so tough. When well selected and quarter-sawed, it shows good figure. Some of it is made into staves for oil, whiskey, and molasses barrels. It is found in the following counties of the state, and doubtless in others also, though not reported: Braxton, on banks of Elk river, near Sutton; Calhoun, near Grantsville; Fayette, near Fayetteville; Grant, on Lunice creek; Hampshire, near Romney; Hardy, in the vicinity of Moorefield; Kanawha, about Charleston; Lewis, a few trees near Weston; McDowell, north of Welch; Mercer, in the vicinity of Princeton. It is thus shown to be distributed fairly well over the state.

Bur Oak (*Quercus macrocarpa*)—Only a few trees of this species are known to exist in the state, and it is, of course, too rare to be of much commercial value. A tree here and there has been observed in Grant and Hardy counties, and in Tyler county. The wood is of good quality. In some localities, but not in this state, this tree is one of the most persistent in taking possession of forest tracts which have been badly burned. This was the tree referred to in "Oak Openings," a Michigan romance written many years ago by James Fenimore Cooper. Its name is due to a fuzzy growth on the cup enclosing the acorn. The tree, for the same reason, is sometimes called mossy cup oak.

Swamp White Oak (*Quercus platanoides*)—This tree is even more rare in the state than bur oak, and has been reported thus far only in Grant, Hardy, Pocahontas, Randolph, and Upshur counties. The wood is hard and strong, and is good wagon material. It has a notched leaf somewhat resembling the leaf of chestnut oak.

Chestnut Oak (*Quercus prinus*)—This is one of the common oaks of the state, and is found in all the counties. It is named on account of the resemblance of its leaf to the leaf of the chestnut tree. The wood is hard, strong, stiff, and rather coarse. It is not as generally a furniture wood as white oak, but is excellent for certain kinds of furniture. Chairmakers use it, and it is valued by the manufacturers of mission furniture, because it is easily colored in the desired shade. Some of the shades are produced by the fumes of ammonia. The bark is used for tanning leather. The chestnut oak is a poor land tree. It will thrive on rich ground if given a chance, but more vigorous trees are apt to crowd it out, and, like pitch pine, it withdraws to sterile ridges and dry uplands where some of its strongest competitors cannot follow. It grows slowly, as most poorland trees do, and does not develop bushy limbs or dense foliage, following the same rule as most trees which grow in sterile land. It stands forest fires well, on account of its thick bark which burns through with difficulty, and because the tree usually stands in thin woods with not much litter on the ground, and forest fires are not fierce. It is an interesting tree, and it is able to turn disadvantages to advantages. The fact that it can live on sterile ground makes it possible for it to live at all. The chestnut oak survives to an old age, but its life usually ebbs out during a long period of disease and decrepitude. Fungus attacks the trunk, and most of the old trees are dead at the top. It is not a handsome tree at best, and few are planted for ornamental purposes; but it exhibits an element of ruggedness and strength which calls for admiration.

Chinquapin Oak (*Quercus acuminata*)—This is sometimes called yellow oak, but the true yellow oak—the tree whose inner bark was once used for dyestuff—is another species. The Chinquapin oak is not sufficiently abundant in West Virginia to be of much importance. The wood is heavy and strong, and is suitable for many purposes. The leaves are notched like the chestnut's leaf. A few trees have been reported in the following counties of the state: In Webster, on Elk river, two miles above Webster Springs; Summers, on New river, above Hinton; Monongalia, near Morgantown; Kanawha, near St. Albans; Hardy, on Mudlick run; Grant, near Petersburg; Fayette, at Kanawha Falls; Doddridge, on Middle Island creek, below West Union; Boone, on Little Coal river, near Madison.

Red Oak (*Quercus rubra*)—The white oaks ripen their acorns in one year, but the red oak acorns hang on two years. This is a division more recognized by botanists than lumbermen. The acorns of the red oaks are quite small at the end of the first year, and may escape notice unless they are particularly looked for. The tree which is commonly called red oak in this state is one of a group of red oaks, and is the typical member of the group. In some localities it is known as Spanish oak, but the true Spanish oak is another species and is not found in West Virginia. The red oak in this state is a tree of strong character and is well known. It reaches large size and venerable age; and it usually remains sound in trunk until very old. Trees three feet through, and fifty or sixty to the limbs are common; trunks of four feet are not rare, and those of five feet are occasional. The wood is more porous than white oak and for that reason has not been much sought for by stave manufacturers. A barrel made of red oak staves will not hold whiskey. This tree attains its largest size and develops its best wood among mountains at considerable elevation. The wood has a reddish tinge which accounts for the name of the tree. It is fine material for furniture and interior finish for houses. The residence of the late Senator Stephen B. Elkins, at Elkins, Randolph county, was finished with this wood cut on the surrounding hills. It is abundant in nearly all counties of the state, but in the low country along the Ohio river it does not attain the large size that it reaches in the cool valleys among the interior mountains.

Pin Oak (Quercus palustris).—This tree is not sufficiently abundant in the state to give it importance as a lumber wood. It is reported in Mercer, Hardy, and Monongalia counties, and a few trees are doubtless scattered in other localities. The wood resembles that of red oak. The tree is named on account of many small limbs that stand out from the trunk on all sides, and resemble wooden pins driven in without any order or system.

Scarlet Oak (*Quercus coccinea*)—The name pin oak is occasionally applied to this tree. It is not found on high mountains, but abounds among the dry hills in many parts of the state. It belongs in the red oak class, its wood is of fair quality, and it is used for cross ties, staves, fuel, and lumber. The name is due to the bright colors of the autumn foliage.

Yellow Oak (*Quercus velutina*)—The yellow oak is common in this state, and it may be distinguished from other oaks by cutting through the bark and noting the yellow color of the layer next to the wood. This gives the tree its name. The inner bark was formerly a common dyestuff in this state, and much homespun cloth was colored with it before commercial dyes became cheap. In the southern part of West Virginia the yellow oak is often a scrubby, inferior growth which covers the hills, and is known as black jack, though that is the name of another oak found in the state. The appearances of yellow oaks differ greatly, depend-

ing upon the soil and situation where they grow. In soil that suits them, the wood compares favorably with red oak, and the trees are of good size; but in thin, sterile soil the tree deteriorates to a form almost worthless.

Barren Oak (Quercus pumila)—The oak which bears this name, and which is also known as scrub oak and jack oak, is abundant in some localities, but not generally over the state. It is most plentiful in Hampshire, Hardy, and Grant counties, and grows on the summit of the Alleghanies at Mount Storm. It is found west of the mountains in Pocahontas, Greenbrier, Summers, and Monroe counties. The tree is small and of little commercial value. Few trunks are found above six or eight inches in diameter and twenty or thirty feet high.

Swamp Spanish Oak (Quercus pagodaefolia).—A few trees grow along the Kanawha river at Charleston, but none have been reported elsewhere in the state. In some parts of the Mississippi valley it is a tree 100 feet high, four feet or more in diameter, and with wood considered almost equal to white oak. There is no reason to believe that this oak will ever attain much importance in West Virginia, because it is too scarce.

Shingle Oak (Quercus imbricaria)—In some localities this tree is called laurel oak because its leaves bear some resemblance to those of laurel; but it is not the true laurel oak which is found much farther south. The tree attains its best development near the mouth of the Ohio river, and it there received its name because the early settlers made much use of it for shingles. It is not plentiful in West Virginia. It has been reported in only six counties of the state, but these are both east and west of the Alleghanies. In Grant county it grows on Lunice creek, and in Hardy county near Moorefield; near Belington, Barbour county, it is found on the banks of Tygart's Valley river; in Monogalia county, near Morgantown; along the Buckhannon river in Upshur county; and in Mason county, along the Ohio river.

Black Jack Oak (Quercus marilandica)—No great value attaches to this tree anywhere, because of the smallness of the trunk and the inferior quality of the wood. It is a poorland species which creeps off to sterile tracts where it can grow without crowding. Trunks six or eight inches in diameter and twenty or twenty-five feet high are up to the average. Its bark is probably rougher than that of any other tree of this region. Black Jack oak is scarce in this state, and it is not known that it has been put to any use.

White Elm (Ulmus americana) is common in most parts of the state, though not as plentiful in some of the mountain counties as in the lower areas. This and slippery elm are the two species which occur in the state. White elm is strong and tough, and is useful for wagon hubs and other parts of vehicles, as well as for common lumber. Few sawmills in the state make separate shipments of this wood though most of them cut a little of it as they find it mixed with other hardwoods. More white elm in West Virginia goes to stave makers than to any other class of manufacturers. It makes excellent flour barrel staves.

Slippery Elm (Ulmus pubescens) is known either personally or by reputation to almost every person in the state who has a general acquaintance with forest trees. Its name is due to its mucilaginous inner back which is much used for medicinal purposes, and was formerly a common household remedy for certain kinds of injuries where poulticing was needed. The wood is as useful as that of white elm which is generally a larger tree. It does not grow high on the mountains, nor is it common in all parts of the state.

Hackberry (Celtis occidentalis) is also called hoop ash. In Washington's surveying notes in West Virginia he called it hooptree, and men-

tioned it in the limits of the present counties of Hardy and Mason. It is not abundant in the state, but is found in the following counties: Boone, near Madison; Braxton, near Burnsville; Grant, on Lunice creek; Hampshire, near Romney; Hardy, near Moorefield; Jefferson, near Harper's Ferry; Kanawha, near Charleston; Logan, at Logan Courthouse; Monongalia, near Morgantown; Tyler, near Middlebourne; Upshur, Fayette, and Jackson. The tree is too scarce in this state to have much value. In regions where hackberry is sawed for lumber it commonly passes as ash.

Red Mulberry (Morus rubra) grows in nearly all part of the state, but is not commonly considered as a forest tree. It is best known in fields and along fences, where it is permitted to grow on account of its berries, which are usually considered superior to cultivated varieties. It is a wild tree and was in the woods before white men came. The heart wood of large mulberry trees is not inferior in beauty to black walnut, and bears considerable resemblance to it. If this tree was named from the color of its ripe fruit it should have been called black mulberry. The wood is very durable in contact with the ground, and next after locust it is probably the most promising tree in the state to plant for fence posts.

Cucumber tree (*Magnolia acuminata*) is well dispersed over the state, but is not plentiful. It delights in narrow, rich valleys and slopes. The name refers to the fruit it bears. It is not edible until it has been pickled and doctored to a remarkable extent. When ripe, it is bright red, and for that reason the tree is generally recognized by all who see it when the fruit is ripe. The wood is much like basswood, and is useful for furniture, house finish, pumps, and wooden ware. In early times when farmers made their own doughtrays and butter bowls they preferred cucumber wood because it was easy to work and was not apt to warp, check, and split after the article was finished.

Umbrella-tree (Magnolia tripitala) is also called elkwood and wahoo. The fruit of this tree somewhat resembles that of the cucumber tree, but is rose colored instead of red when ripe. The tree is not as large as the cucumber tree, and is not of commercial value. It is frequently planted for ornamental purposes. It is distributed pretty well over the state, but prefers the banks of streams where the soil is fertile.

Fraser Umbrella tree (*Magnolia fraseri*), also called mountain magnolia, is infrequent in the state. It is scattered through the mountainous parts of Clay, Nicholas, Pocahontas, Randolph, Upshur, and Webster counties, and has been found at an elevation of 3,500 feet. The leaves are ten or twelve inches long and six or seven inches wide, and the fruit, when ripe, is four or five inches long and is bright rose red in color. The tree may attain a height of thirty feet and a diameter of one foot. It is very ornamental but is not otherwise of much use.

Yellow Poplar (*Liriodendron tulipifera*)—In many respects the yellow poplar is one of the noblest of the hardwood trees of this country. Except the sycamore, it is the largest broadleaf tree native in the United States; and the sycamore cannot be compared with it in anything but size of trunk. The poplar is superior in all else—symmetry of form, beauty of foliage, excellence of the wood. The largest sycamore trunks are nearly always hollow; the large poplars are seldom defective, but are as perfect as any tree that grows. The range of yellow poplar covers the entire state, but the species is missing in some localities. It is seldom found on the highest mountains, above the spruce belt, and it is not abundant, or of large size, on sterile land. It is more plentiful and vigorous west of the Alleghanies than east. It claims, possesses, and holds the richest land, or did so before the land was cleared. The fertile coves against mountain sides, and the deep soil of flats and uplands,

were its favorite places, and there it grows, or once grew, in all its glory, strength, and majesty. It does not claim exclusive place, but the trees are dispersed among other species. A pure stand of yellow poplar is unusual. The trees lift their lofty tops above most of their competitors, and their leaves and flowers receive the sunlight unobstructed. The trunks of the largest trees are frequently sixty feet or more to the first limb; and diameters of three or four feet are common, and the largest are two or three times that size, though dimensions so great are by no means usual.

If the story told by fossil leaves is correct, the yellow poplar is one of the very oldest hardwoods on earth. It decked the cretaceous forests millions of years ago. Its peculiar and characteristic notched leaf, found fossilized in ancient rocks, tells of its existence in remote ages, when all, or most, of its associates were pines, sequoias, and plants and trees now extinct. It grew in the deep, red soils of that distant period, as may be inferred from the color of the rocks in which the fossil leaves are imbedded. It seems to have been a rich land tree then as now. Its ancient home was evidently in the same region where it flourishes to-day—the Appalachian highlands. The leaf seems to have undergone change of form since then. The lobes on the sides have been added; but the characteristic notched apex has remained. It may have had both forms of leaf then; for some trees now bear different forms at the same time. The sassafras, for instance, may have three forms of leaf on the same twig.

The flower of the yellow poplar shows no brilliant colors; but it is a glorious forest product. The botanical name of the tree, *liriodendron tulipifera,* is a descriptive term in three languages, Greek, Latin and Persian, though the Persian part of it, *tulip,* is now an English word. The translation of the full name is "tulip-bearing lily tree." Tulip tree is one of its names; whitewood is another.

There is only one species of yellow poplar in the world, but far distant regions are now its home. It grows in the eastern United States and in China. Some regard the Chinese yellow poplar as a different species. There is a common belief among lumbermen that two species grow in West Virginia, one known as white, or blue, or hickory poplar. There is only one species. The white poplar is simply a yellow poplar that grows on poor, dry soil, and is largely white sapwood. If such a trees lives long enough to become large, it changes its sapwood to heartwood, and ceases to be a white poplar.

There is no sure way of ascertaining what were the proportionate amounts of the various woods in the original West Virginia forests; but estimates, based on small areas, in various parts of the state, by A. B. Brooks, forester of the West Virginia Geological Survey, indicate that first place would belong to either white oak or yellow poplar. Some of the earliest lumber operations in the state, west of the Alleghanies, made a specialty of yellow poplar. There was market for it when few other woods were selling. The logs were light, and floated well. Flooded rivers, in many instances, carried them to their destination when the oaks and black walnut could not go. Immense numbers of yellow poplar sawlogs, in early years, and for several years after the Civil war, went down the Monongahela and its tributaries, down the Little and Great Kanawhas, and the Guyandotte and Big Sandy. That was before railroads had penetrated the timber regions at many points. Statistics for 1910 showed that West Virginia's output of yellow poplar exceeded that of any other state. The total harvest of this wood from the forests of West Virginia since lumbering began is not known, but it has not fallen much, if any, short of three thousand million feet.

Pawpaw (*Asimina triloba*).—The wood of this small tree is not used, and its fruit gives it whatever value it has. The pawpaw is found in many parts of the state below an altitude of about 1,200 feet.

Sassafras (*Sassefras sassafras*) is common in all parts of the state except on high mountains, and is well known to most people, not so much on account of its wood as for its bark and leaves from which sassafras tea is made. This tea is a common beverage in country districts, particularly early in the spring when the sap from the sugar tree can be used in making it. Oil of sassafras, which has a market value, is distilled from the bark and roots. Sassafras is apt to take possession of worn out, abandoned fields. It is a poor land tree, but grows better in rich ground. Large sassafras trees are common in the lower Ohio valley and southward, but only a few are found in this state. The wood is of good quality and is useful for floors, furniture, and house finish. The odor of the wood is reputed to drive insects from its vicinity, and in West Virginia, poles for hen roosts are common, the belief being that they will eradicate insects which annoy poultry. Bedsteads were formerly made of it, (but probably not now) to lessen the worry caused by fleas, bugs, and the like. A belief long prevailed that homemade soap should be stirred with a sassafras stick to secure best results. If these ideas are superstitions, they are at least widespread and of long standing. Some of them prevailed in Virginia three hundred years ago.

Red Gum (*Liquidambar styraciflua*), is known also as sweet gum, because in certain southern regions, chewing gum is made from it. It is found in a number of West Virginia counties, but as a timber tree it is not important here. It is easily identified by its star-shaped leaves and its burr-like fruit. It grows along Elk river in Clay county, in Fayette county, along the Kanawha and Elk above Charleston, on Tug Fork in Mingo county, in several parts of Nicholas county, and in Summers, Roane, Cabell, and Gilmer counties. Its wood is much used for imitation of costly woods, such as cherry, birch, oak, and black and Circassion walnut.

Witch Hazel (*Hamamelis virginiana*) is common in most parts of the state, but it does not attain a size fitting it for use as lumber. The bark is locally used as a medicine.

Sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*), is sometimes known as buttonwood. It is one of the most common but not the most abundant trees of the state. It grows along nearly all the watercourses below an altitude of 3,000 feet. It produces immense numbers of seeds in balls. When ripe, the ball breaks up, and the seeds float away on hair-like appendages, and travel considerable distances through the air. The seeds travel also by water, and find lodgment along wet shores and on muddy islands where they germinate in countless thousands. The sycamore is peculiarly an island tree. As soon as an obstruction starts the formation of a small island in a stream, seedling sycamores are apt to take possession of it, and if conditions are in anyway favorable the young trees will maintain their ground, collect and hold mud and rubbish, and build up an island which may, in course of time, change the channel of the river. The sycamore is likewise a valuable protector of river banks and prevents undermining by currents.

It is a rapid-growing tree in its early life, but after it secures full possession of the ground it wants, and becomes firmly established. it drops back to a comparatively slow rate of growth, but it maintains it a long time. In size of trunk, the sycamore is the largest broadleaf tree of the United States, but the yellow poplar is taller. Diameters of six and eight feet have been often reported, and twelve and more have been seen in this state. No age records for the largest trunks are available, for almost

without exception the unusually large sycamores are hollow, and the annual growth rings cannot be counted.

The sycamore sheds its outer bark yearly—but not entirely—and the almost snow-white patches of new bark make the trunk a conspicuous object. Sycamore wood is tough and is usually hard to split. It has long been used for butcher blocks. It may be quarter sawed, and furniture makers employ the lumber with good effect. Of late years the supply of sycamore lumber in this country has failed to meet the demand for it.

Crabapple (*Malus coronaria*) or sweet crab is found in most regions of the state. The wood is used for saw and plane handles, and the fruit is sometimes preserved; but the tree's chief economic importance in the state has been as stock on which to graft apple.

Mountain Ash (*Pyrus americana*) is found in this state only at high elevations, such as Spruce Knob, Pendleton county; Cranberry Glades, Pocahontas county; Cranesville, Preston county; Davis, Tucker county; Osceola and Cheat Bridge, Randolph county. The tree is small, the wood of doubtful value. There is little reason for calling it an ash. The leaves are composed like ash, the bark resembles that of tame sweet cherry, and the fruit is not unlike (in appearance) overgrown elderberries, but is yellow when young and red when ripe.

Service (*Amelanchier canadensis*) is found most frequently among the hills in damp, rich soils. Trees are small, the wood hard, strong, and heavy, and good for tool handles and engravers' blocks, but it is seldom bought and sold in this state. The tree is best known by its fruit, a small, red or rose-colored berry of sweet and pleasant taste, but not often gathered for other than immediate consumption. The name shadbush is applied to this tree in some regions, but not often in West Virginia.

Cockspur Thorn (*Crataegus crus-galli*) is common in many parts of the state, but is as near useless as any tree well can be. Its trunk is too small for use, too thorny to be touched, and if the fruit has any value for mankind, it has not been discovered, unless the fact that swine eat it may give it a value. There are other thorns in the state, but not so dispersed and abundant. The large-fruited thorn (*Craetagus punctata*), or dotted haw, is found in Canaan valley, Tucker county; at Durbin and Cass, Pocahontas county; on Bickle Knob, Randolph county; on Elk river, near Addison, Webster county; near Jacksonburg, Wetzel county; and doubtless in other localities. The Washington thorn (*Craetagus cordata*), or Washington haw, is rare, but has been found on the Kanawha and Greenbrier rivers. Scarlet haw (*Craetagus coccinea*), called also red haw and white thorn, abounds in different localities. The red fruit, which is edible but not important, gives the tree its name. Black haw (*Viburnum prunifolium*) also known as nannyberry, bears edible fruit, a small drupe which ripens late in the fall and hangs in thin clusters till brought down by freezing weather. The trunk is small, usually a bush, and is not used in this state, but is valuable for canes and umbrella handles in New Jersey and elsewhere. The black haw abounds in Harrison, Lewis, and other counties southward and westward.

Wild Plum (*Prunus americana*) is a forest tree, but it likes sunlight and is usually found now in cleared land, along fences, in waste corners of fields, and on the banks of streams. In early years, before orchards supplied the people with fruit, the wild plum was an important article of food. In open woods, whenever it was found at all, it was usually abundant. The few remnants of old Indian fields remaining open when settlements began, were famous for their wild plums. The trees were

not unlikely descended from seeds planted, intentionally or otherwise, by Indians before they departed; and the sunlight of the open ground provided the environment which the plum trees needed to make them prolific bearers. At the present time wild plums are less thought of, because better fruits are available; but trees are yet plentiful. They continue to show their forest habits by growing in clumps and thickets—a solitary plum tree being an unusual sight.

Wild Red Cherry (*Prunus pennsylvanica*), known also as bird cherry, because it is eagerly devoured by birds, and fire cherry, because of its proneness to take possession of forest tracts bared by fire, is abundant in the mountain regions of the state. The tree is small, and the wood is not known to have any use except for pipe stems. The fruit is sour and not unpleasant to the taste, but it is very small—about the size of small peas—and the stone is the most prominent part of the fruit. In the absence of anything better, these wild cherries have been used for domestic purposes. A common name for them in West Virginia is choke cherries, but they are not the true choke cherry. The tree quickly appears in burnt forest tracts, and some people believe they spring up miraculously, because the seedlings come up so quickly after the fire that it has been thought impossible that they could be carried there so soon and in such numbers. The fact is in most cases, the seeds were there before the fire, and passed safely through it. The heat probably cracked the hard walls of the tiny stones; but that was precisely what they needed, for it is difficult for the enclosed germ to break the shell without such cracking. The burning of the leaves and other ground litter lets the seeds down upon the mineral soil, and they quickly germinate. Without the aid of fire, few will grow—only those which happen to lie in the most favorable situations. Birds carry the cherry seeds and scatter them over the whole face of the country. They may lie on the leaf-covered ground a long time before losing their power to grow. When a fire bares the soil, many of the cherry stones survive the heat, and soon sprout.

Black Cherry (*Prunus serotina*) furnishes the cherry wood of commerce, and is a valuable timber tree, now rather scarce, but once abundant in the rich valleys, plateaus, and coves of the mountain regions of Tucker, Randolph, Barbour, Upshur, Webster, Nicholas, Pocahontas, Greenbrier, and Monroe counties. It is found in other parts of the state, but is less abundant and not so good in quality. The greatest development of this valuable species in the primeval forests of this country, was in West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and western New York. The wood is valuable for furniture and cabinet work, and particularly for scientific instruments. The fruit of the black cherry is bitter, but those who acquire a taste for it consider it a delicacy. Trunks from two to four feet in diameter, and fifty or sixty feet long, were cut by lumbermen who culled the best cherry for early markets.

Red bud (*Circis canadensis*), or Judas-tree, is common in many parts of the state, but is usually only a bush. It bears a pod two or three inches long which ripens in midsummer, and is then rose-colored or pink. It is not known that this tree is put to any useful purpose.

Honey Locust (*Gleditsia tricanthos*) is not abundant but occurs in different parts of the state. It attains a trunk diameter of two feet. The tree may be recognized on account of its enormous thorns, surpassing in size those of any other tree in the state. They grow out of the trunk as well as out of the branches, and are often branched. The thorns were once in demand at wool stores and carding mills to pin up large sacks. Microscopists use them in handling minute objects. The wood is

course but strong, but the trees being scarce, the logs seldom reach saw mills.

Locust (*Robinia pseudacacia*) is called black locust and yellow by many people. It is a valuable tree in this state, growing in every county from the lowest valleys up to 3,500 feet, and occasionally more, on the high mountains. It thrives in rich soils and does fairly well in thin land; grows rapidly, and in twenty or twenty-five years reaches fence post size; and where the ground is good, a tree may produce several posts in less than thirty years. The locust tree enriches the ground in which it stands. The seeds grow in a pod, and cattle and birds scatter them widely. They spring up in vast numbers in open spaces in the woods, along fences, and in abandoned fields, and grow with such vigor that the young locust trees soon crowd out most other growth. The locust supplies the most enduring wood in the state, and it is perhaps equal in decay-resisting properties to osage orange, mesquite, redwood, catalpa, or any other in this country. It is, therefore, one of the best timbers for fence posts. It is useful for many other purposes. Shipbuilders employ long, strong locust pines, called tree nails, to fasten heavy timber together. In early years a good deal of West Virginia locust was shipped for that purpose. It excels most woods for buggy hubs, and serves nearly anywhere that a very strong, stiff, hard, durable wood is wanted. In some parts of the United States, great damage to this tree has been done by the locust borer, a beetle which riddles the trunk, but the pest has not yet shown much activity in this state. When the time comes for the landowners in this region to practice forestry and raise the timber they must have, the locust will be found one of the easiest and most profitable species to grow. It is now and will continue to be primarily a fence post tree in this state. A. well cared for stand will produce many hundreds of posts to the acre. The foliage and bloom of the locust are beautiful in the extreme, and as an ornamental tree few that will grow in this climate surpass it. The forest grown tree, under favorable circumstances, reaches large size. Trunks three feet in diameter are found on the western face of Laurel hill, and in rich coves among other ranges west of the main Alleghany ridge.

Staghorn Sumach (*Rhus hirta*) is given that name on account of the hairiness of its branches which resemble what is known as the velvet stage of a buck's horn. A small sumach is also found in the state (*Rhus copallina*). The bark and leaves of sumach are valuable for tanning leather. A local use of some importance in this state has been found for this wood, spiles employed in tapping the sugar maple to carry the sap into troughs and buckets. Though the sumach seldom reaches a size large enough to be worth handling as timber, the wood is very attractive on account of strong contrast in color between the inner and outer parts of the annual growth rings. The wood sometimes goes to the lathe to be made into novelties.

Holly (*Ilex opaca*) is an evergreen with red berries, and sharp thorns on the points of the leaves. Its principal value is for Christmas decorations, though the white, dense wood is used for various purposes. It is not abundant in the state but is found in many localities, particularly in the counties of Boone, Braxton, Fayette, Logan, Mingo, McDowell, Nicholas, Randolph, Tucker, Upshur, Webster, and Wyoming.

Sugar tree (*Acer saccharum*), called also sugar maple, and hard maple, is found in every county of the state, but is most abundant along the western ranges of the Alleghanies, on rich flats, in fertile coves, and along river and creek bottoms from Greenbrier to Preston counties. Like all the maples, it bears winged seeds which are carried with a rapid, whirling motion by the wind, and are dropped in such numbers that they lit-

erally cover the ground over limited areas where the wind drops them. Not one in ten thousand can ever become a large tree. A hundred thousand seedlings, a month old, sometimes stand on one acre. The next year ninety-nine thousand have died, and by the following year at least nine hundred of the remaining have perished. Enough survive, however, to give the tree ample opportunity to hold its place in forest and field—for it will grow grandly in the middle of the finest grain field if given a chance.

Large quantities of maple lumber go to market, and West Virginia contributes its share to the country's supply. The wood is employed in so many industries that it may be regarded as almost universal in its uses. It is hard, strong, stiff, light in color. The birdseye maple of commerce is supplied in large part by this tree, though some of it comes from other maples. The birdseye effect is due to an accident of growth—which occurs in other trees as well as maple. What botanists call "adventitious buds" are the cause. These buds start, often when the tree is small, and grow in the wood, but do not force their way through the bark. They live many years—as much as 100 in some cases, perhaps—and create a disturbing influence, an irritation, which causes the woodfibers to grow round them, forming pits or protruberances. When the saw cuts through these, the birdseye effect appears.

This state never exported much maple sugar, but a considerable quantity has been made here since early settlements began. In pioneer times no other sugar was to be had. Every spring a quantity was made, to last through the year. In recent years, sugar making has greatly declined for two reasons: Sugar can be bought much cheaper than it can be made at home; and most of the old-time sugar groves, which usually occupied a field or a hillside, have died of old age, or have been cut down that the land might be devoted to farm crops.

Silver maple (*Acer saccharinum*), often called soft maple, is of comparatively little importance in the state, though it is met with in most of the valleys. It sticks pretty closely to the banks of streams. It is easily distinguished from the sugar maple by its general form, and the color of its bark. The wood is softer, whiter, lighter, and weaker than that of the sugar maple. It is used for furniture and wooden ware. It is doubtful if it amounts to one-twentieth of the sugar maple in this state.

Mountain Maple (*Acer spicatum*) is little more than a large shrub in this state, but it has a vertical range of 4,000 feet from the valleys of Monongalia county to the mountains of Pendleton. The tree may be six or eight inches in diameter and twenty or thirty feet high. The bloom comes in June, and the fruit is ripe in July, and is bright red. It loses some of its redness before it falls in the autumn. The winged seeds are very small. The wood is not used.

Striped Maple (*Acer pennsylvanicum*) is not much larger than mountain maple, and is no more valuable for practical purposes. Its range in the state correspondes pretty closely with the range of mountain maple.

Black Maple (*Acer nigra*) is so-called because the bark is darker than that of most other maples. The wood is similar to the sugar maple's, and is valuable for like purposes. It is not abundant in the state, but is fairly so in some restricted localities. Most people who see the tree suppose it is the ordinary sugar maple. It is plentiful along the West Fork river at Weston, in Lewis county; it abounds near Morgantown; on Middle Island creek in Tyler county, near Middleborune; on Elk river, near Webster springs, in Wester county; and near Jacksonburg, in Wetzel county.

Red Maple (*Acer rubrum*) receives its name from and may be

easily recognized by its bright scarlet flowers and its red fruit. The flowers appear before the leaves, and the tree is a conspicuous object. The fruit ripens in early summer and falls in time to germinate the same season. Red maple is found in most parts of the state, and the wood bears more resemblance to silver maple than to the wood of the sugar tree. It is apt to go to the lumber market as sugar maple.

Box Elder (*Acer negundo*) is more apt to be taken for an ash than a maple, and nobody could possibly mistake it for an elder, notwithstanding its name. Its average size is scarcely half the average size of sugar maple; its bark is like the bark of ash; its wood resembles soft or silver maple. It is not abundant in the state. Many a lumberman never saw it. It is found on Big and Little Coal rivers in Boone county; on the Little Kanawha river at Burnsville, Braxton county; on Middle Island creek, Doddridge county; at Kanawha Falls, Fayette county; at Weston, in Lewis county; on the Monongahela, near Morgantown; near Middlebourne, in Tyler county.

Yellow Buckeye (*Aesculus octandra*), also known as sweet buckeye, is well known in many part of the state and may reach a height of eighty feet and a diameter of two or more. The seed gives the buckeye its name, from its resemblance to a deer's eye. The seed is large, and contains more kernel than any other nut grown in the state; but unfortunately it is unfit for food for man or beast, because it is poisonous. Few animals undertake to eat buckeye, though cattle sometimes fall into the error which is likely to have a fatal termination. The wood of this tree is very light and moderately tough. It is sometimes used by manufacturers of artificial limbs, though an imported willow is better. The wood is good for woodenware, candy and chocolate boxes, and paper pulp. No large quantity has ever been or ever will be cut in this state. The tree is inclined to fork near the ground, and in such cases it never develops a good trunk. It is found in the following counties, and likely in others also: Barbour, Boone, Braxton, Calhoun, Doddridge, Fayette, Harrison, Kanawha, Lewis, Logan, Marshall, Mingo, Monongalia, Monroe, Pocahontas, Preston, Putnam, Randolph, Ritchie, Summers, Tucker, Tyler, Upshur, Webster, and Wyoming.

Ohio Buckeye (*Aesculus glabra*) is less common than the other species, and is most abundant along the Ohio river. It is smaller than the yellow buckeye, and the wood, when used at all, is employed for similar purposes.

Basswood (*Tilia americana*) is one of two species of basswood found in the state. It is very scarce and so closely resembles white basswood that the two are not generally known to be different species.

White Basswood (*Tilia heterophylla*), commonly known in this region as lin, is fairly abundant in many counties of the state, but is scattered among trees of other species, and no large bodies of it are found. It is sometimes called bee tree, because its profuse flowers are much sought by bees. While the basswood is in bloom, bees within reach of it abandon most other sources of honey. The tree grows in rich land, and prefers shady coves, and cool flats. The wood is soft, of white color, light, and rather tough. It is useful for interior house finish, particularly for ceiling; for boxes, crates, shelves in kitchen furniture, for wooden ware, excelsior, and pulp.

Angelica-tree (*Aralia spinosa*), or hercules club, is fairly common west of the Allegheny mountains, but is of little value, as the tree is quite small and the wood is soft and without properties fitting it for anything in particular.

Black Gum (*Nyssa sylvatica*) is probably the most unwedgeable wood in the state, but when frozen it will split fairly well. It is the best mall

wood available, and it has pounded out millions of fence rails in past years. It has not been much used in this state for any other purpose; though it makes tolerably good wagon hubs, rough lumber, and box material. It is the only gum wood in the state, except a little red gum. Another tree is sometimes called sour gum, but it is improperly so called. It is the sourwood (*Oxydendron arboreum*). It looks somewhat like black gum, but is much smaller. The small seedlings and sprouts grow very straight, and boys sometimes make arrows of them, calling the tree arrow-wood.

Flowering Dogwood (*Cornus Florida*) is common in all parts of the state, and is conspicuous for its white flowers in the spring, and its red berries in autumn. The tree is small, seldom above six or seven inches in diameter, and a straight trunk as much as six or eight feet in length is not usual. The wood is very hard and strong, and takes a smooth polish. As the black gum has been the mall wood in making fence rails in the state, the dogwood has been the material for wedges or gluts in splitting rails. It is the best wood in the state for handspikes, because it is remarkably strong and stiff.

Blue Dogwood (*Cornus alternifolia*) is found in most parts of the state west of the Alleghanies, but is less plentiful than flowering dogwood. The blue dogwood bears as many flowers as the other, but they are quite small, and are in clusters. The fruit is about a third of an inch in diameter, and is blue-black. The wood, when used at all, answers the same purposes as flowering dogwood. The two species are of about the same size.

Persimmon (*Diospyros virginiana*) is found in all low regions of the state, but is infrequent or entirely wanting in high mountains. The tree is known by its fruit, when in bearing; the bark and the general form of the tree somewhat resemble black gum, and at a distance might he easily mistaken for it. The persimmon sends up many sprouts from roots while the parent tree is in full vigor. It differs in that respect from most trees. It is often left standing in pastures for the fruit it bears, which generally is not edible until after frost. There is, however, much difference in the fruit of different persimmon trees. Some is never good, and others become palatable without the aid of frost. Few wild trees show greater difference in the quality of their fruit. Persimmon wood is valuable for many purposes, but its principal uses are for shuttles and golf heads. The white or sapwood is demanded for those articles; but the dark colored heartwood is not wasted, for it is employed for parquet flooring and to some extent for furniture. Persimmon is a species of ebony, a tree of great value in some tropical countries. Persimmon lacks the color to make it as valuable as ebony, neither is the wood as hard.

Silverbell-tree (*Mohrodendron carolinum*), which is sometimes called snowdrop, reaches the northern limit of its range in Kanawha, Fayette, and Summers counties. It is little more than a shrub in this state, few trunks reaching a size above six inches in diameter; but further south it becomes a rather large tree. The wood is sometimes beautifully figured, but is too scarce in this state to be of commercial value. It is found on the banks of the Kanawha and New rivers in the counties named.

White Ash (*Fraxinus americana*) is found in nearly all regions of the state, but is more abundant in some than in others. It is not plentiful in some of the counties bordering on the Ohio river. It is the most common ash growing in the state, though there are at least three other species. It likes deep, rich soil near streams, but does well in other situations. The name is due to the color of the wood, which is hard, stiff,

strong, and the lumber frequently shows good figure, due to the wide and distinct rings of annual growth. It has a wide range of usefulness, but most of the wood goes into house finish, furniture, agricultural implements, and wagons.

Black Ash (*Fraxinus nigra*) is scarce in the state, and the wood is inferior to white ash for most purposes. It is not as hard or as strong. The trees average smaller than white ash, a diameter of 20 inches and a height of eighty feet being rather unusual. It is found in damp ground in the following localities: Fayette county, near Kanawha Falls; Preston county, near Cranesville; in the Canaan valley in Tucker county; in some parts of Monongalia, Wirt, Randolph, Webster, and Summers county.

Green Ash (*Fraxinus lanceolata*) is not frequent east of the Alleghany but is found in many counties west. It is much like black ash in size of tree and quality of wood, and its uses are similar, that is, it is made into furniture, house finish, and flooring. It is not strong enough for the best wagon material. The seed is equipped with a wing larger and more slender than the wing of most other ashes. The tree is a prolific bearer, but most of the seeds—which are poor flyers considering their wing-equipment—fall a few yards from the parent tree. For that reason it is not calculated to push vigorously into new areas.

Red Ash (*Fraxinus pennsylvanica*) is a small tree, but large enough for saw logs. It is most abundant west of the mountains. The four species of ash in the state are named from the color, or supposed color, of the wood; but a person who would attempt to identify them by the color test alone, would have trouble in keeping the species separate.

Fringetree (*Chionanthus virginica*) is often planted as a shade tree but is rare in the forests of this state. It may reach a diameter of six or eight inches and a height of twenty feet. The fruit looks somewhat like a dark blue plum an inch in diameter, but it hangs in thin clusters. The wood is hard but so far as known, it is not used. The tree is said to grow sparingly in Monroe, Summers, Clay, Putnam, Jackson, Fayette, and Monongalia counties. In some localities it may have escaped from cultivation.

Sheepberry (*Viburnum lentago*) is a bush rather than tree, and is scarce in the state. It has been reported in the Canaan valley, Tucker county, on Abram's creek, Grant county, and on Point Mountain, Randolph county. No use for the wood has been reported, though it is suitable for canes and umbrella handles.

Black Willow (*Salix nigra*) is the common willow of this state, and it is most abundant and of largest size on low land subject to overflow. It reaches a size in the state of a foot or more in diameter. The dark colored wood is suitable for boxes.

White Birch (*Betula populifolia*) is a far northern tree that has found its way southward to Gilmer and Randolph counties. It is too scarce to be of any value as a lumber supply. Even in regions where it grows best it is of little importance.

Big Laurel (*Rhododendron maximum*) is a familiar growth among the Alleghany mountains and parallel ranges. The wood is little used, because the trunks are small and of poor shape. The flower is very fine, and it has been adopted as the state flower of West Virginia. This laurel forms thickets so dense and tangled that in some localities a footman can make his way through them with the greatest difficulty, and horses and cattle cannot force a passage.

Little Laurel (*Kalmia latifolia*), known also as mountain laurel, poison laurel, and sheep laurel, is a familiar bush in the mountain regions. It is seldom large enough to be classed as the smallest tree. The flower is

less showy than that of the big laurel, but is beautiful. Sheep sometimes feed on this laurel, when other food is scarce, and death is apt to result. The particular nature of the poison which is found in the leaves, is not well understood. The roots of this laurel were once made into wooden spoons, when the people had to depend on their own ingenuity for many household articles and kitchen utensils. Tobacco pipes are now made of the roots, large quantities of which are shipped to factories for that purpose. Formerly, lovers of the weed whittled out their own pipes among the mountains and hills of West Virginia.

Catawba Laurel (*Rhododendron catawbiense*) is a large and showy bush, but is not plentiful in the state.

FOREST AREAS BY COUNTIES

Estimates made in 1910 by A. B. Brooks of the West Virginia Geological survey showed the acreage of forest and cleared land by counties. The following table gives the figures:

TABLE SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF FORESTS IN WEST VIRGINIA

County.	Area (Acres).	Virgin Forest (Acres).	Cut-over Forest (Acres).	Farmers' Woodlots (Acres).	Per Cent. Cleared Land.	Cleared Land (Acres).
Barbour	251,550	1,000	15,000	134,912	40	100,608
Berkeley	164,480	.....	8,000	16,672	85	139,108
Boone	327,680	10,500	200,000	68,028	15	49,152
Braxton	346,240	9,670	24,100	139,350	50	173,120
Brooke	62,080	.....	.....	9,312	85	52,768
Cabell	167,040	.....	.....	66,816	60	100,224
Calhoun	179,328	5,980	1,500	82,184	50	89,664
Clay	222,720	17,500	75,000	96,812	15	33,408
Doddridge	220,160	.....	.....	88,064	60	132,096
Fayette	496,000	53,000	190,000	178,600	15	74,400
Gilmer	234,880	13,200	1,700	102,540	50	117,440
Grant	309,120	57,000	63,400	110,440	25	78,280
Greenbrier	672,640	140,100	105,900	157,584	40	269,056
Hampshire	423,680	12,000	15,000	248,392	35	148,288
Hancock	55,040	.....	.....	8,256	85	46,784
Hardy	380,160	64,500	.....	201,612	30	114,048
Harrison	266,355	.....	.....	53,271	80	213,084
Jackson	300,985	.....	.....	75,246	75	225,739
Jefferson	136,320	.....	.....	27,264	80	109,056
Kanawha	558,080	8,800	81,000	300,856	30	167,424
Lewis	264,960	.....	.....	105,984	60	158,976
Lincoln	282,240	7,000	52,000	82,120	50	141,120
Logan	316,160	35,000	160,000	89,544	10	31,616
McDowell	430,720	15,000	400,000	2,798	3	13,922
Marion	201,882	.....	.....	30,282	85	171,599
Marshall	201,766	.....	.....	60,530	70	141,236
Mason	287,533	.....	.....	57,507	80	230,026
Mercer	279,680	18,700	5,000	158,092	35	97,888
Mineral	212,480	.....	7,000	130,488	40	84,992
Mingo	271,360	8,200	200,000	36,024	10	27,136
Monongalia	234,573	7,600	11,400	74,829	60	140,744
Monroe	296,960	29,900	14,600	163,372	30	89,088
Morgan	150,400	.....	25,000	50,200	50	75,200
Nicholas	442,240	130,500	112,600	44,356	35	154,784
Ohio	71,040	.....	.....	7,104	90	63,936
Pendleton	452,480	137,900	2,000	222,084	20	90,496
Pleasants	90,880	.....	.....	27,264	70	63,616
Pocahontas	549,120	212,950	138,780	87,566	20	109,824
Preston	429,440	30,000	58,000	169,664	40	171,776
Putnam	227,392	.....	4,500	109,196	50	113,396
Raleigh	358,400	117,600	112,500	74,540	15	53,760
Randolph	695,040	195,570	198,350	196,864	15	104,256
Ritchie	292,480	75	14,310	131,855	50	146,240
Roane	311,168	.....	4,800	88,552	70	217,818

Summers	235,520	3,800	7,800	141,488	35	82,432
Taylor	84,480	.....	.....	33,792	60	50,688
Tucker	281,600	56,800	130,400	52,160	15	42,240
Tyler	166,477	1,200	.....	48,743	70	116,534
Upshur	208,640	1,500	17,100	85,720	50	104,320
Wayne	348,800	3,600	80,000	55,920	60	209,280
Webster	377,600	122,000	133,000	65,960	15	56,640
Wetzel	230,701	2,000	12,800	77,480	60	138,420
Wirt	147,776	.....	6,000	38,333	70	103,443
Wood	228,480	.....	1,000	90,392	60	137,088
Wyoming	336,640	44,150	192,490	40,000	18	60,000
Totals	15,771,616	1,574,295	2,882,030	5,087,013	39	6,228,277

Sawmill Output—In 1908 the output of 1,044 sawmills in West Virginia was 1,097,015,000 feet; in 1909, 1,525 mills sawed 1,472,942,000 feet; and in 1910, 1,069 mills produced 1,376,737,000 feet. The kinds of wood entering into the product in 1910, are shown in the following table:

Kinds of Wood.	*Feet Board Measure.*
Various species oak	420,870,000
Hemlock	265,881,000
Red Spruce	221,146,000
Yellow Poplar	152,132,000
Chestnut	117,570,000
Various species of maple	54,809,000
Beech	29,113,000
Basswood	28,936,000
White Pine	21,147,000
Various species of yellow pine	20,513,000
Various species of hickory	13,376,000
Various species of birch	10,932,000
Various species of ash	7,183,000
Black walnut	1,849,000
Red gum	1,815,000
Sycamore	793,000
White and slippery elm	546,000
Red Cedar	319,000
Black gum	142,000
Cottonwood	85,000
Frazer fir	34,000
All others	7,546,000
Total cut by 1,069 mills	1,376,737,000

In 1910 West Virginia produced more yellow poplar than any other state, and compared with the other states, it ranked high in its output of cherry, buckeye, and chestnut.

In addition to the sawmill product of lumber, the forests of the state yielded large numbers of railroad crossties, telephone and telegraph poles, much pulpwood for paper making, enormous quantities of tanbark, and 164,200,000 plasterers' lath.

Cut-over Forest—The term cut-over forest is applied to woodlands from which part or all of the original timber has been cut. In hardwood regions a new stand of trees usually takes the place of the old, and this sometimes happens with softwood forests, though in that case there is generally a replacement—hardwoods come up instead of softwoods. However, conditions differ, and only general rules can be laid down. In some sections where the timber was cut from twenty-five to forty or more years ago, there is a good stand of trees large enough for saw logs. In recent years, the land that is lumbered is stripped more closely, and a new growth will not come on as quickly as in the old-lumbered regions. Formerly, rather large trees were left, such is not the practice now. It too frequently happens that fires follow the lumberman, and kill the small trees which were left in the slashings.

Burnt Areas—In volume 5 of the West Virginia Geological Survey, the following account is given of some of the burnt lands in the state. A considerable part of the most severly burnt tracts were never lumbered, but the fires swept through virgin timber:

"There seem to be four very well marked stages which appear in succession when fires run frequently through forests of the West Virginia spruce belt and adjacent highlands. These may be designated as the 'fire cherry,' stage, the 'blackberry' stage, the 'fern' stage, and the 'bare ground' stage. An examination of any region of comparatively recent lumber operations, immediately on the west of the Alleghany mountains, will show the four stages more or less perfectly. The reduction by fire in this region takes place, with numerous variations, as follows: It has been and still is the practice of the manufacturers of spruce timber in this state to cut to a very low limit, leaving nothing but small sapplings standing among the tangled heaps of tree tops and brush from haul roads. About the first or second year after lumbermen have abandoned their cut-over land, fires are almost certain to burn through them, with the result that practically all the small and inferior trees left standing are killed. The fires are usually followed by a dense growth of wild red cherries, or 'fire cherries,' as they are called. When these are killed, blackberries frequently spring up and occupy the ground almost entirely until they are in turn killed in the same way. Thousands of acres of this stage can be seen along Glady fork and Dry fork of Cheat river and on the head of West fork of Greenbrier. In the next stage, a tall, branching species of fern—the bracken—often takes exclusive possession and, if the soil is not completely destroyed by fires, remains indefinitely. A good example of this stage can be seen along the headwaters of Big and Seneca creeks in Pendleton county and in the plateau region of Tucker county. The bare ground stage is found only in regions where the vegetable soil has been entirely destroyed, exposing the loose, broken fragments of sandstone. In limestone areas blue grass occupies the ground wherever it is made bare by fire."

Farmers' Woodlots.—Nearly every farm in West Virginia has a tract of forest land, either enclosed by fence, or lying near the cleared land. The area varies in size from an acre or less, to a hundred acres or more. Land of this kind is known as woodlots. From such tracts farmers cut fuel, and timber for other domestic purposes; and sometimes comparatively large amounts of saw timber are obtained from such tracts. In almost all cases such lands are simply remnants of forests. The trees are wild species, planted in nature's way. In some states, but more particularly in some foreign countries woodlots are of planted timber, and a lot is often given over to a single species, as spruce or cottonwood; but in this state almost any woodlot, even if only an acre or so in area, has two or three dozen kinds of trees, all mixed and growing at random. In some counties of the state the aggregate area of woodlots is very small, not exceeding ten or fifteen per cent. of the area of the county. In some other counties the per cent. is seventy or eighty. In a number of the hilly counties in the western half of the state, the average woodlot contains a scrubby growth of white oak and other hardwoods. In other cases, woodlots may contain 5,000 feet of merchantable timber per acre.

The tendency among West Virginia farmers is to neglect their woodlots. Thousands of acres of rough land in ravines and on steep banks now bear little besides brush, but they might be planted to locust, walnut, poplar, maple, pine, or many other trees which would pay well. The growing of timber from plantations will doubtless amount to much more in the future than in the past. It is one of the state's resources awaiting development.

Wood Manufactures.—The first settlers found the forests a drawback, but later they proved to be a great resource. The development did not begin in earnest until much of the best timber was gone; but when once commenced, the lumber business has been systematically carried on. It is divided into two parts, which admit of separate consideration. First, the cutting of logs, and the sawing and selling of lumber is a well-defined business. Second, the lumber turned out by sawmills is taken as raw

material and is converted into many commodities, such as furniture, boxes, barrels, cars, horse vehicles, house finish, and the like. Generally, this business is quite distinct from sawmill operations. The furniture factory for instance, does not, as a rule, cut logs in the woods or operate a general saw mill; and a sawmill does not make furniture. It saws and sells lumber, and that is as far as it carries the operation. The output of West Virginia sawmills in the year 1909 is shown in the following table.

Kinds and Quality of Wood Manufactured.—When sawmills are done with the lumber, the factories take it up and convert it into finished commodities. The amount so converted annually is fairly well known. A. B. Brooks, forester of the State Geological Survey, compiled figures for 1910 as follows:

Kind of Wood.	*Feet Used Annually*
Various species of oak	95,775,000
Yellow poplar	65,390,000
Hemlock	45,080,000
Red spruce	32,600,000
Chestnut	17,880,000
The southern yellow pines	13,910,000
Beech	12,021,000
The maples (sugar maple, black maple, silver maple, red maple)	10,604,000
Various species of hickory	8,420,000
White pine	8,250,000
Yellow, Sweet, and River birch	7,375,000
Basswood	7,090,000
White elm	3,700,000
Various species of ash	2,288,000
Red gum	550,000
Cherry	455,000
Black gum	301,000
Buckeye	240,000
Cucumber	200,000
Black walnut	179,500
Locust	100,000
Scrub pine	90,000
Sycamore	80,000
Butternut	52,000
Red cedar	30,000
Black willow	25,000
Mahogany	6,500
Total	334,597,000

Some of the woods listed do not grow in West Virginia, and were brought in by manufacturers. Among these are the southern yellow pines and mahogany. There are four common yellow pines in the south, known as Cuban pine, longleaf pine, shortleaf pine, and loblolly pine. The last two are found in small quantities in the state, but do not amount to much in a commercial way. The mahogany is brought from foreign countries.

The total of 334,597,000 feet for the wood-manufacturers of the state is made up of several industries, each quite distinct from the others. Mr. Brooks, whose figures are closely followed in these pages, separates the wood-using industries of West Virginia into seven parts, Interior and Exterior Finish and Fixtures; Furniture; Vehicles and Vehicle Stock; Handles; Mine and Log Cars; Boxes, Crates, and Cooperage; Miscellaneous.

Finish and Fixtures—The wood demanded by the manufacturers of finish and fixtures in West Virginia amounts to about 240,000,000 feet a year. Nearly two hundred factories are engaged in that branch of the industry. The principal articles which they make are, flooring, ceiling,

siding, molding, stairwork, columns, doors, sash, frames, cornice, and office, store, and bank fixtures. The table below gives the kinds of wood used, the amount consumed annually, and the average cost per thousand at the factories:

Kind of Wood.	*Feet used.*	*Cost per 1,000 feet.*
Various species of oak	80,000,000	$28.00
Yellow poplar	54,000,000	32.00
Hemlock	38,000,000	16.00
Red spruce	26,000,000	20.00
Chestnut	12,000,000	26.00
Maple	6,000,000	22.00
White pine	6,000,000	31.00
Beech	5,100,000	20.00
Various species of birch	3,500,000	31.00
Basswood	3,500,000	33.00
Southern yellow pine	2,500,000	27.00
Various species of ash	2,000,000	28.00
Cherry	450,000	60.00
Hickory	250,000	38.00
Cucumber	200,000	25.00
Buckeye	200,000	25.00
Black walnut	100,000	85.00
Sycamore	80,000	24.00
Black gum	80,000	20.00
Red cedar	30,000	55.00
Cypress	5,000	35.00
Mahogany	5,000	150.00
Total	240,000,000	

The only woods in the above table which were not supplied wholly or in part by the West Virginia forests are cypress and mahogany, which are the two species least in quantity used.

Furniture—The making of furniture was second in importance among the state's wood-using industries. The total quantity of wood demanded fell far short of the amount which went into finish and fixtures. Ten manufacturers in the state were engaged in making furniture, and all the material used was hardwood except 160,000 feet of southern yellow pine. The articles manufactured fell in the following classes, kitchen, dining room, bed room, parlor, office, church, and school. The table below gives the statistics in detail for the furniture industry.

Kind of Wood.	*Feet used.*	*Cost per 1,000 feet.*
Various species of oak	7,000,000	$35.00
Yellow poplar	800,000	34.00
Various species of maple	350,000	20.00
Chestnut	230,000	19.00
Southern yellow pine	160,000	28.00
Various species of birch	75,000	22.00
Beech	21,000	24.00
Black gum	16,000	20.00
Various species of ash	8,000	25.00
Cherry	5,000	60.00
Black walnut	4,500	30.00
Butternut	2,000	25.00
Mahogany	1,500	165.00
Total	8,673,000	

The table shows that oak is by far the most inportant furniture wood in the state. The principal species used were white and red oak, but the proportionate quantities of each were not shown. Doubtless, at least half a dozen species of oak are used in this business in West Virginia. The importance of yellow poplar is shown, though it is far below oak.

Vehicles and Vehicle Stock—The vehicles included in this industry are chiefly those drawn by horses, though some of the stock went into automobiles. The table which follows shows the kinds of wood, amounts, and prices:

Kind of Wood.	*Feet used.*	*Cost per 1,000 feet.*
Hickory	2,125,000	$30.00
Various species of oak	1,325,000	25.00
Birch	1,100,000	15.00
Black gum	200,000	35.00
Southern yellow pine	150,000	20.00
Ash	100,000	30.00
Total	5,000,000	

Ten establishments in the state were making vehicles or vehicle stock in 1910. Hickory was made into rims and spokes; the oak into running gears; the birch and black gum into hubs. The kinds of vehicles reported were, farm and road wagons, trucks, drays, dump carts, dump wagons, fruit and dairy wagons, and buggies.

Handles.—Four woods contribute most of the material of which handles are made in West Virginia; hickory, if which several species are used; maple, including three or four species; beech, of which there is only one specie in the United States; and birch, of which West Virginia produces three species. Handles are of many kinds and patterns. Those which must resist jolts and strains, and still be light and elastic, are made of hickory. They are demanded for axes more than for any other tool, but many are used for hammers and picks. Much wood goes into broom handles, canthook handles, box and package handles, and brush handles. The following table gives statistics of the industry in the state for the year 1910:

Kind of Wood.	*Feet used.*	*Cost per 1,000 feet.*
Various species of hickory	6,040,000	$20.00
Various species of maple	1,500,000	12.00
Beech	1,500,000	12.00
Various species of birch	500,000	12.00
Total	9,540,000	

Mine and Log Cars—This industry draws more than half of its lumber supply from outside the state. The long leaf yellow pine of the south, because of its strength, stiffness, lasting properties, and cheapness, is largely used by car builders. Oaks, of which several species are suitable and are employed when they are available, fall a little below yellow pine in total amount demanded by West Virginia car builders, as is shown in the table below:

Kind of Wood.	*Feet used.*	*Cost per 1,000 feet.*
Southern yellow pine	3,250,000	$24.00
Various species of oak	2,600,000	21.00
Ash	5,000	22.00
Total	5,855,000	

Boxes, Crates, and Cooperage—This industry, which might be divided into two or more industries, is of great importance in the state. It produces many and varied commodities, from the strong oak barrel for alcoholic liquors and for oils, to the flimsy package for containing fruits, berries, and vegetables. The figures showing the details of the industry are presented in the table below:

Kind of Wood.	*Feet used.*	*Cost per 1,000 feet.*
Southern yellow pine	7,000,000	$16.00
Red spruce	6,000,000	18.00
Chestnut	5,500,000	13.00
Hemlock	5,400,000	12.00
Yellow poplar	4,300,000	19.00
White elm	3,700,000	14.00
Various species of oak	3,500,000	11.00
Beech	2,800,000	11.00
Basswood	2,300,000	18.00
Various species of birch	2,100,000	12.00
Various species of maple	2,000,000	13.00
White pine	1,900,000	18.00
Scrub pine	90,000	12.00
Total	48,290,000	

Veneers—The manufacture of high grade veneers in West Virginia has reached very respectable proportions. Veneer is lumber cut very thin. Some of it is no thicker than writing paper, but it is usually several times that thick. It is manufactured in three ways. The first is to saw it very thin with machinery constructed specially for the purpose; the second process is called slicing, and a very large knife, acting somewhat like a carpenter's plane, cuts thin sheets of wood from the side of a log; while the third is known as the rotary process, and most of the veneer in this country is cut that way. The log is placed in a large lathe and is turned rather slowly, while a strong knife, as long as the log, cuts round and round, producing a long ribbon of wood, until only the heart of the log remains. High grade veneers, from costly woods, are generally made by the sawing and the slicing processes. Cheap veneers, the kind used for berry baskets, fruit and vegetable baskets, and wrapping material, are rotary cut. Te figures below show the output in the state:

Kind of wood.	*Feet used.*
Yellow poplar	2,800,000
Various species of oak	200,000
Black walnut	75,000
Total	3,075,000

Excelsior—This product is made of cheap wood, and only soft, rather stringy material gives the best results. It is used for packing goods for shipment, and a little is employed in upholstering. Specially designed machines slice the wood in thin, very narrow ribbons.

Kind of wood.	*Feet used.*
Basswood	485,000
Butternut	50,000
Yellow poplar	40,000
Buckeye	40,000
Black willow	25,000
Total	640,000

Grain cradles—The amount of wood demanded by the manufacturers of grain cradles is not large in the state, but it is of interest to know that this old-time arm tool is still demanded in numbers which justify factories in making them.

Kind of wood.	*Feet used.*
Various species of ash	75,000
Various species of maple	5,000
Various species of hickory	5,000
Total	85,000

Bungs and Plugs—The bung for a barrel or keg is small, but in the aggregate these small commodities consume a large quantity of wood, and it must be of good quality. Plugs are used for many purposes, a common place for them being in the ends of rolls of roofing paper when ready for shipment.

Kind of wood.	*Feet used.*
Yellow poplar	2,850,000
White pine	100,000
White oak	50,000
Total	3,000,000

Oil and Gas Well Rigs—The boring of wells for oil and gas demand large quantities of apparatus and supplies which are made in whole or in part of wood. Many of the well-borer's needs are supplied locally, but some parts of the outfit are manufactured in the regular way.

Kind of wood.	*Feet used.*
Various species of pine	600,000
Hemlock	580,000
Various species of oak	200.000
Sugar maple	23,000
Total	1,403,000

Tanks—The railroads are the largest users of tanks in the state, and most water stations have one or more; but probably few such are included in the following table. Manufacturing plants, such as tanneries, glass, factories, rolling mills, and bakeries, require tanks and vats in their equipment.

Kind of wood.	*Feet used.*
Cypress	500,000
White pine	250,000
Southern yellow pine	100,000
Total	850,000

Picture Frames—The demand for more than a million feet of lumber by the manufacturers of picture frames in the state is evidence that the industry is important.

Kind of wood.	*Feet used.*
Basswood	600,000
White and red oak	300,000
Red Gum	250.000
Yellow poplar	200,000
Southern yellow pine	50,000
Chestnut	50,000
Total	1,450,000

Pails and Tubs—This is a branch of the cooperage industry, but in some ways is quite distinct from it. The vessels manufactured are intended as containers of candy, chocolate, butter, lard, jams, pickles, preserves, and many other products. Woods are selected which will not stain or contaminate food brought in contact with them. Those rank in tannin, like some of the oaks, or saturated with resin, like some of the pitch pines, are not suitable for containers for some articles of food. No such material is listed in the table below.

Kind of wood.	*Feet used.*
Sweet and yellow birch	150,000
Yellow poplar	100,000
Basswood	100,000
Various species of maple	100,000
Various species of ash	50,000
Total	500,000

Refrigerators—If refrigerators in which food is kept are lined with wood, kinds should be selected which will not injure the food either by stain or odor. The outside of a refrigerator may be of any material, but usually a handsome wood is selected.

Kind of wood.	*Feet used.*
Red spruce	500,000
Hemlock	300,000
Yellow poplar	300,000
Various species of oak	200,000
Basswood	100,000
Chestnut	100,000
Total	1,500,000

Miscellaneous—A number of commodities are made of wood which do not belong to any particular industry. Among these are pins and brackets for telephone and telegraph lines. One wood was used for these, locust, to the amount of 100,000 feet. Locust is probably the strongest, and unquestionably is the most enduring wood of the state. Wheelbarrows are made of sugar maple and southern yellow pine; patterns of white pine, for which 50,000 feet were used; foundry flasks, in which sand is packed round the molds for casting, are made of hemlock, and drilling machines and sand reels are made of spruce, oak, and other woods. Eight hundred feet of maple and two hundred of spruce are utilized by violin makers in the state. The quantity is small, but it may be considered that violin making is the highest use, from a commercial standpoint, to which a wood can be put. Raw material that does not cost twenty-five cents may be worked into a high grade violin, thereby increasing in value ten thousand per cent. More than two and a half million feet of beech were made into clothes pins; 600,000 feet of maple into butter trays.

Summary—The extent and variety of the articles made of wood in the state cannot be better shown than by listing the general classes. Of course, a complete list is impossible, for no man knows all of them, and no statistics can be collected that would be complete. The following are some of the most important:

Acid tanks,
Adz handles,
Automobile spokes,
Ax handles,
Balusters,
Barrels,
Barrel staves,
Barrel heads,
Barrel hoops,
Bar fixtures,
Baseboards,
Bedsteads,
Beerboxes,
Blinds,
Boats,
Bungs,
Butter trays,
Broom handles,
Cabinets,
Candy buckets,
Canthook handles,
Cants,
Carriage hubs,
Carriage rims,
Cases,
Casing,
Ceiling,
Chairs,
Church seats,
Clay cars,
Clothes pins,
Coal cars,
Cocoanut pails,
Cornice,
Crates,
Dairy wagons,
Dining tables,
Doors,
Drays,
Dressers,
Drilling machines,
Drug boxes,
Dry goods boxes,
Dump carts,
Excelsior,
Flasks,
Flooring,
Fruit wagons,
Grain cradles,
Hammer handles,
Hatchet handles,
Insulator pins,
Ketchup buckets,
Kitchen cupboards,

Lantern boxes,
Lard tubs,
Lattice,
Log cars,
Mantels,
Mine cars,
Molding,
Office desks,
Office fixtures,
Packing boxes,
Patterns,
Pickets,
Pick handles,
Picture frames,
Plugs,
Pop boxes,
Porch columns,
Porch swings,
Pottery crates,
Preserve boxes,
Pulpits,
Pumps,
Refrigerators,
Rockers,
Rollers,
Sand reels,
Sash,
School desks,
Shelving,
Ship pins,
Shook,
Sideboards,
Siding,
Sledge handles,
Stairwork,
Store fixtures,
Tin plate boxes,
Trucks,
Violins,
Wagon bodies,
Wagon hubs,
Wagon spokes,
Wainscoting,
Wardrobes,
Wash stands,
Water tanks,
Wheelbarrows,
Window frames,
Window glass boxes,
Wood fiber,
Whip handles.

CHAPTER XXXIII

WEST VIRGINIA'S AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Agriculture is, the world over, the industry which is the foundation on which all others must rest. If figures in a certain region do not show that the money value of agricultural products equals or surpasses any other industry, it means that some other region must supply the deficiency by shipping its agricultural products in. Workers must be fed; industrial populations must have food; and in the last analysis the principal part of the food must come from the soil, and the farmer, the gardener, and the stock-raiser must supply it. West Virginia's rough topography will always stand in the way of its preeminence as a grain growing state. In that respect it cannot equal the prairie region of the middle west; but it will amount to a great deal, and it already amounts to much as a region of diversified crops. It produces grains, grasses, fruits, and farm animal, as is shown in detail on succeeding pages.

The following table shows by decades the number of farms in the state, the total acres including wood lots, and the average size of the farms:

Year.	*Number of Farms.*	*Total Acres.*	*Average size.*
1870	39,778	2,580,254	214.4
1880	62,674	3,792,327	162.6
1890	72,775	4,554,000	141.8
1900	92,874	5,498,980	114.7

It is seen that as the farms increase in number they decrease in size.

The table which follows gives the value by decades of the farms in the state:

Year.	*Value of Farms.*	*Value per Acre.*
1870	$ 96,714,190 00	$14 88
1880	120,892,738 00	15 07
1890	153,588,725 00	17 34
1900	203,970,349 00	19 14

When the lands were cleared they were usually given over first to hoe crops, corn, potatoes, tobacco, etc., that being the easiest way to secure a crop and at the same time to subdue the sprouts and other wild growth. After these came meadows, wheat, oats, buckwheat, rye and permanent pastures. The first lands cleared were the creek bottoms and along the banks of the principal streams, the Ohio, Kanawha Monongahela Greenbrier, Potomac and their larger tributaries. The alluvial soils of these bottom lands were so fertile that they were regarded as inexhaustible like the overflowed lands along the river Nile. No thought was given to intelligent rotation of crops or cover crops to hold the richness or stay waste. In fact, but little was then known of such practices. No one thought of the time when the productiveness of these soils would steadily decrease, or of that more calamitous time soon to come when the maximum annual production of all the soils would be equaled or surpassed by the annual demand of the people for food.

After the large bottoms were cleared, came those of the smaller streams; and, as the population increased, the foothills and higher slopes

were attacked until now fully a third of all the lands of the state has been brought under some sort of cultivation. This has been going on more than a century and it is still going on. Out of the whole clearing, there are tens of thousands of acres that should have remained in forests. They are too steep for any kind of cultivation. This has occurred all over the state. Such lands when plowed are subjected to speedy and terrible injury from soil erosion or washing. This is evidenced by the quick impoverishment of the soils, and by the mud-laden waters that pour out of the hills in the streams all over the state after every freshet. But this is only one of the great drains upon the soil wealth of our state. This injury is visible to all and is terribly destructive to our greatest source of wealth; but it is not the greatest by any means, as it is limited or confined to the steeper slopes.

Like the escape of natural gas from leaky pipes and unplugged wells, another source of loss is constantly going on unobserved, and this is soil leaching. The soil elements upon which plants feed must first become soluble in water. The growing plants drink up the water and thus appropriate them. The more expensive and exhaustible of these elements are lime, potash, phosphoric acid, and combinations of nitrogen. Thus when the soil is not under proper management and there is an abundance of moving water present in the soil, the soluble elements are constantly being taken up in solution and carried away in the drainage waters which flow eventually into the sea and are lost to agriculture. In this way the greatest losses to soils occur. In the case of uncultivated or permanent grass lands, the loss of plant food is so small as to be negligible, but as soon as man begins to change this order of things and to pursue a course of soil mismanagement and neglect, the loss from leaching alone is tremendous. When considered from the standpoint of the nation, the aggregate annual loss from that source is incalculable. Investigations of this subject conducted on some of our richest lands show the annual loss of plant food by leaching alone to be many times the total amount carried off in the crops. Every year in West Virginia many thousands of acres of land are grown in corn, wheat, buckwheat, tobacco, potatoes, etc., and the crop is removed and the land is left unprotected till the following spring. In the meantime soil drainage goes on silently but surely, robbing the lands of our greatest and most enduring source of wealth.

There are good reasons for believing that the annual loss to the people of West Virginia by soil erosion and leaching is far greater than that suffered by the removal of all the crops. Such losses are hard to estimate because no records have been kept. Take, for example, the loss of the single soil constituent, nitrogen, due to the single cause of leaching.

It has been estimated that an average soil of this state devoted to grain growing only, loses each year nearly forty pounds of nitrogen by leaching alone, and the loss of nitrogen means decrease of crops; for a crop will no more grow without nitrogen than a steam engine will run without fire. The West Virginia conservation commission estimated that fifteen million dollars worth of nitrogen is annually leached out of the soils of the state. The suggested remedy is to keep soils covered with crops, to sow idle fields in grass and clover. That not only prevents the escape of the nitrogen already present, but puts more into the soil. In 1907 the farm crops of West Virginia were worth $72,000,000, which was twenty-four times the yearly revenues of the state, and the loss of fertility through leaching equaled the value of the crop. The development which must be brought about before the state takes the place in agriculture which it doubtless will sometime fill, will consist in putting to useful

purposes all the elements of fertility which the soil possesses, and likewise in adding more fertility by scientific cultivation.

West Virginia is fortunate in having soils which generally do not wash badly, otherwise the steep slopes would be gullied to the solid rock. The clay in the soils binds the particles together and prevents serious erosion. An additional preventive against washing is found in the readiness with which most land takes to grass. Hillsides form as thick sod as the valleys. Ultimately, perhaps, West Virginia's principal farm wealth will consist in pasturage, hay, and live stock.

THE GRAIN CROPS

Rye—Formerly rye was grown all over the state, but in recent years it has been replaced by wheat and corn in many regions. They pay better than rye. Changes in industrial conditions have helped to reduce the rye areas. Formerly nearly every farmer raised his own bread; that is, he grew the grain, took it to the mill, had it ground, and carried it home. Rye is harvested a little earlier than other grains, and the farmer's first grist from the new crops was rye—if he sowed any. That was quite a consideration, particularly if the old grain from the year before was scarce, which was usually the case in rural districts. In recent years there is less tendency to live from hand to mouth among the farming people. They raise more, have a surplus, and do not need to carry their grain to mill the day the first of it is thrashed. Consequently, many small farms which once had a rye patch every year for early harvest, have ceased to follow that custom. In 1870 the state produced 278,000 bushels of this grain, and in thirty years the crop had declined to nearly one-third. Little rye is grown in this state below an altitude of 1,500 feet. It prefers a cool climate. Most of the crop now grows east of the Alleghany mountains, and is shown in bushels as follows by counties:

Hampshire	37,000	Preston	2,000
Hardy	16,000	Pocahontas	2,000
Morgan	15,000	Monroe	1,000
Pendleton	9,000	Raleigh	1,000
Grant	5,000	Nicholas	1,000
Berkeley	5,000	Jefferson	1,000
Mineral	4,000		
		Total	101,000

Buckwheat—Preston county has long been famous as the buckwheat county, and produces nearly as much as all the rest of the state. This grain delights in cool uplands with an elevation of 2,000 feet or more. It generally does not do well below an altitude of 1,200 feet. Excessive heat may damage the crop while in bloom. The sowing is done late in order that the severest of the summer heat may be over before the grain is in bloom. It is commonly believed that the German's are the most successful buckwheat growers; but this belief is probably due to the fact that some of the best buckwheat districts of the state happen to be occupied chiefly by descendants of early German settlers. The word means "beech" wheat, so named because the buckwheat grain is three-sided like a beechnut. The counties producing three thousand bushels or more of buckwheat a year are shown below:

Preston	120,000	Hardy	6,000
Barbour	21,000	Pocahontas	5,000
Hampshire	19,000	Monroe	5,000
Raleigh	12,000	Monongalia	4,000
Tucker	11,000	Taylor	3,000

Randolph	10,000	Fayette	3,000
Upshur	10,000	Morgan	3,000
Nicholas	8,000		
Pendleton	8,000	Total	248,000

Oats—This grain grows in every region and every county of the state, and on almost every type of soil, but it does best in mountainous districts, acre for acre, though some valley counties show larger total yields than most of the mountain counties, because the acreage is larger. During the twenty-five years from 1880 to 1905 the total production in the state increased but little. In the former year it was 1,908,000 bushels, and in the latter year 1,980,000. As with buckwheat, Preston county leads as a producer of oats. A study of the yield from year to year by counties shows that the lowland counties are losing and the mountain counties gaining. Thus Harrison, Berkeley, Jackson, and Wayne have dropped back, and Grant, Hardy, Tucker, and Randolph have gone ahead of them. In the former counties the clearing of land has nearly ceased, but in the latter counties, particularly Randolph and Tucker, much new land goes into crops every year. Most of the West Virginia oats is consumed in the state for horsefeed, little of it going to the mills to be made into human food. Following are the leading counties in the production of oats:

Preston	260,000	Greenbrier	45,000
Marshall	158,000	Mercer	43,000
Ohio	98,000	Mineral	38,000
Hancock	78,000	Hampshire	38,000
Brooke	74,000	Pocahontas	37,000
Monongalia	65,000	Wood	35,000
Wetzel	57,000	Nicholas	33,000
Marion	55,000	Tucker	30,000
Raleigh	54,000	Hardy	28,000
Fayette	51,000	Summers	26,000
Kanawha	46,000		
Randolph	45,000	Total	1,385,000

Wheat—In whatever region, altitude, or soil in this state, wheat is sown, some sort of crop may be expected. Some parts of the state yield much more liberally than others. River bottoms and limestone lands are the best, and the bulk of the crop is grown in regions where such lands predominate. A little wheat was grown very early in the state. The South Branch valley, as high as Moorefield and Petersburg, was sending flour down the river in boats more than a hundred years ago, and that flour entered the general markets of the Atlantic seaport cities. Some was shipped from the Monongahela valley to Pittsburgh a century ago, and the counties along the Ohio river also had some for export, which, of course, went down the Ohio and Mississippi. One of the early drawbacks to wheat growing in the interior regions in pioneer times was the scarcity of mills for grinding the flour. The rude appliances which reduced corn to meal made only a very coarse and unsatisfactory grade of wheat flour. The brown bread which has gained popular favor in some quarters in recent years, was about the only kind the pioneers could make from their wheat when they did their best. The state's wheat output has doubled since 1870. Counties which produced 50,000 bushels or more in 1900 follow:

Jefferson	501,000	Roane	89,000
Berkeley	332,000	Lewis	75,000
Mason	225,000	Barbour	74,000
Jackson	164,000	Preston	73,000
Wood	164,000	Pendleton	67,000

Marshall	158,000	Tyler	65,000
Greenbrier	150,000	Braxton	62,000
Harrison	131,000	Wirt	61,000
Monroe	129,000	Hardy	59,000
Monongalia	126,000	Gilmer	58,000
Wetzel	116,000	Summers	57,000
Putnam	114,000	Morgan	54,000
Cabell	101,000	Wayne	54.000
Kanawha	100,000	Lincoln	52,000
Marion	99,000	Mercer	51,000
Hampshire	97,000	Pocahontas	50,000
Ritchie	97,000		
		Total	3,805,000

Corn—This is the leading crop in the state, and it has held that place since the first huts of the white men were erected in the almost unbroken forest that stretched from the Shenandoah valley to the Ohio. There is more truth than poetry—though the poetry is good—in Longfellow's account in Hiawatha of the the greatest gift to the race—corn. It may turn out to be the greatest grain in the world, if it is not that already. The wild Indians found it somewhere, and discovered that it would tide them over times of famine, and they cultivated it with great labor. Considering the tools they worked with, and the labor expended—if figured at present value—it must have cost them more than the equivalent of ten dollars a bushel to raise corn in a forested region; yet they raised it, and in some localities it was their chief means of living, and was far more important than the wild game and fish they could take. The frontiersmen learned very early that the most effective means of bringing the Indians to terms was to destroy their corn. That quickly brought them to the verge of famine, and sometimes caused actual starvation. Pathetic stories are told in early histories of the cries and wails of Indian women and children when their corn was destroyed, for they knew what it meant to go hungry until another crop could be raised.

The earliest white settlers in this state met many difficulties in growing corn. Every foot of the ground had to be cleared; tools were crude; weeds were so rank that perpetual warfare with hoes and shovel plows had to be waged against them; and wild animals and birds from the surrounding forests were eternally clamoring and scrambling, and thieving for their share. Sometimes crops were totally destroyed by marauders ranging from the buffalo to the ground squirrel and bluejay. Joseph Doddridge in his book has given an account of the impatience with which the children watched the growing, the tasseling, the silking, and the maturing of the corn; and how eagerly they pounced upon the first roasting ears that showed by their dry silk that they were ready.

Notwithstanding the natural disadvantages of raising corn on new ground on the frontier, it was the easiest and most profitable crop to raise under existing circumstances. It was the only grain that grew in hills and rows, and was therefore the only one which could be protected against the luxuriant weeds which quickly smothered to death wheat, rye, and buckwheat. Had the pioneers who settled this state not possessed corn, they could hardly have existed during the years when they were clearing their first fields. Corn is a sort of a weed in its nature—an aggressive, vigorous weed that will fight its way and hold its ground in the face of obstacles and discouragements. It not only made it possible for the pioneers to conquer the wilderness, but it has gone forth since then to conquer the world. When the allied armies marched upon Peking during the Boxer rebellion, the soldiers nearly perished from heat while making their way through the almost interminable cornfields in the flat country where rice was once the main crop; corn-

fields are now common in Asiatic Turkey; in Egypt; in western and southern Africa.

In 1870 West Virginia produced 8,200,000 bushels of corn; in 1905 the total was 22,800,000 bushels. The following thirty-three counties were the largest producers in 1900:

Wayne	702,000	Lewis	327,000
Mason	639,000	Ritchie	327,000
Jefferson	629,000	Gilmer	322,000
Kanawha	607,000	Monroe	313,000
Marshall	606,000	Marion	309,000
Jackson	605,000	Monongalia	298,000
Lincoln	549,000	Barbour	275,000
Roane	547,000	Hardy	274,000
Wetzel	519,000	Wirt	274,000
Berkeley	513,000	Tyler	266,000
Wood	493,000	Nicholas	247,000
Braxton	460,000	Ohio	247,000
Putnam	443,000	Doddridge	242,000
Harrison	399,000	Boone	232,000
Cabell	392,000	Upshur	227,000
Greenbrier	351,000	Randolph	205,000
Calhoun	349,000		
		Total	13,188,000

GRASSES

Some of the grasses now growing in the state are native and others have been introduced. Blue grass and white clover are native. Not much grew here when the white man first came, because little open land existed. Forests as dense as ours, afford no opportunity to grasses, which do not grow well in the shade; but there were a few open spaces, and in these the blue grass and the white clover grew in more or less luxuriance when the first traders and travelers passed this way. Christopher Gist's journal, which was written more than one hundred and sixty years ago, spoke of white clover as early as March. It was growing near the Ohio river in old fields which the Indians had once cultivated, but which had been abandoned long before Gist saw these fields, and they had grown to sod in which white clover seems to have been the prevailing grass. It continued to hold its ground and may now be found in nearly all parts of the state. It is for pasturage only, for it does not attain a size to make it profitable for hay. It survives in close-cropped pastures. It is one of the favorite lawn grasses in towns, and is easily maintained. It endures more trampling than most other grasses. It receives its name from the color of the blossom; and when it is used as a lawn, the bloom is highly valued. Though cut close with the lawn mower many times during the summer, it will continue to bloom within a few days after each cutting. The blossom is attractive to bees which are able to extract honey from it.

Blue grass is native, and, like white clover, it is principally a pasture grass, and is not always successful as a hay crop, though some good blue grass hay is harvested in the mountain regions of the state. It does not grow everywhere; in fact, it is valuable in only about half the counties of the state. It likes a soil with plenty of lime, and is therefore at its best in limestone regions. A famous blue grass belt extends from Jefferson county to Monroe, crossing the Alleghany mountains in Grant, Pendleton, Tucker, and Randolph counties. It thus lies about half on the east and half on the west side of the mountains. Practically this whole belt, which in length is about 150 miles, and in width from twenty to forty, is a limestone region. The old Shenandoah limestone is the soil

builder in the Eastern Panhandle, while west of the mountains, extending from Tucker county to Monroe, the prevailing limestone formation in the blue grass belt is the Greenbrier.

A second blue grass region, though it is really connected with the first through Randolph, Upshur, and Barbour counties, extends through the counties of Marion, Taylor, Harrison, Lewis, Doddridge, and on to the Ohio river, and southward along the Ohio to Cabell, and northward to Ohio, Brooke, and Hancock.

This blue grass region is the cattle and sheep district of the state. The pasturage is unexcelled. It comes early in the spring and stays late in the fall. The warm days of March and early April have scarcely melted the snow before the blue grass springs up. This is particularly true where a thin but very fertile soil overlies limestone rock. A few hours of sunshine sufficies to warm such a soil; and the grass seems to come up miraculously. The intense green and the velvet-like delicacy of the blades form one of the finest pictures in the scenery of West Virginia. In regions where blue grass is indigenous, it springs up without sowing as soon as the forest is removed. The period is therefore very short in which a forest may be changed to pasture. Much of the blue grass range among the mountains of Tucker, Randolph, Pocahontas, and Greenbrier counties, was opened in that way. The forest trees were deadened by girdling the bark and were left to die. As soon as the foliage withered and the sun reached the ground, the blue grass sprang up; and long before the dead trunks fell, there was a good sod and unexcelled pasturage.

In such cases the destruction of timber was great, and it was always timber of the very finest quality, because the soil was fertile. At the time the principal clearing by the girdling method was done, timber in those regions had no commercial value while cattle had, and the stockmen adopted the speediest way to make their lands profitable.

Before railroads were within reach, the stockraisers from the blue grass regions drove their cattle to eastern markets in the fall when the pastures were about done for the year. As railroad building extended westward, the cattle were driven to the nearest shipping point. The days of the imposing droves of cattle in the region are past. Cattle are still pastured in numbers as large as ever, but railroads are now so many and so convenient that large numbers of cattle are not driven to certain points as was formerly done. The areas of blue grass are extending as new lands are cleared. The best pastures are those which are seldom or never plowed. The thicker and older the blue grass sod becomes, the better the pasture seems to be. There are a number of grasses and forage plants of some economic value which are native to the state, or at least have been growing in the region a long time. Some of them are enumerated below.

Crabgrass is often regarded as a nuisance because it is liable to crowd out other grasses. The joints of the stem take root if they come in contact with the ground. Sheep and cattle eat it, and its value as pasture in the state is considerable. Further south it is cut for hay.

Broom sedge is eaten by stock in the spring when it is young and tender. It is a perennial which usually is found on neglected land.

Mountain rice occurs in certain localities, but is not plentiful. Its name is due to its resemblance to the common rice plant. It is usually found growing in the woods where trees are few and the ground is very rough and stony.

Wild millet keeps pretty well in the woods, and grows about ravines.

Two grasses known as foxtail abound in the state, one is meadow

foxtail, and the other is called floating foxtail. They grow on moist land, and have some value as forage plants.

Speargrass grows along the banks of streams, frequently in forests. Reed meadow grass affords fairly good pasture, and is cut for hay. Rattlesnake grass sticks close to wet lands, and is frequently found growing in ditches and marshes. Meadow fescue is valuable for hay, and flat leaves in abundance. Low spear grass, so called because it is not as tall as the common spear grass, is a tufted annual plant growing in waste places. Woodland blue grass, as its name indicates, grows in the woods. It is a slender, smooth perennial.

Many plants and grasses have been introduced for pasturage and hay. Hungarian brown grass is one of them. Its ability to resist drought gives it a value. It will do well on gravelly or sandy uplands where most other forage plants cannot maintain themselves.

Orchard grass is little affected by shade, and grows in thin woodlands where it makes good early pasture, and if it is cut early in the season, it makes good hay.

Swedish clover is liked by many as a hay crop, particularly when mixed with other grasses. It is claimed to be a cross between red clover and the native white clover. Its pinkish bloom is the only feature of the plant which suggests red clover. The straw is much finer than red clover, and cattle prefer it to red clover hay.

Crimson clover, so called on account of its characteristic and attractive bloom, is more ornamental than useful, and is only occasionally met with in the state.

Japan clover has been regarded by some as a promising crop on waste land where little else will grow. Gullies and other land subject to wash have been redeemed by it. It is a small plant.

Red clover grows in all parts of the state and is valuable for pasture, hay, and as a fertilizing agent. It is utilized for the latter purpose by plowing an occasional crop under. Its function is to fix nitrogen and give it to the soil. Red clover hay is rather coarse, but cattle eat it with relish. In favorable situations two crops a year may be harvested in this state. The color of the blossom gives the plant its name.

Alfalfa has been experimented with in many parts of the state for both pasturage and hay, but it has not yet become a standard crop here. It grows well, but the hay is coarser than that made of red clover. This is the plant which on some of the western irrigated land cuts three or more crops of hay a year.

Red top grows nearly everywhere in this region, and is good for hay or pasture; but it does best on heavy clay soil that is inclined to be damp. The stalk is rather delicate and when young it is tender. It makes the best hay if cut before it is fully ripe. The name refers to the color of the part of the grass which bears the seed.

Timothy is the most important hay grass in this region. In nearly all sections it is the farmer's main dependence in wintering his stock. It is at least of equal importance with corn fodder as a winter feed for stock. It is of more importance as a provender for horses and sheep, and they much prefer it to corn fodder. Timothy receives its name from Timothy Hanson who introduced the grass into the Carolinas about 1720. The yield of hay from timothy meadows in this state runs from one to two tons per acre. The state produced 740,000 tons of this hay in 1906. It is an ideal meadow grass. The meadow need not be resown often. The grass is a heavy seeder, and the seeds are scattered generously every year, if they are permitted to ripen before the meadow is cut. Otherwise the grass sprouts from the roots for the next year's crop.

TOBACCO

West Virginia has never been classed as a leading state in tobacco growing; yet its annual production has reached three million pounds. There has been some shifting in the tobacco areas, and counties which held high places in 1870 had practically ceased to grow the plant thirty-five years later. The present tobacco area, and the yearly production, are shown in the following list:

Lincoln	770,000 pounds	Summers	54,000 pounds
Putnam	626,000 "	Kanawha	46,000 "
Cabell	570,000 "	Monroe	38,000 "
Jackson	215,000 "	Calhoun	29,000 "
Wayne	163,000 "	Braxton	27,000 "
Wirt	161,000 "	Greenbrier	27,000 "
Mason	78,000 "	Fayette	23,000 "
Mercer	77,000 "		
		Total	2,904,000 "

Tobacco has been a common crop in this state to almost the same extent as corn, but of course in a much smaller way. Corn has been grown in fields, tobacco in patches. In the days when every man tried to raise what he needed, and when he bought little away from home, tobacco nearly always received careful attention. It could not be bought as easily in the stores as it can be bought now, because stores were not so numerous, and money with which to buy tobacco was scarce. Consequently, each family grew what it needed, and the tobacco patch was as common, and usually as large, as the potato patch, the cabbage patch, the bean patch, or any other patch that formed part and parcel of the farmer's annual crop. Too often, in the days of the pioneers, the tobacco patch received more than its share of attention, when compared with some of the other patches. Most of the old people were smokers, and many of them would rather do without garden vegetables than tobacco, and not infrequently they did do without garden truck in order to make sure that the tobacco supply would not fall short. Beech leaves might be made a substitute for lettuce, and polk greens for cabbage; but there was no substitute for tobacco.

Most that was grown in that way went to the pipe, but the art of chewing the raw and fiery twist was mastered by many who never saw a plug of tobacco. From early accounts it is apparent that the use of tobacco for smoking purposes was much more common in pioneer times that at present. An itinerant preacher who knew the country and the customs well a century ar more ago, has left testimony that "everybody smoked."

In more modern times the various forms of tobacco could be bought in stores and the tobacco patch ceased to be in evidence on nearly every farm; but in the remote mountain regions many persons yet grow tobacco for their own use.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

The growing of live stock in West Virginia has not kept pace with development along some other lines, such as mining, lumbering, and fruit growing. There has been considerable advance in recent years, but generally, the attention paid to the growing of live stock has relaxed in comparison with the energy exhibited in other industries. Stock-raising is free from speculation, and does not allure those who wish to gamble with fortune, as many do who engage in oil development, or even in buying and selling coal land. Nevertheless, the slower but surer profits from the

growing of live stock attract each year more and more. Those who prefer certainty in moderate things to chance in affairs of larger size, turn to the pasture lands of the state as a suitable investment. The latest statistics show for West Virginia 655,544 cattle, 203,285 horses, 14,849 mules, 970,679 sheep, 465,029 hogs, and 1,519 goats.

These figures are not remarkable for size. Any of them could be increased five fold without overtaxing the region's resources; and there is no reason to suppose that they will not be increased in years not very far in the future. Speaking some years ago on the subject of sheep raising in West Virginia, James H. Stewart, then director of the State Agricultural Experiment Station, and later agricultural agent of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, said:

"The steeper lands should be returned to forests or given over to sheep husbandry. Sheep raising can be carried on with a minimum loss to the soil. Indeed, it is claimed that the soils so used grow richer, and there are good reasons for the claim. The plow on steep land is one great cause of soil waste. This would be unnecessary to any great extent where sheep are raised. Instead of 675,000 sheep in the State as at present several times that number may be kept successfully. Well informed flock-masters assert that in the higher, steeper lands now held for agriculture as many as 6,000,000 sheep might be kept and that these will yield in wool and mutton an annual return of five dollars per head or a yearly income of $30,000,000. When we consider that about one-fifth of all the sheep in the State are now in two small counties, and that they constitute about one-fourth of all the sheep value in the State, it appears that 6,000,000 sheep are not too many for West Virginia."

The abundance of pasturage in all the limestone regions of the state, and the first-class haylands in the bottoms of the valleys might be combined to form a cattle region much superior to anything which the state has known in the past. This is one of the resources which is destined to attain its greatest importance in the years to come.

THE FRUITS

The West Virginia State Board of Agriculture a few years ago published a table showing the increase in orchards in the state. The table is here given, the figures showing the number of bearing trees:

	1890.	1900.	1907.	Per cent. of increase in 17 years.
Apple	2,870,535	5,441,112	7,507,897	151.3
Apricot	1,248	1,870	2,369	89.6
Cherry	126,307	300,367	441,286	248.
Peach	450,440	1,695,642	2,691,114	497.5
Pear	23,055	110,194	156,822	649.1
Plum	35,053	187,695	309,679	783.9

Apples—In quantity, value, and importance, the apple is the leading fruit of the state. It has held that place from the first, and as far as the future may be judged by existing conditions, it will continue to hold that place in the years to come. Domestication and cultivation have so greatly increased the number of varieties, that they are numbered by thousands, and there seems to be no reason why they might not be increased to tens of thousands, for every seedling is liable to be different from all others. There is no agreement among botanists as to where and when the apple originated, or from what it originated, nor is it a matter of much practical importance at this time. There are crab apples and thorn apples and wild apples in the old world and the new, and apples may have come from any of these. There is reason to believe that

apples were cultivated, or at least used, in Switzerland and other eastern countries in prehistoric times; and without question the American crab apple was used by the Indians and early settlers in this country. But the apple, properly speaking, is something better than the wild fruits which probably are very close kin to it.

The pioneers brought apple trees with them when they crossed the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies. Early writers who described affairs and events in this region did not deem apples and fruits generally as of sufficient importance to be worth much attention, consequently, a concise history of early fruit trees in West Virginia does not exist, and cannot be compiled for want of data. Doddridge listed the wild fruits, but that could be done to-day as well as then. Virgil A. Lewis in his handbook of West Virginia, collected a considerable number of facts, from old diaries and writings, showing the presence of apple trees scattered about the state in early times. A person who had the time and who was willing to perform the labor could doubtless dig out of old records, letters, diaries, deeds, and other papers and documents much additional information which would be interesting but probably would not lead to much practical good. It is already well known that apple trees, either by chance or design, got planted in the vicinity of most of the early cabins, and that regularly planted orchards were not uncommon a good deal more than a hundred years ago both east and west of the Alleghanies.

Practically all of the early trees were seedlings, and therefore, each was liable to be a new or a different variety. Thousands of them came into existence, lived, and died without attracting attention beyond the neighboring fields or the immediate neighborhood; but chance so brought things about that once in a great while a seedling apple tree produced superior fruit. One such instance at least has become historical. The Grimes Golden apple, a splendid variety, originated in Brooke county from a seedling which grew on a farm once owned by Thomas Grimes, about three miles east of Wellsburg. There is absolutely no history showing how the seedling came there; but the tradition of the neighborhood insisted that it dated back about to the time of the Dunmore war, which occurred in 1774. That was within five years of the first settlement by white men in the region. When the fine qualities of the apples became known, grafts were taken from the tree, and in a few years nurserymen were selling the stock.

The early apple trees in orchards and those which sprung up at random here and there, grew to large size and attained venerable age in spite of neglect and abuse. Not one in twenty ever had any pruning, or received any protection against caterpillars above or borers below. The branches developed a huskiness that would have done credit to the tyke of an Australian boomarang thrower; and yet the trees held their own in defiance of time and the elements. Instances are recorded of apple trees which came up through such tribulations, and yet they bore fruit every year until they passed the century mark, and had reached a trunk diameter of three or four feet. There was vigor in such stock, but from the viewpoint of the horticulturist, there was not much profit. Such trees supplied the old-fashioned cider presses which squeezed out juice by the barrel; but did not furnish many apples for market. In fact, throughout most of the region, there was no market in early days for apples; and had suitable fruit existed by the ton it could not have found a buyer. Facilities for transportation were lacking. There was not a railroad in the state, and very few good wagon roads; but a change for the better was bound to come, though it came slowly and with halting steps.

The first important apple growing for market in this state—it was

then a part of Virginia, for West Virginia had not then achieved its separate existence—took place in the two geographical extremes, the eastern and the northern panhandles. It was a matter of soil and transportation, for each is useless without the other in fruit growing. The building of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad reached Jefferson and Berkeley counties long before it crossed the Alleghanies; and the farmers of the eastern panhandle saw a chance to send apples to market. They knew well enough that they could raise them. Many trees of improved stock were already growing, and more were planted. That was the real beginning of apple culture in a part of West Virginia which made its reputation then and maintained it and added to it from that day to this.

In the opposite extreme of the state, in the northern panhandle within a few miles of the Ohio river, a promising market invited farmers to plant apple trees, and to sell the crops from trees already in bearing. Steamers carried the fruit down the river to the cities in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. The business was profitable during many years, and other districts within reach of the Ohio river raised apples for the southwestern market. The price declined, however, when orchards farther west came into bearing, and at the time of the Civil war a good many of the orchards in the Ohio river counties had fallen into decay, because apple growing had ceased to be profitable in that region.

The real and permanent development of West Virginia's apple industry began between 1880 and 1890. What had gone before served to show the possibilities; and men of sound judgment saw a future for the apple business. Orchards of improved stock were planted. Soils, markets, and situations were studied. About that time the West Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station at Morgantown took up a study of the subject, and taught fruit growing in a scientific way; especially the selection of soil, the choice of varieties, and the care of the growing tree to keep it free from injurious enemies. It was a branch of study which promised financial income, and farmers quickly became interested. It was soon ascertained that good apple land was not restricted to a few localities, as some had supposed; but that it was to be had by hundreds of thousands of acres, not in a few favored counties only, but in all regions of the state. It was understood, however, that all land was not fit for orchards; all altitudes, all soils, would not do; but in every region of the state, with very few exceptions, suitable apple land existed. Transportation, however, was not available everywhere, and that constituted a temporary check to the immediate expansion of the apple industry to the state's full capacity.

In 1907 the State Board of Agriculture published a map showing that the commercially developed apple territory of the state included the whole of Hancock county, the portion of Mason county south of the Kanawha river, a small area in the southern part of Greenbrier and the northern part of Monroe, about one-fifth of Lewis county, southeast from Weston, one-fourth of Morgan, lying in the eastern part, and practically the whole of Jefferson and Berkeley counties. The aggregate area embraced about 500 square miles.

The districts known to be good commercial apple trerritory but undeveloped at that time were shown on the map to cover more than three thousand square miles. They were located in part in the following counties: Mineral, Hampshire, Hardy, the eastern portions of Preston, Tucker, and Randolph, northeastern part of Lewis, the southern half of Greenbrier, practically all of Summers and Monroe, all of Cabell, the northern half of Lincoln and southern quarter of Putnam, all of Mason, north of the Kanawha river, the southwestern corner of Jackson, northern quarter of Wood, and practically all of Ohio and Marshall

counties. At least one half of the remaining area of the state, in districts lying in all parts, was recommended for home orchards, and for commercial orchards to a limited extent. In every other part of the state apples are grown, but the Board of Agriculture at the time of its report had not made enough tests to justify an opinion as to the suitability of the soils and situations for apple culture. The fact is recognized that nothing short of actual trial will show conclusively that a region is suited to profitable apple culture. There may be something lacking which a theoretical test will not disclose.

Peaches—In early times among the West Virginia mountains peaches were planted with less difficulty than apples. The former could be grown from seeds with considerable certainty that the new tree would reproduce the fruit of the old, which was not so with the apple which had to be grafted to make sure of the kind of fruit the young tree would bear. The settlers who cleared fields in the western wilderness occasionally made trips to the old settled regions east of the mountains. When they returned home it was an easy matter to carry enough peach seeds in a pair of saddlepockets to stock several small orchards. Since the peach grows best on newly cleared land, the early orchards usually grew vigorously and soon came to maturity. Some of the Indians west of the Ohio river were raising peaches in 1782 from seeds carried there by Moravian missionaries. Bears were apt to attack peach trees and break them down to procure the fruit for which they quickly acquired a taste.

It has been said that in some parts of the state, west of the Alleghanies, where peaches did little good a hundred and twenty-five years ago, they are profitable now. Argument has been based on that fact to prove that a climatic change has taken place in the region. The argument is not well founded. Many early failures in peach growing were probably due to purely local environment. The orchards may have been planted in small fields which were surrounded by tall forests that prevented the sweep of the wind across the orchards, and thereby contributed to damage by frost. The same result would doubtless follow now were peach orchards planted in like situations.

At the time of the Whiskey Insurrection, about 1795, some of the northwestern counties of the state were producing enough peaches to supply some of the distilleries with fruit for brandy making. The peach will quickly grow from the seed to a bearing tree, and an orchard of that fruit became productive in much less time than an apple orchard, and for that reason was favorably considered in early times.

Commercial peach growing in the state is of comparatively recent date. The fruit has been sold locally ever since it began to be grown, but outside markets were little sought, and good home markets did not exist until within the past quarter of a century, or perhaps a little earlier in some localities. Speaking along that line, the State Board of Agriculture sums up the matter of regions and markets thus:

"West Virginia has gradually grown to be one of the leading peach producing states of the Union. There are some logical reasons why this is true. In the first place, there are vast areas where the climate is most favorable with suitable elevations, with a soil so well adapted to the peach that the tree will thrive and live to a good age and bear heavy crops of fruit of the finest flavor. In the second place, the best of the local markets are within easy reach, and as the state is rapidly developing along other lines, the markets are becoming better. But the growers are not dependent upon the markets of the state, as they are within a few hours of Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, on the east, and Pittsburg, Columbus, and Cincinnati north and west, and there is a demand for the West Virginia fruit in all these markets. West Virginia peaches also go to the London market, where they arrive in good condition. But until the peach industry is developed to a much greater extent than it is, there is little need of seeking outside markets, as the local

markets consume a large amount of fruit, and they pay a larger price than is realized in the larger cities.

"Peaches can be grown in any part of the state, but successful culture on a commercial scale should be limited to the most favorable localities. The peach succeeds best in West Virginia on elevations or exposures least likely to be affected by sudden changes of temperature during the winter and early spring months. The hills and mountains afford these conditions and the fruit grown upon them develops large size, firm texture, and fine flavor. Some of the finest and most successful peach orchards in the world are located in the Alleghany mountain regions of this state. This region comprises the counties of Berkeley, Morgan, Hampshire and Mineral.

"Following the same general contour into adjoining counties south and west, the same soils and climatic conditions are found over a large territory. A great deal of this contiguous territory has not been developed, not having the advantage of transportation facilities, but this will likely be overcome in the near future.

"While an elevation affording frost drainage is a very important consideration when locating a peach orchard, the soil is also very important."

There are peach orchards in the state with more than 100,000 trees. The planting of some of these orchards changes the agricultural character of the localities. In some instances many small farms and woodlots are bought up; the people move away or remain as tenants or hired hands; fences are torn out, and fields disappear; the strips of woods and the plots of timber which had formerly separated the small farms are cleared, and thus many square miles are planted to trees and become one vast orchard. It assumes the character of a large estate, with its superintendent, foreman, and gangs of laborers. Some of the former owners of little farms, where perhaps their fathers and grandfathers lived before them, accept foremen's places, or probably they are content to become day laborers on the very acres which they once owned. The financial wealth of such a locality is increased by the change; but that cannot be said of the social, moral, and intellectual wealth. Any policy which decreases the number of landowners and the number of homes which are owned by the people who occupy them, is bound to be a losing policy in the long run. A man who lives on his own land has an interest in the country's welfare, which no man can have who lives on the land of another.

There is no valid reason why the small owner cannot raise fruit as successfully in this state as the large owner. It is done in many other regions. The most prosperous fruit districts of the west, and the most comfortable, satisfied, and progressive people, are found in the regions where the land is laid off in small tracts, and belongs to the people who live on it—the people who work for themselves and who rest under their own vine and fig tree.

The map published by the State Board of Agriculture shows the regions in the state where commercial peach orchards are found, and also the localities where it is known that the fruit can be successfully raised. The commercial orchards lie in Jefferson, Berkeley, Morgan, Hampshire, Mineral, Hardy, Grant, Marion, Harrison, Barbour, Hancock, Brooke, Marshall, Tyler, Pleasants, Ritchie, Wood, Kanawha, Greenbrier, Summers, and Monroe counties. Though many counties are named in this list, the orchard areas in most of them are small. Peaches grow in every county of the state, and in most of them some fruit is marketed.

The apple and the peach are the most important fruits of the state, but there are several others which deserve and have received much attention.

Plums—Wild plums abounded in the forests of this region when the white man came; and for home consumption they were much used; but the wild species have given place to tame varities, and it has been found that this fruit may be successfully grown in many localities. It

does well at altitudes where the success of the peach is doubtful, and a large region is open to its culture.

Pears—There are pear trees in the state which are said to be more than 100 years old. The varieties planted in early times were generally small and sour, but they were hardy and held their own against enemies much better than some of the modern varieties are able to do. The growing of pears for market is chiefly confined to the northern panhandle; but in many parts of the state the culture of this fruit has been successful.

Grapes—Wild grapes and fox grapes abounded in the primeval forests of this region, and supplied the needs of the people long before the cultivated varieties came into use. The state has never been an important grape region, from a commercial standpoint, chiefly because the vines have not been planted. It has been many times demonstrated that they grow well and yield abundantly, not in a few localities only, but in nearly all parts of the state.

Small Fruits—Some of the small fruits of this region which once grew entirely in the wild state have recently been successfully grown for commercial purposes. Among these are the huckleberry and the cranberry. The latter in its wild state was confined chiefiy to glades and swamps in high mountains. There were cranberry swamps in many localities. The original name of Terra Alta in Preston county was Cranberry Summit, so called because of a cranberry glade in the vicinity. This fruit grew likewise in other portions of Preston county; in Randolph county, near Beverly, in Pocahontas county, in Raleigh, Webster, Nicholas, and elsewhere. Cranberries from this region found their way to market fifty years ago; but in recent years the wild crops have declined, due to forest fires which in dry seasons burn the glades where the vines grow; to cattle which eat and trample the vines; and in some instances to the clearing of the glades and draining of the swamps to make meadows, or to utilize them for other agricultural crops. When the decline in the wild crop had reached a stage where the extermination of the fruit was threatened, steps were taken to cultivate the cranberry in certain localities where it had once prospered. The West Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station carried on the preliminary work for some time, and planted cranberries on the headwaters of Decker's creek, in Preston county. The fruit from these plantings was awarded prizes at the St. Louis World's Fair.

Huckleberries in the state have a wider range than cranberries. They are found from the very highest almost to the very lowest parts of the state. The rocky summit of Spruce Knob in Pendleton county, which is the highest point in the state, produces an excellent crop of huckleberries every season; while many low tracts, both east and west of the Alleghanies yield annual crops. The huckleberry is strictly a poor land product. It may not grow there from choice but from necessity, because other plants crowd it out where soil is fertile. It cannot even hold its own against the encroachment of bracken fern on the dry Alleghany ridges where the two come in contact at an elevation of 3,000 to 4,400 feet.

The most noted growths of huckleberries in the state have occurred, during the past forty or fifty years, on the lofty summit of the Alleghany mountain in Tucker, Randolph, Grant, Pendleton, and Pocahontas counties, following fires which by repeated visitations completely stripped the summits of timber. The aggregate areas of that denuded region, of which huckleberries took possession, probably did not fall short of 100 square miles, not all, however, in vigorous huckleberry growth at the same time. As the forest disappeared, the vine of the huckleberry took possession, and prospered wonderfully in the thin,

rock soil. It has been claimed (but exact statistics are not available) that when the areas were at their most productive period, the annual yield was often as much as 500 gallons an acre, and that this rate held throughout many square miles in a single body. Until recent years, practically none of the huckleberries grown on the Alleghany summits went to market. Transportation was impossible in early years, and no market was in reach. The scattered people who lived in the region procured what they needed, and the rest went to waste. Millions of gallons of as fine huckleberries as any country ever saw, fell to the ground and rotted every year, after all the people, birds, and beasts within reach had all they wanted.

Of late years the building of railroads through the region has brought markets within reach of much of the huckleberry territory on the Alleghany summits; but a rapid decline in production had set in long before. Some of the oldest burned areas had almost ceased to grow huckleberries. Fires swept them with periodical regularity; and though the huckleberry vine persists in spite of repeated disasters, there is a limit to even its powers of recuperation. Some parts of the area were burned clean of soil, and of course nothing but moss and lichens can grow on bare rocks. In other places ferns and mosses, and in some localities blackberry briers and seedling birches and cherry, crowded the huckleberries out. The result is that the region now produces but a fraction of its former quantity.

The price of huckleberries in recent years has reached a point at which it will pay to protect the vines and give them some care. They thrive on poor, dry ridges where nothing else of value will grow, and for that reason the investment of capital in huckleberry land need not be large. As far as known, no attempt has been made in the state to ascertain the effect of domestication, good soil, and cultivation upon the size and quality of huckleberries. It is believed by some that development along that line might prove profitable. If the huckleberry will not respond to generous treatment, it would be among the few wild fruits that will not do so.

The wild blackberry produces enormously in many parts of the state. The brier on which it grows is usually regarded as a nuisance, because it takes possession of fence rows and makes them unsightly, and encroaches upon pasture lands and destroys the pasturage. There is not an acre of land in the state where the blackberry brier will not put in an appearance if given a chance. The seeds are carried by birds into every locality.

Outside of neglected fields, the most common growing place for the blackberry is in burnt woods. The mineral soil bared by fire provides a seedbed where surprising results are often seen. Briers will take possession and produce thickets so inpenetrable that all other growth gives up the ground for awhile; but in the course of a few years the seedlings of trees come up through the tangled mass of briers, and in a short time crowd them out unless a forest fire intervenes. In that case, the ground will be again swept clean, and once more the blackberry will gain the mastery.

Blackberries have always been an important article of food in this state, and they have nearly always been abundant in season; but the wild supply is not adequate to meet demand in proximity to industrial centers where there are many people. This has led to the cultivation of blackberries on a pretty large scale in recent years. The crop is highly profitable.

The dewberry is not exactly a West Virginia product, but one of the most prized varieties in cultivation was developed from a wild stock found on the West Virginia hills—the Lucretia. As far as improvement is

concerned, it would be difficult to find a way to improve some of the choice dewberries that grow wild in old fields in some parts of the state. Nature has apparently done for them about all that it is possible to do. Domestication and cultivation may increase the yield.

The strawberry areas include all parts of the state. Wild vines are liable to be found anywhere, if the sun can reach the ground; but the wild strawberry is too small to be of commercial value, notwithstanding it possesses a flavor which would assure the fortune of any man who could impart it to any of the large-fruited cultivated varieties.

The pawpaw is a wild fruit common in some parts of the state. Some horticulturists see in it possibilities, and it is now offered for sale by nurseries. It is native in some parts of the state on both sides of the Alleghany mountain up to an altitude of 1,200 or 1,400 feet above sea level. That of course cuts it out of the more elevated parts of the state. The fruit which grows near the upper limit of its range is of inferior quality and smaller in size than that produced at lower altitudes. It does best at elevations from 600 to 900 feet. Most people must acquire a taste for this fruit before they can appreciate it, but when the taste has been acquired, the pawpaw is preferred to the banana. The early settlers who could procure this fruit esteemed it more highly than any other that grew wild. No other native fruit is so nearly a substitute for food. Men have been known to subsist largely or wholly on pawpaws during long journeys through unsettled regions where little else could be had. The bush on which it grows is one of the most persistent of all the forest species of the state. It cannot be killed by neglect or abuse, and it is difficult to do so when a deliberate attempt is made to destroy it. The roots penetrate the ground to a great depth, and while a root remains it will continue to send up sprouts.

CHAPTER XXXIV

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

Although the youngest state in the Union east of the Mississippi, West Virginia has within her borders some of the oldest settlements in the Middle East. Particularly is this true of the Eastern Panhandle and the South Branch Valley, both of which sections had many settlements as early as 1740. Of course all the territory now within the state once formed a part of Virginia, and any history of this early period—material, political or educational—will necessarily relate to conditions in the Mother State, as we frequently refer in an affectionate manner to Virginia.

If, as has been said, "History is philosophy teaching by experience and example," then an accurate account of the educational progress of what is now West Virginia would embrace a connected narrative of all the conditions that have been factors in her development. But in the limits of this chapter this will not be possible, and we must therefore be content in presenting in brief outline some of the more important events and refer briefly to some of the characteristic features of our educational progress. As will be seen this will limit our discussion to a somewhat cursory view of the subject, and not permit an extended presentation on some topics which would prove both interesting and valuable.

Of course, information relating to early education in this Transalleghany region must be gleaned from the records of the past, some of which are legendary and traditional, but the sources from which most of this material has been gathered are considered as reliable as may be found. The writer has not hesitated to quote quite extensively from various authors, and in numerous instances has used entire paragraphs which relate to important events.

The great barrier existing between the two sections of the state, the Alleghany mountains, necessarily had much to do with early educational development. Climatic influences also had much effect on the material, political, and social conditions of the two sections. The main ridge of the Alleghanies, with its northeast and southwest trend, formed a barrier through the center of the state which, before the days of modern engineering, had seemed almost insurmountable. Then again, the region of Virginia known as the Piedmont and Tide-water section had been peopled largely by the Cavalier element, who brought with them to these shores many of the aristocratic ideas and customs of England. The large landed estates were held by the few, and negro slavery prevailed over the entire region, and therefore but few white families of the middle class were to be found. Hence there seemed to be no need of any system of public education, and even the plans submitted by Jefferson were not accepted. Occasionally, as we shall see later on, some of these more wealthy planters would wend their way through the mountain passes and settle west of the Alleghanies, but the larger proportion of the population west of the mountains was made up of people who had emigrated from the colonies farther north, especially from eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Connecticut, going west over the Washington and Braddock roads. Many of these were of Scotch-Irish descent and formed the hardy class of people, so prominent in American history. Speaking of this element in our civilization, John Fiske says:

BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF UNIVERSITY CAMPUS AND MORGANTOWN.

"Once planted in the Alleghany, the Scotch Irish spread rapidly and in large numbers towards the southwest along the mountain country through the Shenandoah Valley and into the Carolinas. *At a later time they formed almost the entire population of Western Virginia,* and they were the men who chiefly built up the Commonwealths of Kentucky and Tennessee."

Thus we see that the inhabitants of the two regions differed widely in nationality and manners and customs, as well as in political sentiment, and there was not that community of interest which, even without legal enactment, frequently binds a people together. Many of these pioneer settlers were descendants of families that had left England and Scotland on account of religious persecution. They brought with them their love of freedom, which was more and more emphasized by their surroundings in their new homes. Oftentimes they were miles from their nearest neighbor, and exercised absolute independence in respect to the material and social conditions about them. The tendency of this isolation of course was to provincialism which manifested itself in everything pertaining to their social affairs. Probably many of the first settlers could read and write, especially those families who had more recently come to America, but as the contest in the wilderness with the forests, the wild animals, with diseases, and the failure of crops, became more intense, the more was any form of education neglected. Possibly the Bible, a copy of Foxe's "Book of Martyrs," Jeremy Taylor's Sermons and a few other books may have been brought to the cabin home from beyond the mountains, but oftentimes the second generation was not able to read and write, and so intellectual darkness began to prevail over much of the Transalleghany region. Fiske says: "Prolonged isolation from the current of thought and feeling that sway the great world will account for almost any extent of ignorance and backwardness; and there are few geographical situations east of the Mississippi river more conducive to isolation than the southwestern portion of the great Appalachian highlands." While not applicable to all of what is now West Virginia, still the above statement applies to a portion of the state in which provincialism still shows itself to some extent.

This effort of the pioneers to preserve among themselves some semblance of knowledge has always seemed to me a pathetic picture. Only a few rods from where the writer now sits, there gathered in his great-grandfather's barn on Sunday afternoons more than one hundred and twenty years ago, a group of parents and children, not as a Sunday school in the modern sense, but in order that the youth might learn to read, so they could study God's word. This somewhat resembles the sentiment that led to the founding of Harvard, concerning which it was said: "After we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for worship,—one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust."

EARLY SCHOOLS

The schools of this early period were necessarily quite primary in their character, only the elements of the extended courses of to-day being taught. If one could read and write fairly well and make the ordinary calculations needed on the farm, he was supposed to be very well fitted for life. Should he be able "to cipher to the rule of three," he was considered a very superior scholar, and if some pedantic schoolmaster had taken him through "the double rule of three" he had learned all that was known of mathematics.

The teachers were usually a nomadic class of instructors who traveled from place to place, teaching subscription schools and boarding among the patrons, remaining at each home for a period of time determined by the number of pupils "signed for." From recorded personal narratives and traditional stories that have been handed down, we conclude that many of these early day pedagogues were not very well prepared to give instruction even in the rudiments, but what they did give was better than nothing, and so the semblance of knowledge was retained among the people. Near the close of the Revolutionary war, while negotiations for peace were in progress, many British soldiers, particularly Irish soldiers, deserted, and, crossing the mountains, escaped from the service; many of these being able to read and write, became the teachers in the region where they located. Many incidents of an amusing and even pathetic nature are told of the experiences of our grandfathers under these Irish schoolmasters. On the other hand, in some of the towns and more thickly settled sections of this western region, some teachers of superior ability were found. Now and then a man who had been educated at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Oxford or Dublin, would establish a school which became as a city on a hill, whose light could not be hid. To those pioneers in Western Virginia who did so much for education in those early days, a debt of gratitude is due.

The educational history of Virginia begins with the movement to establish a college for the education of Indians, at Henrico, in 1619. Holmes' Annals of America, contains the following account of it:

"The King of England having formerly issued his letters patent to the several bishops of the Kingdom for collecting money to erect a college in Virginia for the education of Indian children, nearly £1,500 had been already paid toward this benevolent and pious design, and Henrico had been selected as a suitable place for the seminary. The Virginia Company, on the recommendation of Sir Edwin Sandys, its treasurer, now granted 10,000 acres of land, to be laid off for the University of Henrico. This donation, while it embraced the original object, was intended also for the foundation of a seminary of learning for the English."

Two years later, steps were taken to found a free school which was designed to be a preparatory school for Henrico College. In Holmes' Annals, vol. I, will be found this interesting bit of history of the origin of this philanthropic enterprise:

"A free school was founded in Virginia. An East India ship having returned from India to England, the ship's company, incited by the example and persuasions of Mr. Copeland, their chaplain, contributed £70 toward building a church, or a free school in that colony. Thirty pounds more were given by one unknown person, and £25 were afterwards added by another. An unknown person also gave forty shillings, yearly, for a sermon before the society. Many excellent religious books, of the value of £10, and a very valuable map of all that coast of America, were also sent by a person unknown, for the college at Henrico. Mr. Thomas Bargrave, a preacher at that place, gave a library, valued at one thousand marks; and the inhabitants made a contribution of £1,500, to build a house for the entertainment of strangers. It was determined to build a free school in Charles City, which was thought to be most convenient to all parts of the colony, and it was named *The East India School.* The company allotted, for the maintenance of the master and usher, 1,000 acres of land, with five servants and an overseer. This school was to be collegiate, and to have dependence on the college at Henrico, into which, as soon as the college should be sufficiently endowed, and capable of receiving students, pupils were to be admitted and advanced according to their deserts and proficiency in learning."

The following year both of these educational enterprises, which had been projected with such fair prospects of success for the colony, were utterly destroyed by the terrible Indian massacre, which arrested the general work of education for nearly half a century.

It may be interesting to know that the first time the term "free school" appears in the history of the colonies was in connection with the founding of the free school at Charles City.

The next school established in Virginia was also a free school. In 1634, Benjamin Symms devised two hundred acres of land on the Pocoson river, with the milk and increase of eight milk cows, "for the maintenance of a learned, honest man to keep upon the said ground a free school for the education and instruction of the children of the parishes of Elizabeth and Kiquoton from Mary's Mount downward to the Pocoson river." The House of Burgesses for 1642 confirmed the devise, and the school was established, but it appears to have been unsuccessful and was soon discontinued and neglected, and nothing further is known of it till 1805, when an act was passed providing for the appointment of trustees to take charge of the property.

No general educational enterprise was again projected until 1660, when the Colonial Assembly passed an act for the establishment and endowment of a college, but the institution was not actually established till 1693, when a royal charter was granted, and the institution named William and Mary College in honor of the reigning king and queen. This was the only college chartered in the colonies by any of the English rulers. In William and Mary College were educated many of the men who became the leaders, not only in Virginia, but in the colonies—Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, Chief Justice Marshall, John Tyler, Winfield Scott and other distinguished men were graduates of this school. For over a century it continued to be the training school of statesmen, and the intellectual head of the colony.

Within less than half a century after the creation of William and Mary College, there was begun, through private and other enterprises, the establishment of a class of schools called academies, in the wealthy and densely populated counties, which were destined to perform an invaluable service for the cause of education throughout the state. Many of them were incorporated and in some cases received assistance from the state. Their chief support, however, was from private donations and tuition fees. Of this class of schools three were established in what is now West Virginia, before the beginning of the nineteenth century: the Academy at Shepherdstown, Jefferson county, in 1784; the Randolph Academy at Clarksburg, in 1787; the Charlestown Academy, at Charlestown, Jefferson county, in 1795. These academies, established throughout the state in the centres of population, served as the preparatory schools of the people, and also became the agencies for disseminating among the people the influence of William and Mary College and the other higher institutions of learning as they were established.

Some of these academies were enlarged into colleges, as in the case of Augusta Academy, which became Hampden and Sidney College, and also in the case of Liberty Hall Academy, which afterward became Washington and Lee University. William and Mary College and these early academies were the real pioneer schools of Virginia, and were the most important factors in laying the foundation of her educational institutions.

The facilities of the masses of the people for elementary primary education, consisted principally of the schools supported by private subscriptions. In some sections of the state, teachers were employed in the wealthier families, and sometimes two or more families would unite in establishing private schools, and to these private schools frequently the children of neighboring families were admitted.

The chief dependence of the people, however, for elementary education, was the subscription schools. These schools varied in their char-

acter and the quality of instruction with the development and wealth of the country and the density of the population. In the frontier and sparsely settled portions, the schools were in keeping with the pioneer life of the people, whose first achievement was the clearing away of the forest and the building of homes.

The school house was a rude structure, the walls built of unhewn logs, the floor laid with slabs or puncheon, the chimney made of sticks and mud, occupying in many cases one-half or two-thirds of one end of the house. The window was made by sawing out one log and putting in a row of glass one pane deep, or by fastening over the opening greased paper. The furniture consisted of benches without backs, made of slabs or puncheon; and a long, sloping board hung beneath the window for a writing desk. The fuel was wood, and consisted of logs brought from the nearest wood or forest. The school books were scarce, and of a very indifferent character. The teachers of these schools were a roving body of men whose qualifications, except in rare instances, did not extend beyond the ability to teach the most elementary branches, such as spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic. They generally boarded around, dividing the time equally among the patrons of the school.

In the towns, villages, and more densely populated sections, more favorable educational conditions existed, and a higher and better class of schools in every way was established. The school houses were more substantial, better warmed and better lighted, and supplied with more comfortable furniture. The range of subjects taught was wider, often including some branches of the higher mathematics, such as algebra, geometry and surveying, and some irregular work in the classics. The work of teaching in these schools offered some attractions as affording a stepping-stone to the professions or some more lucrative avocation, and the teachers as a class were men who had been educated in the higher educational institutions of the state, academies or colleges, or in the schools of the northern or eastern states.

The schools that have now been briefly described comprised the educational facilities provided by the people during the early years of the history of Virginia and although greatly inadequate to the requirements of the people they produced many excellent men who became the leaders in the various movements for the advancement of the educational interests of the state. In the territory west of the Alleghany mountains called Western Virginia now forming the principal part of West Virginia the establishment of schools of every character progressed very slowly until after the beginning of the present century. However as the new territory developed the people manifested an earnest interest in the education of the children and the establishment of educational institutions.

Successful work was done in these western counties, for by the census of 1840 there were more illiterate white persons in Virginia, east of the Blue Ridge, than were on the west side of that mountain barrier.

When the active free school movement began in 1845 it found no more ardent advocates than the representatives from Western Virginia, and the leading counties in this territory were among the very first in the state to adopt a free school system.

Parish and Charity Schools—The parish schools established by authority of the Church of England, had quite a prominent place in the eastern part of Virginia, but never flourished west of the mountains. However, schools somewhat similar in character but not under the control of the church, were supported at private expense, and had quite an influence in maintaining a degree of intelligence in their respective communities. At the close of the Revolutionary war, the Established Church ceased to control in educational affairs, and a class of schools unfortu-

nately named "Charity Schools" came into existence, but were never popular among the masses, although they served to retain the germ of knowledge in some sections which otherwise would have been without any means of education whatever.

Old Field Schools—A great deal has been said and written relating to the so-called "Old Field Schools." This term seems to have originated from the fact that many of the school houses first built were in or on the edge of an area of land cleared many years before by some early pioneer and then abandoned. Afterwards, when the community decided to put up a schoolhouse, one of these old fields would be chosen as the site, hence the designation "Old Field Schools." In one of his records Washington refers to such a school somewhere in what is now Hardy county.

Jefferson on Public Education—In any view we may entertain concerning early education in Western Virginia, we must take into proper consideration the work and influence of Thomas Jefferson. For years he had been laboring to establish a system of public education in Virginia, and although he had received scant encouragement at times, and his system had not been fully accepted, nevertheless it had a powerful influence in awakening some of the intelligent leaders to the necessity of some means of educating the mass of the people. Therefore when his plan for establishing a system of free schools was submitted to the people of the state, we are not surprised that three counties now in West Virginia adopted the new measure and put into operation forces that today are manifest in the intelligence and progressiveness of the people of those counties. The counties that accepted the new system were Jefferson, Ohio, and Kanawha. A few other counties adopted a modified system of free schools, but the odium which attached itself to them in the term of "Poor Schools" rendered them very unpopular and they were not well attended, and so fell somewhat into disrepute.

It is interesting to note the resemblance between Jefferson's system and the splendid system of public instruction we have to-day. He would divide communities and neighborhoods into "Hundreds," corresponding somewhat to our school districts of to-day, although the area and enumeration might have been larger. Then a given number of hundreds, sometimes the entire county, would have a central school to which the most proficient could go with a view to their preparation for entering the University of Virginia or other higher institutions of learning.

As we view our step-rate plan of to-day, the local school district, the district high schools, embracing in most instances the entire magisterial district and in some cases the entire county, and the graduates of those schools admitted to our Normal Schools and the University, we see very plainly the similarity in the plan proposed by Jefferson over one hundred years ago.

While we honor Jefferson as a great statesman, a leader in our national life who had a large part in shaping our present and our future progress, it has seemed to me that his greatest contribution to the republic was his earnest, persistent and long continued advocacy of public education as a means of perpetuating the liberties of the people, and that this is an important part of the career of the great Virginian that is somewhat overlooked. As indicating his advanced views on public education more than a century ago we give the following which he defined as the objects of his system

"(1) To give to every citizen the information he needs for the transaction of his own business;

"(2) To enable him to calculate for himself, and to express and preserve his ideas, his contracts and accounts, in writing;

"(3) To improve, by reading, his morals and faculties;

"(4) To understand his duties to his neighbors and country, and to discharge with competence the functions confided to him by either;

"(5) To know his rights; to exercise with order and justice those he retains; to choose with discretion the fiduciary of those he delegates; and to notice their conduct with diligence, with candor and judgment.

"(6) And, in general, to observe with intelligence and faithfulness all the social relations under which he shall be placed."

For thus instructing the mass of citizens in their rights, interests, and duties, Jefferson maintained that primary schools, whether private or public, should teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, the elements of mensuration, and the outlines of geography and history. These suggestions were skilfully inserted into the report, in order to remind the legislature that something remained to be done for the people of Virginia besides providing for the education of poor children.

Objects of Higher Education—Jefferson then proceeded to define the objects of the higher branches of education, and it is safe to say, that the relation of universities to good citizenship and to the practical interests of American life has never been better formulated by any professional educator, much less have these objects been concretely realized by any institution of learning. American colleges and universities will need to advance a long way before they reach the Jeffersonian ideal. He classifies the objects of the higher education as follows:

"(1) To form the statesmen, legislators, and judges, on whom public prosperity and individual happiness are so much to depend;

"(2) To expound the principles and structure of government, the laws which regulate the intercourse of nations, those formed municipally for our own government, and a sound spirit of legislation, which, banishing all unnecessary restraint on individual action, shall leave us free to do whatever does not violate the equal rights of another;

"(3) To harmonize and promote the interests of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and by well-informed views of political economy to give a free scope to the public industry;

"(4) To develop the reasoning faculties of our youth, enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instil into them the precepts of virtue and order;

"(5) To enlighten them with mathematical and physical sciences which advance the arts, and administer to the health, the subsistence, and comforts of human life;

"(6) And, generally, to form them to habits of reflection and correct action, rendering them examples of virtue to others, and of happiness within themselves."

We have made these extended quotations to show how closely related is the public school system of West Virginia to-day to the ideal conception of Thomas Jefferson more than a century ago. While differing in name and in some minor particulars, the general plan very much resembles that outlined in Jefferson's first scheme of public education.

Origin and Development of the Free School System—The first movement to secure the establishment of a system of free schools in Virginia began in 1779, when Jefferson prepared and had submitted to the General Assembly a bill "For the Better Diffusion of Knowledge." Although this bill was not even considered by the General Assembly at the time, it was powerful in stimulating public opinion, and so wise and comprehensive were its provisions that it has formed the basis of all subsequent legislation on public education in Virginia. It did not propose merely the establishment of elementary schools, but a system embracing three classes of schools, namely 1. Elementary schools, free to all and supported at public expense. 2. General Schools, academies and colleges, to be maintained partly at public expense, and partly by tuition fees. 3. A State University, as the head of the system.

For the purpose of showing the details of the system it will be best to give Mr. Jefferson's own description of it as found in his "Notes on Virginia."

"This bill proposes to lay off every county into small districts of five or six miles square, called hundreds, and each of them to establish a school for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic. The tutor to be supported by the hundred and every person in it entitled to send his children three years gratis, and as much longer as he pleases, paying for it. These schools to be under a visitor, who is annually to choose the boy of best genius in the school, of those whose parents are too poor to give them further education, and to send him forward to one of the grammar schools, of which twenty are proposed to be erected in different parts of the country, for teaching Greek, Latin, geography and the higher branches of numerical arithmetic. Of the boys thus sent in one year, trial is to be made at the grammar schools one or two years, and the best genius of the whole selected, and continued six years, and the residue dismissed. By this means twenty of the best geniuses will be annually instructed at public expense, so far as the grammar schools.

"At the end of six years' instruction, one half are to be discontinued, from among whom the grammar schools will be supplied with future masters, and the other half who are to be chosen for the superiority of their parts and dispositions, are to be sent and continued three years in the study of such services, as they may choose, at William and Mary College, the plan of which is proposed to be enlarged, as will hereafter be explained, and extended to all the useful sciences. The ultimate result of the whole scheme of education would be the teaching of all the children of the State reading, writing and common arithmetic, turning out ten annually, of superior genius, well taught in Greek, Latin, Geography and the higher branches of Arithmetic; turning out ten others annually, of still superior parts, who, to those branches of learning, shall have added such of the sciences as their genius shall have led them to; the furnishing to the wealthier part of the people convenient schools at which their children may be educated at their own expense.

"The general objects of this law are to provide an education adapted to the years, to the capacity, and the condition of every one, and directed to their freedom and happiness. Specific details were not proper for the law. These must be the business of the visitors entrusted with its execution. The first stage of this education being the schools of the hundreds, wherein the great mass of the people will receive their instruction, the principal foundations of future order will be laid here."

There were three other celebrated bills prepared by Mr. Jefferson, for the abolition of *estates tails* and the right of *primogeniture,* and for the establishment of the freedom of *religious belief,* all of which were adopted. Speaking of these bills, Mr. Jefferson said:

"I considered four of these bills passed as reported, viz: The school bill, bill for religious freedom, for abolishing *entails* and abolishing the right of *primogeniture,* as forming a system by which every fiber would be eradicated of ancient or future aristocracy, and a foundation laid for a government truly republican."

There were many reasons why the educational system contemplated by this bill was not adopted, and could not have been successful if it had been adopted. Nearly one-third of the population of 700,000 were slaves; this population was largely divided into settlements, and these usually far apart. Perhaps four-fifths of the state's 64,000 square miles, larger than all New England, was still in densest forest.

The rivers and streams had not been bridged, and roads were either of the most inferior character, or did not exist. At that time the counties of Virginia were farther apart than the states of the Union are now. The entire system was, as subsequent history has proved, a hundred years in advance of the times.

The So-called Aldermanic Law—In 1796, December 22, an act to establish public schools was passed, which embodied the provision of Mr. Jefferson's bill for elementary schools, being the first grade of the system. This act contained the general plan of an efficient free school system. The entire management of the proposed system was placed in the hands of three county officers, styled aldermen, who were empowered to divide the county into school districts, employ teachers, determine the amount of money necessary to build school houses, to pay teachers' salaries and to make a levy upon the property of the inhabitants of each county for this purpose. A fatal proviso, however, was

added to the act, "That the court of each county, at which a majority of the acting magistrates thereof shall be present, shall first determine the year in which the first election of aldermen shall be made, and until they so determine no such election shall be made." Concerning the failure of his law, Mr. Jefferson said "The justices, being generally of the more wealthy class, were unwilling to incur the burden, so that it was not suffered to commence in a single county." Although this law was never repealed, there is no record showing that this act was ever put into operation.

The Literary Fund—The opportunity was again presented for the agitation of the public school question in 1810 when the Literary Fund was created.

> "It was enacted on the 2nd of February, 1810, that all escheats. confiscations, fines, penalties and forfeitures, and all rights in personal property accruing to the Commonwealth, as directed, showing no rightful proprietor, shall be appropriated to the encouragement of learning; and the auditor was directed to open an account to be designated as the Literary Fund."

The following year an act was passed protesting against any other application of the revenues of this fund by any other General Assembly, to any other object than the education of the poor. This was the beginning of what was called the "Pauper System" which continued in force up to 1861 and was in operation in every county except those in which a free school system had been established and in such counties their just quota of the Literary Fund went into the county school fund. By an act passed in 1816 an addition was made to the fund of the debt due to the state from the United States. With this large addition to the Literary Fund, the friends of education gained new courage, and the efforts of Mr. Jefferson and others were renewed in behalf of a system of public schools. The bill prepared by Mr. Jefferson in 1779, with some modifications, was again brought forward. It passed the house but was lost in the senate. Although they again failed to secure the establishment of a system of public schools, some advancement was made.

The Act of 1818 made important changes in the Aldermanic School Law of 1796, which had been in operation twenty-one years. It provided that for the purpose of applying the Literary Fund to the object of its institution—the education of the poor—the courts of the several counties should each appoint not less than five or more than fifteen discreet persons to compose a board of school commissioners for the county, a majority of which should constitute a quorum. A treasurer was selected from the body who gave bond in the sum of $2,000, and who then received and disbursed, on the order of the board, the quota of the Literary Fund due his county, the deductions being based on the population of the county, $45,000 being the amount annually disbursed at that time. It was the duty of the board to determine the number of poor children in the county; how many of them it would educate; what sum it could pay for their education; to send these to school, having first secured the consent of the parents or guardian, and supply them with materials for writing and ciphering. The board made an annual report to the directors of the Literary Fund, showing the number of indigent children in the county, the number of schools in operation, and what further appropriations were needed to carry on the work of educating indigent children.

At this time eighteen of the present counties now in West Virginia had no existence, and the Aldermanic Law of 1796 being changed by the enactments of 1817, by which the three years free tuition was repealed,

continued in force for thirty years. In 1833, twenty-five of the counties now embraced in what is West Virginia had an existence. Three of these made no school report, but on October 1st of that year it was shown that in the other twenty-two counties there were 655 schools in operation, with pupils in attendance to the number of 5,874, the tuition of all being paid from the Literary Fund.

Although Mr. Jefferson was deeply interested in founding the university, he saw clearly the great necessity of a system of schools and of making the university the head of the system. In a letter to Gen. Breckenridge, dated February 15, 1821, he said: "Let us keep our eye on the whole system." He desired to see a school system so complete and thorough that, as he expressed it in the same letter, the university and the public school should "go on hand in hand forever."

In a letter to Joseph C. Cabell, in January, 1822, about three years before his death, Jefferson wrote: "Were it necessary to give up either the Primaries or the University, I would rather abandon the last, because it is safer to have a whole people respectably enlightened, than a few in a high state of learning, and the many in ignorance. This last is the most dangerous state in which a nation can be."

On the 25th of February, 1829, an act was passed providing for the combination of public and private means for establishing and maintaining free schools, by empowering the county school commissioners to district their respective counties, when in their judgment it seemed advantageous to do so, and to offer to pay two-fifths of the amount necessary to build a school house in each district, and one hundred dollars toward maintaining each school whenever the people, by voluntary contributions, should raise the other three-fifths. This measure, although tried in a few counties, met with but little encouragement, and no further legislation looking to the establishment of public schools was secured until 1845. During this period the efforts of the friends of public schools were not abated in the least, but on the contrary it was marked by an increased activity and awakened interest concerning education. James Madison, who had spent many years in the service of his state and country, gave the influence of his closing years to the cause of the public schools. Writing to a friend, about 1830, he said:

"A satisfactory plan for primary schools is certainly a vital desideratum in our Republic, and is at the same time found to be a difficult one everywhere. It might be useful to consult, so far as there may be opportunities, the different modifications presented in the laws of the different states. The New England, New York and Pennsylvania examples may possibly afford useful hints. There has, latterly, I believe, been a plan discussed, if not adopted, by the legislature of Maryland, where its situation is more analagous than that of the more northern States to the situation of Virginia. The most serious difficulty in all the southern states results from the character of their population and the want of density in the free parts of them. This I take to be the main cause of the little success of the experiment now on foot with us."

In 1839, Governor Campbell urged the legislature to make better provisions for the education of the people, and Governor McDowell said in his message in 1843:

"This plan of common education, viz., that based upon the Literary Fund and the Act of 1818, which reaches only twenty-eight thousand out of the fifty-one thousand poor children, and gives them only sixty days tuition is a costly and delusive nullity, which ought to be abolished and another and better one established in its place."

Educational Convention at Clarksburg, September, 1841—The most important educational meeting ever held on the soil of West Virginia,

before or since, assembled in the Presbyterian church at Clarksburg, Harrison county, Virginia (now West Virginia), on Wednesday, September 8, 1841, and continued in session three days. The object was to take such action as would induce the General Assembly to enact laws providing for the establishment of a Free School System. There were then no railroads in Northwestern Virginia, but notwithstanding, nineteen counties, of which sixteen were of those now in West Virginia, were represented. These wede: Augusta, Berkeley, Braxton, Brooke, Cabell, Frederick, Harrison, Jackson, Kanawha, Lewis, Marshall, Monongalia, Ohio, Randolph, Shenandoah, Tyler, Warren and Wood. One hundred and fifteen delegates were present at the opening session, and numbers of others arrived later. The body was called to order by Mr. Z. Jacobs, of Ohio county, and the distinguished George Hay Lee, of Harrison county, afterward a judge of the court of appeals of Virginia, was elected president. He was escorted to the chair by Gideon D. Camden, of Harrison county, and William McConnell, of Brooke. Then John McWhorter, of Lewis county; John S. Barnes, of Monongalia; James W. McClemens, of Ohio; John Parriott, of Marshall; Joshua Russell, of Tyler; William C. Haymond, of Randolph; Joseph Johnson, of Harrison; Albert A. Lewis, of Braxton; and Josiah M. Steed, of Wood, were elected vice-presidents. George W. Thompson, of Ohio county; James H. McMechen, of Harrison; James Evans, of Monongalia, and Luther Haymond, of Harrison, were made secretaries. Then the names of members were enrolled, and among them were many distinguished men. There sat Hon. James Points, of Augusta county; Caleb Boggess, Benjamin Bassell, Ephriam Bee, William A. Harrison, Charles Lewis, Eli Marsh and David Kincheloe, of Harrison; Thomas Bland, R. W. Lowther, A. G. Reger, and Cabell Tavenner, of Lewis; John L. Sehon, of Mason; Elbert H. Hall, of Marshall; Zedekiah Kidwell, James Evans, and George McNeely, of Monongalia; William Armstrong, John W. Clemens, Alexander Newman and Thomas Townsend, of Ohio; David Holder, James H. Logan, Daniel W. Shertliff, of Randolph; John Ireland, James Morris, Presley Martin, and John Wells, of Tyler; Austin Berkeley, Lewis Bond, Thomas Chancellor, and W. M. Protzman, of Wood. Benjamin S. Griffin was appointed doorkeeper, and the rules and regulations of the House of Delegates of Virginia were adopted for the government of the convention. The ministers of the town were invited to open the sessions with prayer; and editors of newspapers were admitted to seats for the purpose of reporting the proceedings. Committees on order of business, resolutions, etc., were appointed. Then the real work of the convention began, and continued for three days with evening sessions. Never did a more earnest body of men assemble in West Virginia than this, nor has the work of any one yielded more abundant fruit. These men builded better than they knew. Then there was a Free School System for the commonwealth, in which all children should be educated without distinction. There were papers read, addresses made, plans submitted, and the proceedings published in pamphlet form under the title of "A Memorial to the General Assembly of the State, Requesting that Body to Establish a More Liberal and Efficient Primary or Common School System." That pamphlet was, and still is, the most remarkable publication to be found in the educational literature of the Virginias. The history of that convention, with an account of its labors and notices of the men composing it, would fill a volume. Will not some school man of West Virginia write it?

First Free Schools in West Virginia—If we would learn of the origin of popular education in West Virginia we must return to the year 1846, which marks an era in the annals of Virginia. We have seen how

the Aldermanic School Law was amended that year and the operation of the common primary school system changed. Almost from the foundation of the commonwealth there had been in it many men who were advocates of a free school system. Prominent among these were John Burk, the historian, Thomas Jefferson, Joseph Martin and James McDowell. The number increased as the years went by and the school men were hoping for something better in education than the commonwealth had yet known.

Prompted by this desire, a large number of them assembled in Richmond in December, 1845, for the purpose of discussing the bringing before the Assembly a bill providing for a free school system. Governor James McDowell voiced the sentiment of this convention, and in an eloquent address before it, he, after describing existing conditions, said: "We trust that we shall soon be delivered from this dominion of darkness, that we shall never be contented until every child can read and write, and every darkened understanding be illumined with the benign influence of education."

As will be seen running all through these provisions for public education, there is an undercurrent of feeling that such education is not for all youth alike, but for those unable to provide it for themselves. The terms "charity schools" and "indigent pupils" were followed by the less pleasing designation "pauper schools," and to this day there is a sentiment in some of the provincial sections of the state, handed down through three generations, that is antagonistic to the free school system, growing out of an erroneous idea of dependency. Of course such a view is not very prevalent but that it exists in a few communities is certainly apparent. It has taken a long while for the idea of universal education to assert itself not only in West Virginia but in many other parts of the Union.

Old Time Academies—Many things relating to our educational progress in the United States were brought to us from across the ocean. Students of educational history will recall the Lancasterian system, which for a time prevailed in England and which naturally found its way across the Atlantic. This method, not so different from the usages of to-day, consisted in having a principal at the head of the school, usually called an academy, but instead of having a number of paid assistants, he taught the advanced classes, while the more elementary work was performed by the older and more advanced students. In many of these schools, especially in the winter, the enrollment would exceed a hundred pupils, oftentimes more. It will thus be seen what a task the principal had, but as there were comparatively few studies in those days the work was not so heavy as would at first appear. In 1860 the writer attended an academy conducted somewhat on this plan. Probably the system appealed to many settlements on account of the comparatively light expense in curred in establishing such a school. While the salary paid the principal was usually fair, especially in the more thickly settled districts, still, that being the only outlay, the school could be carried on at a much smaller expense than if a larger teaching force were employed under salary. Some of these principals were well educated young men, being graduates of William and Mary, some from Harvard and Princeton, and occasionally would be found a man who had attended Oxford, Cambridge or Edinburgh. Of course, in that early day teaching was not a permanent business, and most of these instructors were young men who were looking forward to a professional career, either in medicine, the law or the ministry. So the custom prevailing to-day all over the country in which we see young men and women engaged in teaching while

preparing for some other vocation, is an inheritance from the past, and not without some degree of merit.

For some reason the new system was most enthusiastically received in Western Virginia, and the number of academies organized in what is now West Virginia is really remarkable. Some of these academies had been established at an early day, with a view to preparing young men for William and Mary College and other institutions in the eastern part of the state, but the larger number were the outgrowth of an awakened educational sentiment that manifested itself between 1830 and 1860.

We are indebted to Hon. Virgil A. Lewis, State Historian and Archivist, for the following list of academies established in what is now West Virginia previous to the Civil war. We have also quoted quite extensively from him in his excellent chapter on Education issued a few years ago from the Department of Schools, Charleston.

1. The Academy of Shepherdstown, at Shepherdstown, in Jefferson county, incorporated in 1784.
2. The Randolph Academy, at Clarksburg, in Harrison county, incorporated December 11, 1797.
3. The Charles Town Academy, at Charles Town, in Jefferson county, incorporated December 25, 1797.
4. The Brooke Academy, at Wellsburg, in Brooke county, incorporated January 10, 1797.
5. The Mount Carmel School, at West Union, in Preston county—then Monongalia—established in 1801.
6. The Lewisburg Academy, at Lewisburg, in Greenbrier county, incorporated in 1812.
7. The Shepherdstown Academy, at Shepherdstown, in Jefferson county, incorporated January 3, 1814.
8. The Romney Academy, at Romney, in Hampshire county, incorporated February 11, 1814.
9. The Lancasterian Academy, at Wheeling, in Ohio county, incorporated October 10, 1814.
10. The Monongalia Academy, at Morgantown, in Monongalia county, incorporated November 29, 1814.
11. The Mercer Academy, in Charleston, Kanawha county, incorporated November 29, 1818.
12. The Union Academy, at Union, in Monroe county, incorporated January 27, 1820.
13. The Martinsburg Academy, at Martinsburg, in Berkeley county, incorporated January 28, 1822.
14. The Romney Classical Institute, at Romney, in Hampshire county, established in 1824.
15. The Tyler Academy, at Middlebourne, in Tyler county, incorporated January 30, 1827.
16. The Wheeling Academy, at Wheeling, in Ohio county, incorporated February 21, 1827.
17. The Romney Academy, at Romney, in Hampshire county, incorporated March 25, 1820.
18. The Morgantown Female Seminary, at Morgantown, in Monongalia county, incorporated March 23, 1831.
19. The Seymour Academy, at Moorefield, in Hardy county, incorporated February 16, 1832.
20. The Bolivar Academy, at Bolivar, in Jefferson county, incorporated February 16, 1832.
21. The Red Sulphur Seminary, at Red Sulphur Springs, in Monroe county, opened April 15, 1832.
22. The Charles Town Female Academy, at Charles Town, in Jefferson county, incorporated March 15, 1836.
23. The Brickhead and Wells Academy, at Sistersville, in Tyler county, incorporated January 18, 1837.
24. The West Liberty Academy, at West Liberty, in Ohio county, incorporated March 20, 1837.
25. The Marshall Academy, at Guyandotte—now Huntington—in Cabell county, incorporated March 13, 1838.
26. The Western Virginia Education Society, at Pruntytown, in Taylor county, (then Harrison), incorporated March 28, 1838.

27. The Parkersburg Academy Association, at Parkersburg, in Wood county, incorporated April 5, 1838.
28. The Morgantown Female Academy, at Morgantown, in Monongalia county, incorporated January 30, 1839.
29. The Cove Academy, at Holliday's Cove, in Hancock county (then Brooke), incorporated April 6, 1839.
30. The Bethany College, at Bethany, in Brooke county, incorporated in the autumn of 1840.
31. The Preston Academy, at Kingwood, in Preston county, incorporated January 2, 1841.
32. The Huntersville Academy, at Huntersville, in Pocahontas county, incorporated January 18, 1842.
33. The Asbury Academy, at Parkersburg, in Wood county, incorporated February 8, 1842.
34. The Little Levels Academy, at Hillsboro in Pocahontas county, incorporated February 14, 1842.
35. The Rector College, at Pruntytown, in Taylor county, incorporated February 14, 1842.
36. The Greenbank Academy, at Greenbank, in Pocahontas county, incorporated March 26, 1842.
37. The Northwestern Academy, at Clarksburg, in Harrison county, incorporated March 26, 1842.
38. Then Brandon Academy, at Brandonville, in Preston county, incorporated March 27, 1843.
39. The Weston Academy, at Weston, in Lewis county, incorporated January 18, 1844.
40. The Potomac Seminary, at Romney, in Hampshire county, incorporated December 12, 1846.
41. The Male and Female Academy at Buckhannon, in Upshur county—then Lewis—incorporated February 1, 1847.
42. The Lewis County Seminary, at Weston, in Lewis county, incorporated March 20, 1847.
43. The Marshall Academy, at Moundsville, in Marshall county, incorporated March 19, 1847.
44. The Wheeling Female Seminary, at Wheeling, in Ohio county, incorporated January 24, 1848.
45. The Buffalo Academy, at Buffalo, in Putnam county, incorporated March 16, 1849.
46. The Academy of the Visitation, at Wheeling, in Ohio county, incorporated March 14, 1850.
47. The Jane Lew Academy, at Jane Lew, in Lewis county, incorporated March 16, 1850.
48. The Wellsburg Female Academy, at Wellsburg, in Brooke county, incorporated March 17, 1851.
49. The Meade Collegiate Institute, at or near Parkersburg, incorporated March 21, 1851.
50. The South Branch Academical Institute, at Moorefield, in Hardy county, incorporated March 31, 1851.
51. The Fairmont Academy, at Fairmont, in Marion county, incorporated February 17, 1852.
52. The Wheeling Female Seminary, at Wheeling, in Ohio county, incorporated January 10, 1853.
53. The West Union Academy, at West Union, in Doddridge county, incorporated April 16, 1852.
54. The Morgan Academy, at Berkeley Springs, in Morgan county, incorporated January 10, 1853.
55. The Logan Institute, at Logan Court House, in Logan county, incorporated February 21, 1853.
56. The Ashton Academy, at Mercer's Bottom, in Mason county, incorporated January 7, 1856.
57. The Point Pleasant Academy, at Point Pleasant, in Mason county, incorporated February 26, 1856.
58. The Polytechnic College, at Aracoma, in Logan county, incorporated February 28, 1856.
59. The Fairmont Male and Female Seminary, at Fairmont, in Marion county, incorporated March 12, 1856.
60. The Harper's Ferry Female Institute, at Harper's Ferry, in Jefferson county, incorporated March 18, 1856.
61. The Woodburn Female Seminary, at Morgantown, in Monongalia county, incorporated January 4, 1858.

62. The Lewisburg Female Institute, at Lewisburg, in Greenbrier county, incorporated April 7, 1858.

63. The Levelton Male and Female College, at Hillsboro, in Pocahontas county, incorporated February 27, 1860.

64. The Union College, at Union, in Monroe county, incorporated March 28, 1860.

65. The Parkersburg Classical and Scientific Institute, at Parkersburg, in Wood county, incorporated March 18, 1861.

To the writer, the influence of these old time academies is an intensely interesting feature of the early educational development in West Virginia and it goes to show the far-reaching effect of faithful service.

Special reference could be made to other towns and communities which have had a controlling influence in state affairs, due directly to the work of these old time schools. Likewise a number of prominent men in different parts of the state could be named who owed their success in large measure to the preparation they received at these centers of culture and intelligence. It has been said that if William and Mary College had done nothing more than to send Thomas Jefferson into the world prepared to do his great work, it would have justified all the outlay incurred in establishing and carrying on the institution. So each of these old academies has left an influence that is still bearing fruit, and which will continue to serve as an inspiration for future progress.

A noticeable fact connected with these schools is that, in nearly every instance, each became a potent factor in developing a higher degree of culture and intelligence in its community. The University, the Normal Schools, several of the leading denominational schools in the state and quite a number of the best high schools in our cities and towns, are the outgrowth of the spirit of education engendered and fostered by the old time academies. As illustrating this point, the West Virginia University is the outgrowth of the Monongalia Academy; the Normal School at Huntington; of Marshall Academy, afterwards Marshall College; West Liberty Normal School, the West Liberty Academy, and so with the Normal Schools at Shepherdstown and Fairmont.

Observations—West Virginia was, indeed, a land of academies. A few of these named did but little or no work, but nearly all of them were as beacon lights of education set among the hills and valleys of the state. Shepherdstown Academy did nearly a hundred years of educational work. Randolph Academy was the first institution of learning established west of the Alleghany mountains; it had among its first board of twenty-eight trustees Edmund Randolph, Benjamin Harrison, George Mason and Patrick Henry, and as part of its revenues it received one-eighth of the surveyor's fees of the counties of Harrison, Monongalia, Ohio and Randolph, which sums had been paid formerly to the support of the college of William and Mary. The act declared that the school was established for the benefit of the people of these four counties, which then embraced all of what is now West Virginia north of the Little Kanawha river. George Gowers, a graduate of Oxford, England, was its first principal, and for twenty years he taught Latin, Greek, Hebrew and the sciences within its walls. Its work extended over more than fifty years, and among its teachers in 1830-40 was Francis H. Pierpont, afterward Governor of Virginia under the Reorganized Government. Charles Town Academy was long a center of learning and prepared young men to enter William and Mary College and other institutions of high order. Brooke Academy began its work in 1778—twenty-two years before the date of its incorporation—and was the earliest institution of learning on the Ohio river south of Pittsburg. In 1843, it had a president, four members in its faculty, and a hundred students. After a successful career of more than half a century it was merged, in 1852, into Meade Collegi-

ate Institute. The Mount Carmel School, after doing forty-eight years work, lost its building by fire and was then removed to another locality. The Linsly Academy was opened in 1808—four years before the date of its incorporation. It was a noted center of education and culture for more than fifty years and from its halls went forth many legislators, great debators, scientists and soldiers who made lasting names. The Lancasterian Academy was the beginning of the Linsly Institute at Wheeling still a flourishing institution of learning after a successful career of almost a hundred years. The Monongalia Academy was for many years the most flourishing institution of learning on the banks of the Monongahela river, and, in 1867, its property, including that of Woodburn Seminary, the whole valued at $51,000, was donated to the State by the people of Morgantown in consideration of the location of the University at that place. Mercer Academy did more than all things else to mold the educational sentiment of the Great Kanawha Valley nearly a century ago, and forty-six years of successful work is to be placed to its credit. Its property passed to the Board of Education under the Free School System, and one of the present school buildings of Charleston bears the name of Mercer in commemoration of the old academy. In the Martinsburg *Gazette* of January 10, 1812, Obed White, and David Hunter, trustees, advertised the Martinsburg Academy as a school of very high order. John B. Hoge was the instructor in Greek and Latin and the tuition was $20.00 per annum. The Romney Classical Institute exerted a great influence upon the educational work of the South Branch Valley for nearly sixty years and its property—a valuable one—was, in 1870, donated to the State of West Virginia in consideration of the location of the Schools for the Deaf and the Blind at Romney. The course of study in the Red Sulphur Seminary embraced the ancient languages and mathematics and with William Burk as principal and James McCauley, assistant, the institution did many years of excellent work. The Seymour Academy was long the pride of Moorefield and the Upper South Branch Valley. The West Liberty Academy began its work in 1837; lost its building by fire in 1840, but was rebuilt and made the old town famous for many years. In 1870, it was sold to the State of West Virginia for $6,000 and became the nucleus of the Branch of the State Normal School. Marshall Academy was for a quarter of a century the most famous institution of learning in Western Virginia. Soon after it was opened, two boys—students—climbed high up among the branches of an old beech tree in the yard and carved their names in its smooth bark; one of them was afterward the first adjutant-general of West Virginia and long a judge of her courts; the other became a judge of the court of appeals of Louisiana. In 1850, the Academy was changed into Marshall College, and in 1867, the Cabell county authorities gave its property, worth $10,000, to West Virginia, thus securing the location of the State Normal School at that place. Rector College, a Baptist institution at Pruntytown, had its beginning in the Western Virginia Educational Society of that place, which was incorporated March 28, 1838. In 1849, the Assembly provided that scholarships might be established in this institution, which, in 1850, had three professors in its faculty, fifty students, and a library of two thousand, five hundred volumes. Bethany College, whose history is forever associated with the name of Alexander Campbell, the illustrious founder of the Church of the Disciples of Christ, is the oldest among forty or fifty institutions of learning of that denomination. Under the name of Buffalo Academy, it did eighteen years of work before being erected into a College. So that eighty years is the measure of its usefulness in education in West Virginia. By an act of Assembly in 1849, it was provided that scholarships might be created in this institution. The

Little Levels Academy accomplished eighteen years of work among the mountains and in the valleys of Pocahontas county, and then its property was transferred to the Board of Education under the Free School System. The Preston Academy began its work under the administration of Doctor Alexander Martin, who was afterward the first president of the West Virginia University, and it was long a power for good. The Northwestern Virginia Academy at Clarksburg, a Methodist institution, had for its first principal the distinguished Gordon Battelle, whose successor was Doctor Martin, who came from Kingwood for the purpose; and he in turn was succeeded by Doctor William Ryland White, who had served twelve years when he was elected first State Superintendent of Free Schools of West Virginia. The Academy building was erected in 1842, and the school at once took a high rank. In 1849, the General Assembly provided that scholarships might be established therein. In 1843, Henry Howe, the historian, found a flourishing academy at Holliday's Cove, in Brooke county. The Male and Female Academy at Buckhannon did much to create the splendid educational sentiment which for a half a century has prevailed in that locality, and to a greater extent now than ever before. The Potomac Seminary—now the Potomac Academy—still continues its good work begun at Romney fifty-seven years ago. The Lewis county Seminary was so successful that after ten years its name was changed and it was by act of Assembly erected into Weston College. The Wheeling Female Seminary was long under the management of Mrs. S. B. Thompson and was very successful. In 1855, it was occupying its own building erected at a cost of $20,000. In addition to the regular academic course, full instruction was given in music, drawing, and modern languages; the faculty then consisted of seven accomplished teachers. Throughout all the years since then the institution has been fulfilling its mission and the citizens of Wheeling are proud of it to-day. Buffalo Academy made an excellent record in the Great Kanawha Valley as a school of high grade, and then its property was sold to the board of education under the Free School System. The Meade Collegiate Institute was removed from Parkerburg to Wellsburg where it became the successor of Brooke Academy and did good work. The Academy of the Visitation began its work at the corner of Eoff and Fourteenth streets in Wheeling, in 1848, and there continued until 1865, when it was removed to Mount De Chantal, an eminence in Pleasant Valley two miles east of Wheeling, where for about forty years it has continued to train its students for the highest duties of life. Fifty-five years span its period of work. The Fairmont Academy and the Fairmont Male and Female Seminary did thorough work and paved the way for the location of the Branch of the State Normal School at that place. The Lewisburg Female Institute has, for forty-five years, been earning the splendid reputation and large patronage it now enjoys. West Union Academy did eight years work and the property was then sold by its board of trustees. The South Branch Academical Institute, the Morgan Academy, the Point Pleasant Academy and others had accomplished successful work and were still engaged in it in 1860.

These academies, seminaries, and colleges had resulted in great good and had done much to create an interest in secondary and higher education. Many hundreds of young men had gone forth from them in quest of that learning that was to fit them for the highest callings in life. From the Eastern Pan-Handle and the Greenbrier Region some went to the University of Virginia at Charlottesville, or Washington College at Lexington. From the northern part of the State some went to Uniontown College, or Washington College, Pennsylvania. While from the

Great Kanawha Valley and the counties lying along the Ohio river, others went to the Ohio University at Athens.

Such, in brief, is the story of early educational work in West Virginia; and such with the Old Field Schools in vogue and her many splendid academies, were her educational facilities in 1860. In 1848, John G. Jacob, then among the foremost literary men of Western Virginia, when writing of educational matters, said:

"Under the General Law of Virginia, which makes quite liberal provision for Common school education, though clogged with provisions which render it distasteful to the class it is intended to benefit, the facilities for acquiring a common school education are good, and where there is a disposition, there is abundant opportunity. West Virginia people had made the most of their opportunities, but they anxiously sought something better than they had known, and this was near at hand."

Ladies' Seminaries—It will be noticed that in most of the early schools provision was made mainly for boys. Although he had educated his own daughters in the classics, one daughter having become very proficient in Greek, Jefferson seems not to have made special provision for girls in his general scheme of education, and while they were allowed to attend the early schools, the main provision was for male students from the most primary up. Notwithstanding this lack of any public system that embraced the education of both sexes, yet at the breaking out of the Civil war there were numerous institutions all over Western Virginia for the education of young ladies. As a rule they were called seminaries, although now and then we find a school called a Male and Female Academy. So noted had the seminary at Morgantown become that at one time it is said it had students from fifteen states. When we remember that in those days the means of travel in this section were mainly by stage coach, this is a remarkable representation. So with many other places within the boundary of the present state, while in the eastern section girls schools were numerous, which conditions exist there to-day. While many of these schools were established through church influence and therefore had a denominational cast, still others were without sectarian bearing and were attended by all classes. Undoubtedly these schools did much towards raising the standard of intelligence among the young women of those days, yet when we see the limitations of the courses of the study, we conclude that they were nothing to compare in efficiency with the splendid high schools of to-day. Of course, in the way of a polite education, they furnished the culture and refinement for the young lady who had her colored maid and who was never called upon to perform any of the ordinary household duties. Music, painting, French and literature constituted the main studies, and it must be said that for the comparatively few who had those advantages a degree of culture and refinement which is very desirable was manifested. But there was none of that practical every day preparation for life that characterize the courses of study of to-day. There was no physical science in the modern sense of that term, and to have introduced domestic science would have been considered degrading and infringing upon the duties that belonged to the colored race. However, these seminaries in this middle period of our educational progress had an important part in preparing young ladies for the positions that they were afterward to occupy.

The Civil War—Situated on the border as she is, and early in the Civil war almost the pivotal point in the internecine conflict, West Virginia suffered in material and educational retardation possibly as much as any other state except Virginia proper. Most schools were suspended, and many young men in academies and more advanced schools enlisted in either the Union or Confederate army. Only the younger

children were kept in school, and comparatively few schools were open anywhere. Considering the division of political sentiment as indicated by the representatives in both armies, some instances of patriotic devotion could be narrated. In some cases entire schools volunteered, chose one of the instructors as captain, and went to the front, a united band. Occasionally brothers were attending different schools, and there were some instances found where one son went into the Union army, the other into the Confederate army. Frequently, too, father and son were divided in their sentiments, some young men adhering to the paternal side of the house, others to the maternal. The location of the school and the presence of some dominant character, oftentimes influenced young men to change not only their party affiliations but also their allegiance to the governing power. These disturbing conditions necessarily affected educational work, and it was next to impossible to organize the schools while the war continued.

But as early as 1867 there were evidences of awakened interest in education which manifested itself in the building of school houses, in the demand for a better class of teachers and a general desire to establish the free school system on a firm basis.

West Virginia Free School System—West Virginia was admitted into the Union June 20, 1863. With the rise of the New State came a Free School System such as the school men within its limits had longed to see.

The first step leading to the inauguration of this system was taken on the 27th day of November, 1861, when Hon. John Hall, of Mason county, president of the first State Constitutional Convention, sitting at Wheeling, named a committee on education consisting of Gordon Battelle, of Ohio county; William E. Stevenson, of Wood county; Robert Hager, of Boone county; Thomas Trainer, of Marshall county; James W. Parsons, of Tucker county; William Walker, of Wyoming county, and George Sheetz, of Hampshire county. Gordon Battelle, chairman of the committee, was a Methodist minister who had been principal of the old Northwestern Academy at Clarksburg for twelve years, and one of his associates, William E. Stevenson, was afterward second governor of the state. These gentlemen went to work energetically and the committee made its preliminary report on Wednesday, January 22, 1862, and a most interesting document it was. The amended and final report was made February 4, ensuing. These two reports contained almost every provision that was afterward incorporated into the general school law of the state, and from them were taken the sections relating to education which were inserted in the first constitution as framed at that time. The chief of these provisions were those providing for an "Invested or Irreducible School Fund;" for "the establishment and support of a thorough and efficient system of Free Schools;" for "the election of a General Superintendent of Free Schools;" for a "county superintendent of each county;" and for "the education of such other officers as should be necessary to render the system effective." Thus was a public school system fixed firmly in the organic law of the state.

The constitution was ratified, and on the 20th of June, 1863, the statehood of West Virginia began. On that day the first legislature of West Virginia assembled, and on Wednesday, June 24th,—four days later—Hon. John M. Phelps, another Mason county man, who had been elected president of the senate, then sitting in the Linsly Institute at Wheeling, appointed a senate committee on education consisting of John H. Atkinson, of Hancock county; Thomas K. McCann, of Greenbrier county; John B. Bowen, of Wayne county; Chester D. Hubbard, of Ohio county, and William E. Stevenson, of Wood county. At the same time, Spicer Patrick, of Kanawha county, speaker of the house of dele-

gates, appointed a house committee on education composed of A. F. Ross, of Ohio county; S. R. Dawson, of Ritchie county; George C. Bowyer, of Putnam county; Daniel Sweeney, of Tyler county; and Thomas Copley, of Wayne county. The joint work of these two committees was the first school law of the state, known as Chapter CXXXVII of the Acts of 1863, passed December 10 of that year, and entitled "An Act providing for the Establishment of a System of Free Schools." It was largely the work of Mr. Ross of the house committee, who was himself an efficient and experienced teacher who had served sixteen years as professor of ancient languages in Bethany College, and later as principal of West Liberty Academy. Under this law our school system had its origin and first years of development.

This law provided for the election of a state superintendent of Free Schools by the joint vote of both branches of the legislature and this occurred on the first day of June, 1864, when William Ryland White was elected for a term of two years. He took the oath of office and entered upon the discharge of his duties. Thus the Free School System of the state was inaugurated.

Beginning of the System—Superintendent White went to work energetically to put the system into operation and so well did he do this that he won for himself the title of "The Horace Mann of West Virginia." County organization, of which the state is since justly proud, was speedily effected. Then the friends of education saw that the crying need of the Public School System was a corps of trained and educated teachers, and that the development of the "Thorough and efficient system of free schools," contemplated by the constitution, must wait the establishment of Normal Schools and higher institutions of learning. State Superintendent White led in the movement to secure these and with his accustomed energy pressed the matter upon the Legislature. So much in earnest was he that he declared to that body that *"It would be better to suspend the schools of the State for two years and donate the entire school revenues for that time to the establishment and endowment of a State Normal School than to have none at all."*

In the first constitution adopted when West Virginia was admitted to the Union it was provided that an efficient system of public instruction shall be established. This was in 1863, and , while the Civil war lasted, little progress was made, but when the strife ended the people in most sections of the state began in earnest to establish schools, and it is remarkable that so much was accomplished in so short a time with the limited means at command. Houses were built, fair salaries were paid, many teachers coming into the state from Ohio, Pennsylvania, and other states. However, in some sections where the antagonisms of the war still prevailed, a good deal of opposition was noticeable and occasionally the levy would be voted down. This meant that no funds could be raised for school purposes, therefore no schools were found in such districts as gave an adverse vote. But gradually this old spirit of bitterness died out and all the people united to make the school system better, some communities voting large bond issues for the erection of new buildings and for better school equipment. In many sections of the state, however, where valuations were low, it was quite a hardship upon the people to raise funds sufficient to carry on the schools. But with increased material development and larger accumulations of property, school funds increased and much better support was given to the schools. The system continued to grow in favor and from time to time the legislature enacted laws looking to a more efficient administration of the school system, and gradually in most sections of the state there was an awakening in behalf of public education. This was especially noticeable in the

early 80's, and has continued with increased interest up to the present time.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE FREE SCHOOL SYSTEM

The administration of our school system is simple and effective, and therefore, easily understood by the people in whose interest it is designed. The following brief analysis will show this:

A.—Territorial Divisions for School Purposes—(1). The State. (2). The County. (3). The Magisterial District. (4). The Sub-District. (5). The Independent District.

B.—Grades of Schools—(1). Primary Schools. (2). Graded Schools. (3). High Schools. (4). The State Normal School. (5). The State University. (6). Schools for the Deaf and the Blind.

C.—The Officers of the System—(1). The State Superintendent of Free Schools. (2). The County Superintendent. (3). The District Superintendent. (4). The Board of Education in Magisterial and Independent Districts. (*a*) The President. (*b*) The Commissioners—two in number. (*c*) The Secretary of the Board. (5) The Trustees—three in number—in each sub-district.

D.—Teachers' Examinations—(1) The State Board of Examiners. (*a*) Professional Certificates. (2). The State Uniform Examinations. (*a*) Primary, Elementary, High School Certificates.

State Superintendent of Free Schools—This official is at the head of the free school system of the state. He must be a person of good moral character, of temperate habits, of literary acquirements, and of skill and experience in the art of teaching. He has supervision of all county superintendents of free schools, to whom he transmits all blanks and forms necessary in the details of the system to secure its uniform operation throughout the state, and is required to do all possible toward its perfection. He prepares questions for the examination of teachers, transmits same to county superintendents, grades manuscripts and issues county certificates to teachers. Annually, he transmits to the Governor a report of the condition of the free schools within the state.

County Superintendent—This is the chief school officer of the county and his qualifications are the same as those of the state superintendent. He is required to visit all the schools of his county; note the course and methods of instruction, and give such directions in the art of teaching as to him shall seem necessary. Annually, he transmits to the state superintendent a detailed report of the condition and character of the schools within his county together with suggestions as to the improvement of the same.

Board of Education—Each county is divided into not fewer than three nor more than ten magisterial districts in each of which there is a Board of Education composed of a president and two commissioners, each elected for a term of four years. This Board is a corporate body; it lays the direct levies for its teachers' and building funds; erects school houses; fixes salaries of teachers and length of term of school. School monies can be disbursed only on its order signed by the Secretary and countersigned by the president. It elects a secretary outside of its own number.

The Board of Trustees—Each magisterial district is, in turn, divided into sub-districts from half a dozen to forty, fifty, or even more in number, in each of which there is a primary school. For the management of each of these schools the Board of Education appoints three trustees, who keep the school house in repair, supply fuel and other articles necessary to the success of the school; employ teachers and sign orders on

STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, FAIRMONT.

VIEW OF CAMPUS OF WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY. FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: MARTIN'S HALL, WOODBURN HALL, SCIENCE HALL, EXPERIMENT STATION.

the Board of Education for the payment of their salaries, as provided by law.

The Independent School District—Independent school districts are those created by special legislative enactment. Each embraces a town of some importance, and its corporate boundary is sometimes identical with that of the school districts. Often, however, the latter includes a more extensive area. Usually there is a Board of Education composed of three members. But in some, the mayor and common council of the town manage the school affairs of the Independent District. There are about fifty of these in the state.

State Board of Examiners—The State Board of Examiners consists of five competent persons—one from each Congressional District—appointed by the State Superintendent of Schools for a term of four years. It issues two grades of certificates, the first class for twelve years, the second for six years. The latter is issued to graduates of the State University, of the Normal School and its branches, and to the schools doing similar work, without examination, and both grades are renewable without examination, if the holder continues to teach.

Uniform State Examination—No teacher can teach in any of the public schools without a certificate, and examinations for these are uniform throughout the state, being held in every county therein on the same date. The State Superintendent prepares the questions and these are sent under seal to the several county superintendnts, who, on the day of the beginning of the examination, in the presence of the assembled applicants and the members of the county board of examiners, open the same. When the work is completed the county superintendents send all manuscripts to the State Superintendent to be graded, and certificates based thereon are issued to applicants. These are valid throughout the state.

THE WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY

Under the Morrill act of 1862, also known as the Land Grant Act, West Virginia received from the national government 150,000 acres of land in western states as her share of the prorata allotment made under the provisions of that measure. This land was sold at the ridiculously low average price of sixty cents per acre, the state realizing only $90,000 for all her holdings. However, this sum formed the basis for the endowment of the Agricultural College of West Virginia, which was organized in 1867, but a year later was expanded into the West Virginia University. During the first few years the school was small and the work necessarily confined to but a few departments. However, the character of the instruction given was of a high order, and soon the University had gained a reputation for doing excellent work and the attendance was very materially increased. For many years only young men were admitted to the University, but in 1897 co-education was fully established, since which time the number of young ladies enrolled about equals that of the young men. Nor is the attendance confined to West Virginia students only, a number of neighboring states being represented, as well as distant countries. The University has continued to grow in numbers and influence and now has an enrollment of about 1,300, with a faculty, including the Experiment Station staff, numbering over one hundred.

Location—Morgantown, the seat of the University, is the county seat of Monongalia county. It is a beautiful town of 12,000 inhabitants, located on the Monongahela river and the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, 103 miles east of Wheeling, and the same distance south of Pittsburgh.

It has modern conveniences of natural gas, water-works, electric lights, street railways, local and long distance telephones, and is noted for its healthful conditions, physical, social, and moral. There are churches of the following denominations in the town: Presbyterian, Methodist, Episcopal, Methodist Protestant, Baptist, Protestant Episcopal, Lutheran, Christian, and Roman Catholic. There are no saloons.

Few institutions of learning have more attractive natural sites. The University grounds border the Monongahela river and afford a most picturesque outlook. The campus comprises about fifty acres. The University has also a farm of about one hundred acres for the use of the Agricultural Experiment Station and the College of Agriculture.

Organization—The University organization embraces: The College of Arts and Sciences, the College of Engineering and Mechanic Arts, the College of Agriculture, the West Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, the College of Law.

The following schools and divisions are connected with the University in their management and work but do not confer degrees: The School of Music, the School of Fine Arts, the Summer School, the School of Agriculture and Home Economics, the Division of Military Science and Tactics, the Division of Agricultural Extention.

Funds—The funds for maintaining the University are derived from the following sources: (1) Interest on the land grant endowment of $115,750; (2) the Morrill fund; (3) the Hatch fund; (4) the Adams fund; (5) biennial appropriations by the state legislature; (6) fees and tuition.

Buildings—The buildings are as follows:—

1. Woodburn Hall, a three-story building, containing the administrative offices, lecture-rooms and the physiological and zoölogical laboratories. A portion of the third floor of this building is occupied by the University School of Music.
2. Martin Hall, a three-story building, containing lecture-rooms and society halls.
3. Science Hall, a four-story building, containing lecture-rooms, laboratories for the departments of physics, chemistry, and geology, and the museum of geology and paleontology.
4. Commencement Hall, a large two-story building, containing a commodious chapel, with 1,500 seats, and the gymnasium.
5. The Agricultural Building, a two-story building, containing the laboratories and offices of the Agricultural Experiment Station.
6. The Armory and Drill Hall, for the Department of Military Science.
7. Mechanical Hall, occupied by the College of Engineering and Mechanic Arts.
8. The Library, containing the general library, reading, and seminary rooms.
9. The President's House.
10. The Central Heating Plant.
11. The Men's Hall, or dormitory.
12. The Women's Hall, or dormitory, for women students.
13. The Fife Cottages, containing lecture-rooms and the anatomical and botanical laboratories.

Besides these there are the various buildings on the University Farm.

All of the buildings mentioned, except the Men's Hall, the Fife cottages, and the farm buildings are of brick and stone.

The University Library—The Library Building is a three-story, stone structure, fireproof, 135 by 70 feet. The reading and reference rooms, occupying nearly the entire first floor, are well lighted, provided with

EXPERIMENT STATION, WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY.

PRESIDENT'S HOUSE, WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY.

modern library appliances, and are convenient to the book room in the rear of the main building. The book room is supplied with metal stacks which hold 20,000 volumes. On the upper floors of the building are rooms for government documents and for class work. The library contains about 32,500 volumes, including 5,500 government documents. Present appropriations provide for an annual increase of about 1,500 volumes. Two hundred and twenty periodicals are received, including publications of societies and scientific journals. Most of the county papers of the state are sent to the reading room.

A card catalogue, shelf list, and other bibliographic aids are provided and the librarians are ready at all times to give assistance in research and investigation.

There is a special library belonging to the College of Law, containing 5,000 volumes, located in Woodburn Hall; and the Willey Library, a valuable collection of about 1,500 volumes donated to the University by the heirs of the late Senator W. T. Willey, has been placed in the document room and opened to the public for reference use.

The library of the Agricultural Experiment Station, containing valuable sets of chemical journals and other technical material, in all about 5,000 volumes, may also be consulted by members of the University.

The various libraries connected with the University contain in the aggregate more the 42,500 volumes.

The University has had eight regular presidents. Alexander Martin resigned in 1875. He was succeeded by John W. Scott (acting president), 1875-7; John Rhey Thompson, 1877-81; Daniel Boardman Purinton (acting president), 1881-2; William L. Wilson, 1882-3; Robert C. Berkeley (chairman of the faculty), 1883-5; Eli Marsh Turner, 1885-93; Powell Benton Reynolds (acting president), 1893-5; James L. Goodnight, 1895-7; Jerome Hall Raymond, 1897-1901; Daniel Boardman Purinton, 1901-1911; Thomas Edward Hodges, 1911.

In many ways the University has contributed to our educational progress: it has sent out hundreds of teachers to lead in the work in their respective communities; it has given to the bench and bar a large number of well equipped lawyers, and it has sent out scores of engineers, whose work in West Virginia is very manifest in our material development. Governors, United States senators, representatives in Congress, University Professors, State Superintendents of Schools, physicians and ministers, are largely represented in the alumni, while in the business world the graduates and former students have a leading part in building up a greater West Virginia.

The Normal Schools—In the first organization of the school system of West Virginia there was difficulty in securing a sufficient number of competent teachers, notwithstanding the supply that came to us from other states. The first State Superintendent of Schools, William Ryland White, saw that this was a problem that must be solved, and earnestly recommended that provision be made for the preparation of teachers, and urged the establishing of Normal Schools. The legislature of 1867, after considering the matter for a time, decided to establish such a school, which was located in Cabell county and occupied the buildings and grounds of the old Marshall College, whose name the Normal School now bears. This school did a good work in sending out better equipped teachers, and it was not long until other sections of the state asked for such assistance in their educational upbuilding. So in the order named and the year given, five branches of the State Normal School were established as follows:

In 1868 the West Liberty Normal School and the Fairmont Normal School, and by 1872 provision had been made for the Shepherd Col-

lege Normal School, at Shepherdstown, the Glenville Normal School, and the Concord Normal School, located at Athens, in Mercer county, Marshall College State Normal School is known as the parent institution, and the other five as branches, but the course of study is the same in all, and the Normal diploma given upon graduation is of equal value anywhere in the state. Of course there is some variation in the character of the work done at the various schools, but all have for their special work the preparation of teachers for the graded and district schools of the state.

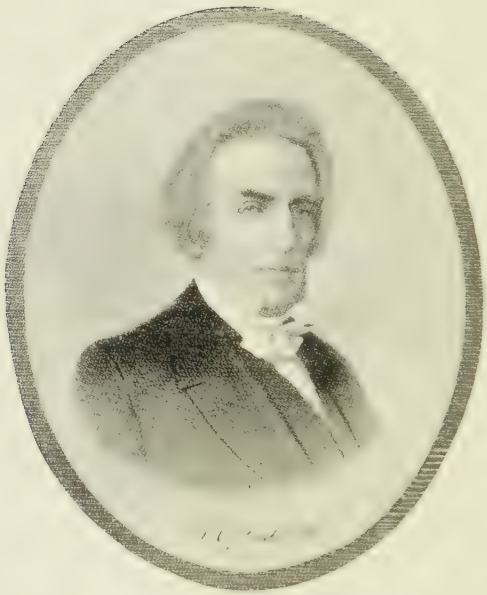
All the Normal Schools now have splendid buildings with excellent equipment, and good libraries, more than a million dollars having been spent in these institutions. The annual enrollment of the six schools exceeds three thousand, and each June graduating classes aggregating over three hundred are sent out. These graduates are doing good work in the graded and district schools of the state, and the benefits of normal training are very noticeable. In addition to the ordinary academic instruction given, the courses in training are made very prominent by means of practical experience in the model schools, each student before graduation being required to have at least three months practice in teaching. This work is done under the eye of a critic teacher who at a later period in a seminar conference points out good features of one's work and calls attention to deficiencies. These young men and young women trained in the best methods go out as teachers and principals and have become leaders in our educational work. Many of them have become county superintendents, instructors in institutes, editors of newspapers, and leaders in educational progress, thus becoming a potent agency for advancing the educational interests of West Virginia.

The Normal Schools are located as follows: Marshall College Normal School, at Huntington; West Liberty, at West Liberty; Fairmont, at Fairmont; Glenville, at Glenville; Shepherd College, at Shepherdstown; Concord, at Athens.

Bethany College—For many years this institution has been recognized as the leading denominational school in the state. Founded by that man of giant intellect, Alexander Campbell, it has had a career of usefulness scarcely equalled in the Ohio Valley. While known as a denominational institution yet it is not strictly sectarian, and it has opened its doors to all classes, and has enrolled among its students some of the leading men of the nation. Champ Clark graduated there in 1873, and in November, 1912, returned and delivered an address on the occasion of the dedication of new buildings. One of these buildings, the Hall of Agriculture, was the gift of Hon. Earl W. Oglebay, of Wheeling, and cost with its equipment over $100,000. It is said to be one of the best buildings for its purpose in the United States. Mr. Oglebay also purchased the farm nearby, once owned by Alexander Campbell, and presented it to the college for agricultural demonstration purposes. In addition to these handsome donations, the endowment fund of the institution has been largely increased and the prospects for the future are most encouraging.

In giving a brief sketch of Bethany College, Dr. T. E. Cramblet, for many years the efficient head of the institution, says:

> The charter of Bethany College was procured from the Legislature of Virginia in 1840 by John C. Campbell, of Wheeling. The establishment of an institution for the promotion of higher Christian education was for many years the cherished purpose and desire of Alexander Campbell, the illustrious founder. When fifty years old, he published in the *Millennial Harbinger*, the plan and purpose of the institution which a little later, he inaugurated at Bethany. The first session of the college was opened in the fall of 1841. Mr. Campbell insisted that as the Bible is the basis of the highest and truest culture, it should form an integ-



ral part in the college education. For a long time, Bethany was the only American college using the Bible as a text book. Until recent years a great majority of the colleges and, what is even more surprising, many theological seminaries had no place in their course for a systematic study of the Bible.

The first faculty of Bethany College was as follows: Alexander Campbell, president and professor of mental philosophy, moral science, political economy and sacred history; Prof. A. F. Ross, professor of ancient languages; Charles Stewart, professor of mathematics; W. K. Pendleton, Professor of natural philosophy, astronomy and natural history; Robert Richardson, professor of chemistry; W. W. Eaton, professor of English literature.

The first classes each day met at half past six in the morning. That was the hour of the president's lecture on sacred history, for Bible reading and worship.

There were no graduates until July, 1844. During the sixty-three years of Bethany's honorable and useful history, almost ten thousand young people have entered her halls as students. Thousands of these have graduated in the several departments. In the roll of Bethany's students and alumni, the ministers of the gospel far outnumber those of any other calling. Never a class has graduated without having in its number, a goodly portion of ministerial students. However, Bethany takes quite as much pride in the rank as in the number of the ministerial alumni. Many are men of pre-eminent ability, and scholarship. No less than twenty of these are serving, or have served as presidents of American colleges and universities. Eternity alone can measure the honorable and faithful part Bethany trained men and women have filled and shall yet fill in the world's work.

It must not be understood that Bethany is a college solely for ministerial training. The Ministerial Course is only a department of the college. The courses offered are: the Classical, Scientific, Ministerial, Philosophical, Civil Engineering, Normal, Music, Art, Oratory, Bookkeeping; Shorthand and Typewriting.

While a distinctly religious atmosphere is maintained, and while most of the students and professors are connected with the religious body known as the Disciples of Christ, yet it is maintained that the college is not sectarian. No religious test is required of professors, students or trustees. Almost every religious body is represented in the student body and all are accorded the right to choose in these matters for themselves.

Catholic Institutions—On the 14th of March, 1850, the General Assembly of Virginia passed an act incorporating the "Academy of the Visitation" for the purpose of founding and conducting a seminary of learning in the county of Ohio. Among the incorporators were the Right Rev. Richard V. Whelan, Henry Moore, and Henry M. Jamison. The school had been opened at the corner of Eoff and Fourteenth streets two years before, and here it was continued until 1863, when it had grown to such proportions that it became necessary to find more spacious accommodations. To secure these, a removal was made beyond the smoke and the din of the city to a little plateau, or eminence, now known as Mount de Chantal, in Pleasant Valley, two miles east of Wheeling. The present extensive buildings crown this elevation from which may be had a charming view of the valley a hundred feet below, with its graceful, winding stream. The property includes one hundred acres, thirty of which are laid out in pleasure grounds, and ten more in play grounds thickly set with evergreens and ornamental shade trees. This school, now widely known as Mount de Chantal, has beecome famous as a female school of the highest order and is regarded as the greatest work of Bishop Whelan in the cause of education. It is in charge of the Sisters of the Visitation. The course in literature is a comprehensive one, consisting, as it does, of a critical reading of English authors from the earliest to those of our own day, with discussions of their merits and faults, a criticism of their style, and, finally, a written estimate of each author given from the standpoint of the pupil. The course in music is excellent, and perhaps unsurpassed in any school in the state.

Other Catholic Schools—Other Catholic Schools in West Virginia are St. Alphonsus' Parochial School for Boys and Girls at Wheeling, opened in 1856; St. Augustine's School for Boys and Girls, at Grafton, founded in 1857; the Academy of the Visitation, De Sales Heights, at Parkersburg, organized in 1864; St. Joseph's Academy at Wheeling,

founded by Bishop Whelan and opened September 1, 1865; St. Joseph's Academy and Day School, at Clarksburg, organized in October, 1872; St. Mary's School in Charleston, opened in 1867; St. Joseph's School at Huntington, opened in 1874; the Cathedral High School at Wheeling, opened in 1896; and St. Michael's School for Boys and Girls, at Whitfield, in 1897.

Morris Harvey College—This institution, located at Barboursville, is the property of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. It was incorporated as Barboursville Seminary in 1888, under the direction of Rev. T. S. Wade, D. D., who was then presiding elder of the Charleston District.

The school was opened in September, 1888, with the following faculty: Rev. T. S. Wade, D. D., president and professor of mental and moral science; Rev. G. W. Hampton, vice-president and professor of mathematics and ancient languages; Geo. A. Proffit, master accountant of bookkeeping and assistant in mathematics and science; Mrs. G. A. Proffit, B. Sc., professor in German and English literature; Miss Florence Miller, teacher of French and rhetoric; Miss Maggie Thornburg, teacher of vocal and instrumental music.

During this first year, which was an experiment, the success was beyond the expectation of the most sanguine friends of the school, there being necessarily much to do in order to get the institution in running order. At the close of this year the entire institution was turned over by the trustees to the Western Virginia Conference to be continued as a Conference college under the auspices of the M. E. Church, South, and the school was continued during the year 1889 with the same faculty. At its close and president and vice-president resigned and Prof. Robert W. Douthat, A. M., Ph. D., was selected president, and Rev. W. W. Royall, D. D., vice-president of the college. Professor and Mrs. Proffit and Miss Maggie Thornburg continued as a part of the faculty.

Dr. Douthat was a very efficient president and leader, and did good work for the college, but resigned in 1895 to accept the chair of ancient languages in the State University at Morgantown.

The following named persons then served as president in the order named, the school continuing to grow and to add to its faculty, and its equipment: Rev. J. M. Boland, D. D., 1895; Thomas C. Atkeson, A. M., 1896; Rev. Zephaniah Meek, D. D., 1897; Rev. S. F. McClung, 1898-1900.

In 1890 D. W. Shaw, A. M., was called to the presidency and served for about ten years, during which time the college made rapid progress and enlarged its field of usefulness.

Until 1901 this institution was known as Barboursville College, when in consideration of the liberality and benevolence of Mr. Morris Harvey in the gift of several thousand dollars, the board of trustees changed the name to Morris Harvey College. The charter has been renewed under this name, the buildings and grounds have been greatly improved and beautified and the faculty increased and strengthened. Prof. R. H. Alderman is now president of this institution.

Salem College—Salem College was incorporated in 1889 under a charter granted by the state. Although organized in accordance with the requirements of the Educational Society of the Seventh Day Baptist denomination the school is non-sectarian. People of many religious beliefs joined hands in its establishment and to-day have a place on the managing board. All denominational preferences are most carefully respected and a cordial welcome is extended to students of every faith. The governing power of the College is vested in a board of directors elected for a term of four years.

The buildings are located on a commodious campus of five acres in the city of Salem, on the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, fourteen miles from Clarksburg and sixty-eight miles from Parkersburg.

The library contains about 4,000 volumes, besides many valuable pamphlets. A reading room in connection with the library is furnished with the daily papers and various periodicals of current literature.

The College offers six courses of study, the Classical, Philosophical, Scientific, Agricultural, Normal, and Music. The Normal course is prescribed by the state, and state certificates are granted on the same terms that they are granted to the graduates of the Normal Schools. The Agricultural course has been added in conformity with the belief that our country needs better educated farmers, men who are familiar with the soils, and who may secure the greatest amount of production with the least expenditure of time and labor.

During an existence of nearly twenty-five years the College has been maintained by the contributions of friends of education scattered from Maine to California. In times of greatest need its own sons and daughters with other friends in the Mountain State have come to its rescue with substantial aid. The school is well established and has elements of permanency in a small but constantly growing endownment. The scholarship plan of endowment has been well started. This enables the founder of a scholarship to name its beneficiary. A scholarship fully paid amounts to $800.00 which must ever be kept on interest, the income only to be used. Several of these are now in operation.

During the eighteen years of its history the College has graduated eighty-one persons. Its alumni are scattered in various states and are filling places of honor and trust in the educational and literary world.

The College has has four presidents: J. L. Huffman, S. L. Maxson, T. L. Gardiner and C. R. Clawson, and C. B. Clark, is the present incumbent.

Davis and Elkins College—Among the many monuments to the beneficence and generosity of the Hon. H. G. Davis and Hon. S. B. Elkins, perhaps the greatest and most useful of all is the Davis and Elkins College, which first opened its doors to the public in September, 1904.

These gentlemen having in mind the building of a high-grade college at Elkins, West Virginia, a town that they had founded, and desiring the college to be under the control of religious influence, made a proposition in 1899 to the representatives of Lexington Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, looking to the establishment of such an institution. Lexington Presbytery, through its accredited representatives, after a consideration of the terms of the proposition aforesaid, invited Winchester Presbytery to join in accepting the same. This Winchester Presbytery did. Hon. Henry G. Davis, Senator Stephen B. Elkins, Hon. C. Wood Daily and Rev. Frederick H. Barron, all of Elkins, West Virginia, Rev. F. M. Woods, D. D., of Martinsburg, West Virginia, Rev. G. W. Finley, D. D., of Fishersville, Virginia, Rev. A. M. Frazier, D. D., of Staunton, Virginia, Rev. A. H. Hamilton, of Steeles Tavern, Virginia, and Hon. John J. Davis, of Clarksburg, West Virginia, were chosen as trustees.

Later, Senator Elkins gave twenty-five ares of land, finely situated about one-half mile from the town, as a campus and site for the college buildings. In addition to this gift ex-Senator Davis contributed the sum of $5,000 to improve and beautify the campus.

Plans for college buildings having been submitted and accepted, work was at once begun on Administration Hall, the corner stone of which was laid with simple but appropriate ceremonies, August 12, 1903.

From that time on the work steadily progressed, and as a result there stands on the site selected, in full view of a wide stretch of country, one of the finest college structures in the Virginias.

The site of the college is the choicest in this beautiful country. The campus is a tract of land of twenty-five acres, lying about one-half mile east of the city of Elkins, and bordering the Tygarts Valley river. Crowning the loftiest portion of the campus a hundred or more feet above the surrounding country, stands Administration Hall, a handsome red brick structure, trimmed in West Virginia sandstone. It is three stories in height, and together with the basement furnishes a well equipped and convient home for the college. Just at the foot of College hill stands the president's residence, a most modern and up-to-date building, after an adaptation of the old English style of architecture. On all sides the mountains rise in tiers from the valley, their serried summits breaking the horizon-line in a manner most delightful to the lover of nature. A more striking sight than these mountains in the green robes of spring, or the rich blazonry of autumn, cannot be imagined. The college stands at an elevation of about 2,000 feet above sea level. The beauty of the scenery, and the freshness and invigorating quality of the atmosphere, combine to make the region an ideal home for a college.

Near the college is the town of Elkins with nearly 5,000 inhabitants, one of the most important railroad centers in the state, lying at the intersection of the West Virginia Central and Pittsburgh railway, the Coal & Iron, the Huttonsville and Belington extensions of the West Virginia Central, all of the Wabash system, and the Coal & Coke railway.

Briefly stated, the Davis and Elkins College has been "erected for the advancement of Christian education." Education should be based upon the fundamental principles of the Christion religion, and so the Bible shall have place in the curriculum of the College, but no sectarian instruction shall be given.

In its curriculum the College follows the so-called "Group System," which permits the student to determine the general direction of his study, at the same time giving him the benefits of a carefully planned, well-rounded and consistent curriculum. Within each group the courses are in part required and in part elective, being largely elective in the Senior year.

The Beckley Seminary—The Beckley Seminary is located at the court house of Raleigh county, on the lofty Raleigh plateau, 2,500 feet above sea-level. The building is surrounded by the beautiful white pines so much praised by the poets. The school opened in 1900 with thirty-seven students occuping rented rooms. Last year (1905-6), the enrollment was between three and four hundred, the school occupying its own building and grounds. It maintains a library of the best books for general reading and reference. The P. C. and P. R. railroad has built a new depot within a square of the building—the Chesapeake & Ohio and Deepwater run close. These and other material developments tend to encourage and aid the school.

The Beckley Seminary is co-educational and inter-denominational. It opposes sectarianism. Its faculty is selected on the basis of ability and not because of a peculiar religious faith. Students of all religious beliefs or of no religious belief at all are made to feel at home. All we ask, is that the student be a gentleman of a lady. The school is unpretentious, its claims only to be a preparatory school whose work is accredited in all the colleges and universities of this part of the country.

This school maintains seven courses, viz.: Preparatory (for its own work), Normal, Commercial, Shorthand and Typewriting, Music, Elocu-

tion and Physical Culture, and Academic. The school is self-supporting with its tuition rates. We have outgrown our building and we are now planning to enlarge. Errett W. McDiarmid, M. A., is principal of the Seminary.

Powhatan College—Powhatan College is organized under thoroughly Christian government, but is non-denominational. It owes its existence to the liberal-hearted and progressive people of Charles Town and Jefferson county. There had been for some time, on the part of many of the citizens, a great desire to have established at Charles Town a first-class college for women. Many noble efforts had been put forth and as many defeats sustained, but through it all there remained a faithful few, loyal to the enterprise. In 1899, these led chiefly by the noble efforts of Colonel R. P. Chew, formed themselves into a company, with a determination to make the last and mightiest effort of their lives for what they believed was one of the greatest needs of the age—more real colleges for women. The issue was successful, and since its first announcement Powhatan College has met with a success unparalleled by that of any independent Woman's College ever opened in the Virginias. Its permancy is now established, its field of work peculiarly its own, and its success far beyond the expectations of the most hopeful.

Charles Town is an ideal college town, located at the junction of the Baltimore & Ohio, and the Norfolk & Western railroads, in the very mouth of the famous Shenandoah Valley. It has a thriving population or about four thousand people, and the culture, refinement, and morality of these have made it known far and wide. The climate and health of the town is unsurpassed.

The main college building is most modern, commodious and beautiful. It is new and was erected at a cost of about $70,000. Every nook and corner is up-to-date and the entire building is heated throughout by steam and lighted by both gas and electricity.

The work of the institution is divided into the following departments: Academic, or College Department proper, Normal, Commercial and Business, and the department of Music, Art, and Elocution.

Dr. Stewart P. Hatton organized the College, and for twelve years was the successful principal, but he resigned in 1912 and was succeeded by Dr. J. R. Pentuff, who is a gentleman of experience and ability.

Stephenson Seminary—Stephenson Seminary, located at Charles Town, is said to be the oldest private school for girls within the bounds of the state. Under the name of Mt. Parvo Institute, it was founded in 1882 by Rev. C. N. Campbell, D. D., a minister of the Presbyterian church.

As the accommodations at Mt. Parvo were inadequate to the needs of the growing institution, arrangements were made whereby a joint stock company erected a large brick building on grounds donated for educational purposes, by the late John Stephenson, and in honor of its generous donor, it was called Stephenson Seminary.

Dr. Campbell was a life-long educator, an alumnus of Princeton University and a graduate from the Union Theological Seminary, now of Richmond, Virginia. Immediately preceding the establishment of Stephenson Seminary, Dr. Campbell was principal of Andrew Small Academy, a boarding school for boys, situated at Darnestown, Maryland. In the summer of 1905, Dr. Campbell died, leaving to his successors (his wife and daughter) a full appreciation of the importance and responsibility of femal education.

Stephenson Seminary claims for herself no phenomenal growth, but with varying fortune, she has carved her own unaided way to success, and is to-day better equipped for the work to which she is consecrated

than she has ever been. The building is thoroughly attractive and comfortable, furnished with gas and electricity, steam-heat, and hot and cold bath.

The school stands for Christian influence, thorough work, and a home life of culture and refinement. It has the confidence of the public and has for friends and patrons many of the foremost men of our land. The present accommodations are taxed to the utmost limit, and plans are under way for additional buildings.

Broaddus Scientific and Classical Institute—In 1871 the Rev. E. J. Willis succeeded in establishing Broaddus College at Winchester, Virginia, and in 1876 it was removed by him to Clarksburg, West Virginia, and incorporated under the laws of the state a year later. For a number of years it was under a board of trustees appointed by the West Virginia Baptist General Association, but in 1893 it passed out of the hands of the General Association and became Broaddus Scientific and Classical Institute, receiving from the state a new charter.

The new charter provides that the school shall be held forever in the interests of the Baptists of West Virginia under the direction of eleven trustees who shall be members in good standing of a regular Baptist church, and that they shall reside in West Virginia.

The object of Broaddus Institute is to supply a well defined, obvious, urgent educational need in this state. The purpose of the school is definite; and no attempt will be made to make it a scoop-net to catch students of every grade and age and kind. Its special care shall ever be quality of the work rather than the number of students; and breadth of culture rather than training of specialists is the thing aimed at by Broaddus Institute.

The special object of the school is two-fold. In the first place, it will give a thorough preparation for entrance into the leading colleges of the country. In the second place, to those who either cannot or will not take a regular course, it will give a thorough mental training and as broad a practical a foundation of knowledge as possible.

The Institute continued to grow and soon it became apparent that the buildings and ground at Clarksburg were not sufficient for the needs of the school, so propositions were received looking to the relocation of the Institute. Finally, after considering a number of desirable offers, the trustees accepted that made by the town of Philippi, which in addition to furnishing a fine location contributed a considerable sum for the erection of a new building. The site donated is on an eminence overlooking the town and commanding a fine view of the valley up and down the river. It is also historic ground, for here was fought the first battle of the Civil war. Rev. Elkanah Hulley is president of the Institute, assisted by a large and competent faculty.

West Virginia Wesleyan College—This institution was first called the West Virginia Conference Seminary, having been established by the Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in West Virginia. The old Randolph Academy at Clarksburg was largely supported by this denomination, but the division of political sentiment which culminated in the Civil war proved fatal to the old Academy, and for over forty years the Methodists of the state were without a school of their own. In 1866 the Centennial of American Methodism was celebrated, and at that time there was a good deal of agitation looking to the establishing of an institution of learning. Various committees were appointed from time to time by the Conference, and propositions for the location of the institution were received, together with proposed donations. A number of towns offered sites, and various contributions, among them Parkersburg, Elizabeth, Bridgeport, Philippi and Buckhannon. Finally, on July 13, the

board of trustees which had been constituted by the conference met and decided to locate the school at Buckhannon. A few days afterwards the trustees proceeded to Buckhannon and purchased a tract of about forty acres of land for the sum of $5,551.87 as the site. In October that year the Conference met at Parkersburg and all these proceedings were ratified. The trustees were also directed to proceed with the erection of buildings. The main building was finally completed during the summer of 1890, and on September 3rd of that year the school was opened.

The first president of the institution was Rev. B. W. Hutchison, A. M., B. D. Mr. Hutchison was a native of Pennsylvania. He graduated at Ohio Wesleyan University and then entered the ministry. Later he went north and graduated at the Theological School of Boston University, and from there went into the New England Southern Conference. While a pastor at Providence, Rhode Island, he was chosen president of the new institution. Mr. Hutchison is a man of scholarly attainments, high standards and excellent business qualities, and much of the success of the school is due to his energy and wisdom. Early in 1898 he resigned to accept a similar position at Lima New York, He has been successful there, and in 1901 he received the degree of D. D. from Syracuse University. He is now a pastor at Washington, Pennsylvania.

The school opened with a faculty of three teachers and the president, and during the year three additional instructors were added. Seventy names appeared on the roll for the first term, but within the year two hundred one different students received instruction. From that time to the present the attendance has grown until now it has reached about five hundred.

A name inseparably connected with early history of the school is that of Prof. Frank B. Trotter, who for a number of years was vice-president, and for a time acting president. He continued with the school until 1907, when he was chosen professor of Latin at the West Virginia University.

In June, 1908, Rev. S. L. Boyers, D. D., was chosen president. Mr. Boyers is a native of West Virginia, graduated at the Ohio Wesleyan University, and had served his denomination as a pastor in important stations in Ohio. He continued in charge of the institution for two years, when he returned to pastoral work. He was succeeded in 1900 by Rev. John Wier, D. D., who served as president for five years, Meanwhile new buildings had been erected, new departments organized, and full college grade established. The standard is that prescribed by the University Senate of the Methodist Episcopal Church, these courses having been approved by the Senate.

Dr. Wier served five years and was succeeded in 1905 by Rev. Carl G. Doney, D. D., who was, at the time of his election, serving as a pastor in Washington, D. C. Besides being a man of superior intellectual and oratorical powers, Dr. Doney possesses splendid administrative ability, and under his leadership Wesleyan College is taking rank with the best institutions of this class in the country. Through the benevolence of Dr. D. K. Pearsons, of Chicago, Mrs. W. E. Haymond, of Harrison county, Hon. William Seymour Edwards, of Charleston, Governor William E. Glasscock, and others, a good sized endowment has been secured, the course of study still further expanded, and new buildings erected. The auditorium is one of the finest in the state, and the gymnasium, now in process of construction, will be modern in every particular.

Like most schools in this section of the country, the institution is co-educational. Ladies and gentlemen are admitted on terms of perfect equality and work together in the classes without any unpleasant re-

sults. A reasonable amount of very pleasant romance has grown out of this fact, and thus far the history of the school is free from any tale of scandal. It is hoped and expected that it will always continue so.

The moral and religious tone of the school has always been high. While it was established and is controlled by one religious denomination, it has never been sectarian. Several different churches have been represented in its faculty and its students have been from a great variety of denominations. Even Jewish pupils have been received and treated with perfect courtesy in the work of the school. No institution could be more free from religious bigotry, and the clergymen of all the Buckhannon churches are in most pleasant relations with the school. The students themselves choose which church they will attend in the town, and on any Sunday in term time students can be found in every local congregation.

The buildings are on a hill rising with a gentle slope in the southeast part of the town. They consist at present of the administration building, the ladies' hall, conservatory of music and the president's residence. The first is an imposing edifice built of brick. It contains the necessary offices, many recitation rooms, two halls for literary societies and a chapel which will seat 1,500 people.

High Schools—In no particular has the advance in education manifested itself in West Virginia more than in the multiplication of high schools and their increased efficiency. A decade ago there were but few schools of this character that really were entitled to the name, and even in these cases there was no standard course of study, each town being a law unto itself as to the subjects to be taught and the general work done. Now, however, there are over one hundred high schools of the three classes, namely, first, second, and third, the classification indicating the amount of work done in each that can be recognized as meeting the required standard. From the four year class graduates are admitted to the Normal Schools without examination, and given full credit; those who complete the three year course are given credit for what they have done and likewise the two year course is recognized. Nor is the course an elementary one, the aim being to meet the college entrance requirements, and in many the equipment for teaching science is better than the average college possessed thirty years ago. Fine buildings, also, have been erected, communities, towns and cities vieing with each other in putting up commodious school buildings, in keeping with their material progress.

In order to increase their efficiency and to aid districts not financially able to provide good high school instruction, the state makes an annual appropriation of $40,000 to assist in paying the salaries of teachers in the high schools. Although the sum is not large, it enables many towns to secure the services of a competent instructor in some line of work, especially desired in that community.

The following is a list of the classified high schools for the school year 1912-13. There are in the state one hundred and nine classified high schools—forty-one high schools of the first class, thirty-one high schools of the second class, and thirty-seven high schools of the third class. There are sixteen high schools not classified, making a total of one hundred and twenty-five high schools.

FIRST CLASS.

Location of High School.	Principal.
Bluefield	Ben. H. Williams
Bramwell	J. N. Hoylman
Bridgeport	L. A. Jett
Buckhannon	Alice A. Kelley
Cameron	Ada Moon
Ceredo	C. O. Bittle
Clarksburg	Orie McConkey
Charleston	Morris K. Turner
Chester	W. D. Johnston
Davis	W. W. Trent
Elkins	C. W. Jackson

Fairmont .....Perry C. McBee
Grafton .....Geo. H. Colebank
Hinton .....E. F. Vangilder
Huntington .....Lucy E. Prichard
Keyser .....J. L. Dunkle
Kingwood .....Frank B. Yoke
Mannington .....G. M. Cornett
Martinsburg .....M. L. Wachtel
Middlebourne .....T. J. West
Morgantown .....Roy C. Smith
Moundsville .....F. R. Hanifan
Mount Hope .....T. L. Davies
New Cumberland .....W. A. Hiscox
New Martinsville .....Anna N. Elliott
Oak Hill .....S. M. Archer
Parkersburg .....F. M. Longanecker
Parkersburg (colored)...J. R. Jefferson
Piedmont .....Robert Clark
Ravenswood .....E. H. Flinn
Ronceverte .....W. F. Head
St. Marys .....Dan B. Fleming
Shinnston .....B. F. Haught
Sistersville .....W. W. Strain
Spencer .....H. L. White
Sutton .....J. H. Patterson
Terra Alta .....A. C. Brake
Welch .....Geo. E. Rhodes
Wellsburg .....Lakin F. Roberts
Wheeling .....Harry E. Odgers
Williamstown .....Geo. B. Folk

SECOND CLASS.

Academy .....M. J. Merrells
Alderson .....H. L. Matics
Belington .....Ira L. Dadisman
Benwood .....H. L. Pedicord
Burnsville .....Ben. B. White
Cairo .....C. J. Ramsey
Charleston (colored)....J. F. J. Clark
Charles Town .....Wright Denny
Clendenin .....W. S. Morris
Cowen .....J. E. Anderson
Elm Grove .....F. A. Hall
Farmington .....Harry Toothman
Follansbee .....A. F. Young
Flemington .....W. H. S. White
Hedgesville .....F. M. Miller
Huntington (colored).....J. W. Scott
Marlinton .....C. B. Cornwell
Milton .....F. B. Lambert
McMechen .....J. T. King
Parsons .....P. E. King
Philippi .....J. C. Vance
Richwood .....W. E. Scott
Salem .....Geo. W. Hogg
Sherrard .....A. W. Curtis
Thomas .....J. H. Rohrbough
Tunnelton .....W. R. Goff
Union .....Robert R. Gray
Webster Springs .....J. S. Cornwell
Weston .....L. E. Bennett
Williamson .....C. R. Murray
Berkeley Springs .....Chas. G. Gaine

THIRD CLASS.

Ansted .....J. W. Cole
Barracksville .....C. P. Guice
Beverly .....A. C. Reger
Burch .....W. C. Washington
Clarksburg (colored).....L. R. Jordan
Danville .....
East Bank .....Chape Wilson
Eugene .....G. N. Young
Fairview .....Oliver Shurtleff
Franklin .....Jesse Cook
Gassaway .....Russell Remage
Harrisville .....Howard J. McGinnis
Harpers Ferry .....Boyd Randall
Hill Top (colored)...Thomas Jefferson
Holidays Cove .....Geo. W. McCoy
Jane Lew .....W. S. Conley
Littleton .....A. G. Montgomery
Lumberport .....L. S. Britton
Logan .....F. O. Woerner
Mason .....A. C. Albert
Masontown .....J. W. Chapman
Newburg .....H. B. Cornwell
Newell .....S. T. McBride
New Haven .....C. N. Wagner
Oceana .....Otway Gunnoe
Pennsboro .....Goff Ramsey
Peterstown .....Francis Simmons
Pineville .....Barty Wyatt
Point Pleasant .....Bertha J. Steinbach
Rivesville .....Goldie C. James
Rowlesburg .....F. B. Morgan
St. Albans .....W. A. Roseberry
Warwood .....Frank B. Maupin
West Milford .....Geo. W. Hawkins
West Union .....Ray Ash
White Sulphur Springs....H. C. Bailey
Woodsdale .....W. H. Tabler

The County Superintendency—This important office is now recognized as one of the most valuable agencies connected with our school system. In the early days the salary paid the County Superintendent was very meager indeed, and no one without some additional means of support could afford to accept the position. This oftentimes led to the selection of a man engaged in some other profession or vocation and who was not expected to give much time and attention to the duties of the office. Now, however, the salary has been increased until one can afford not only to devote his time to the work, but he feels that he must prepare himself to fill the place in an acceptable manner. These officers are chosen by the people and serve four years. It is their duty to visit all the schools of their counties, assist the teachers in grading and classifying the work; to see that reports of trustees, boards of education and other officers are correctly and promptly made; to have charge of the Institutes, and in general to direct the educational work of the county. A

number of the County Superintendents are recognized as among the most efficient educational leaders in the state, and the work they are doing is putting the schools of their counties on a much higher basis.

Below will be found a list of the County Superintendents of West Virginia for the term of four years from July 1, 1911:

County.	No. of Schools.	Name.	Salary.	Post Office.	Express Office.
Barbour	128	Cleophas Marsh	$ 931.00	Philippi	Philippi.
Berkeley	132	E. N. Zeilor	939.00	Inwood	Darkesville.
Boone	96	W. W. Nelson	850.00	Turtle Creek	Danville.
Braxton	186	W. B. Golden	1,047.00	Flatwoods	Flatwoods.
Brooke	67	S. C. Underwood	775.00	Wellsburg	Wellsburg.
Cabell	246	J. C. Petit	1,167.00	Ona	Ona.
Calhoun	95	Wheeler Chenoweth	850.00	Euclid	Spencer.
Clay	82	J. F. Wilson	850.00	Duck	Villa Nova.
Doddridge	129	L. L. Sadler	933.00	West Union	West Union.
Fayette	381	J. T. Peters	1,437.00	Dothan	Carlisle.
Gilmer	111	J. E. Hays	925.00	Troy	Gilmer Station.
Grant	82	Geo. B. Harmon	850.00	Mayville	Petersburg.
Greenbrier	254	Chas. Tabscott	1,181.00	Richlands	Lewisburg.
Hampshire	177	Ira V. Cowgill	929.00	Romney	Romney.
Hancock	68	H. O. Miller	775.00	Pughtown	New Cumberland.
Hardy	97	L. S. Halterman	850.00	Lost River	Capon Road, Va.
Harrison	335	A. P. Morrison	1,345.00	Salem	Clarksburg.
Jackson	192	P. H. Rardin	1,059.00	Sherman	Ripley.
Jefferson	84	James Grantham	850.00	Kearneysville	Charles Town.
Kanawha	514	N. W. Cavender	1,500.00	Charleston	Charleston.
Lewis	177	M. L. B. Linger	1,029.00	Weston	Weston.
Lincoln	136	Henry F. White	947.00	Bulger	West Hamlin.
Logan	106	Otis Chambers	925.00	Rolfe	Logan.
Marion	305	W. M. Kennedy	1,285.00	Fairmont	Fairmont.
Marshall	221	H. W. McDowell	1,117.00	Glen Easton	Glen Easton.
Mason	182	C. D. Ball	1,039.00	Letart	Letart.
Mercer	283	James F. Holroyd	1,241.00	Athens	Princeton.
Mineral	124	Richard W. Thrush	925.00	Headsville	Keyser.
Mingo	130	Hi Maynard	935.00	Myrtle	Williamson.
Monongalia	179	H. E. Brookover	1,033.00	Morgantown	Morgantown.
Monroe	129	Wheeler R. Fullen	933.00	Salt Sulphur Springs	Fort Spring.
Morgan	62	A. D. H. Michael	775.00	Berkeley Springs	Berkeley Springs.
McDowell	225	W. C. Cook	1,125.00	Welch	Welch.
Nicholas	155	Harrison Groves	985.00	Summersville	Camden-on-Gauley
*Ohio	.....	J. H. Lazear	.....	Fulton	Wheeling.
Pendleton	105	Flick Warner	925.00	Franklin	Harrisonburg, Va.
Pleasants	68	C. L. Farnsworth	775.00	St. Marys	St. Marys.
Pocahontas	133	B. B. Williams	941.00	Cass	Cass.
Preston	226	Willis Fortney	1,127.00	Independence	Independence.
Putnam	146	J. C. Fish	967.00	Bancroft	Red House.
Raleigh	214	U. S. Dickens	1,123.00	Beckley	Beckley.
Randolph	113	W. J. Long	1,101.00	Valley Bend	Valley Bend.
Ritchie	181	R. B. Cokeley	1,037.00	Harrisville	Harrisville.
Roane	171	A. L. Thrash	1,017.00	Reedy	Reedy.
Summers	175	W. T. Ball	1,025.00	Hinton	Hinton.
Taylor	122	Dellet Newlon	925.00	Grafton	Grafton.
Tucker	129	C. R. Parsons	933.00	Porterwood	Parsons.
Tyler	145	A. L. Gregg	965.00	Middlebourne	Sistersville.
Upshur	156	J. H. Ashworth	987.00	Buckhannon	Buckhannon.
Wayne	195	O. J. Rife	1,065.00	Wayne	Wayne.
Webster	106	Geo. R. Morton	925.00	Lanes Bottom	Camden-on-Gauley
Wetzel	222	Chas. Kislig	1,119.00	New Martinsville	New Martinsville.
Wirt	82	Ross Wilson	850.00	Hartley	MacFarlan.
Wood	256	Edgar B. Sims	1,187.00	Williamstown	Parkersburg.
Wyoming	107	Chester H. Cook	925.00	Pineville	Mullens.

*Number of schools and salary not determined.

Teachers' Institutes—Institute work in this state has been varied in its character. Beginning with optional attendance, the requirements are now of a very specific nature, the only excuse for non attendance being sickness, testified to by a physician's certificate, or the death of a relative. At first these teachers' meetings were held in senatorial districts and were attended only by a few most interested in educational work, but these meetings were very profitable and contributed largely to the better preparation of teachers, besides they brought an awakening to the towns in which they were held. The idea being to prepare teachers for more efficient service in the school room. These institutes became kind of Normal Schools for the time being, and besides the ordinary addresses, some academic instruction was given. After a time it was found that the work of these institutes was so beneficial in every way that the Legislature provided that one should be held in each county, and farther on the claims of the teachers were recognized in the payment of per diem. Although the sum paid, $1.50 per day, for five days, is not sufficient to meet the average expense of the week, nevertheless it is some recognition of the state's obligation to aid in improving its teaching force.

For a number of years the institutes were supported largely by the Peabody Fund, West Virginia sharing in the beneficence of this patriotic American, but of late the legislature has made liberal provision for the institute work. In addition to the home talent employed in conducting these temporary Normal Schools, as they may appropriately be called, leading educators from other states have delivered addresses which have inspired the teachers with a desire to render more efficient service as instructors of our youth. Besides the annual county institute, district institutes and Teachers' Round Tables are held all of which are helpful agencies in the better preparation of teachers.

Educational Exhibits—At each of the great expositions held in the United States, beginning with the Centennial, in 1876, West Virginia has had an educational exhibit. It is true the first effort in this direction was not of the highest order, but it indicated a desire to improve, and the comparison with older and more progressive states inspired us to do better. When the great exposition was held at Chicago in 1893, we had a much better representation, while at St. Louis in 1904 our educational exhibit equaled that of many states older than we. Having been a part of Virginia so long, when it came to the Jamestown Exposition in 1907, we felt a pride in doing our best, and competent judges awarded us the honor of surpassing a number of other exhibits in the quality of our school work as shown in the representation there.

In that great address he delivered at Buffalo only the day before he was assassinated, President McKinley said "Expositions are the timekeepers of progress" and no better proof of this statement could be given than in the exhibits West Virginia has made at these different expositions of her educational progress. While not so far advanced as many of our sister states which are older and have had a public school system for a longer period, nevertheless our work indicates that we are going forward.

State Education Association—An important factor in our educational progress, contributing much to our advancement, has been the work done by the State Educational Association. Under different names it has had an existence of 44 years, and it may be said that nearly all the legislation put into our statutes relating to education had its inception in this organization. Leading educators have formulated their best thought in various presentations at the annual meetings, and these propositions after being discussed by the people in their respective communities have been enactd into laws. Some measures advocated by leaders who had a

clear vision of the educational needs of the state were not at first accepted by the law-making body, but after further discussion and insistence upon part of those best able to speak upon the subject, they were adopted. In this respect this association has been a potent force in our educational upbuilding.

In addition to the topics discussed by home talent, many addresses were delivered before the Association by men of national reputation. Among these may be named Emerson E. White, of Ohio, J. L. M. Curry, of Alabama, B. G. Northup, of Connecticut, James H. Smart, of Indiana, W. H. Payne, of Michigan, A. D. Mayo, of Boston, Nathan C. Schaeffer, of Pennsylvania, Colonel Francis W. Parker, of Chicago. A. E. Winship, of Boston, Reuben P. Halleck, of Kentucky, and many others of equal rank in the educational world.

In this particular West Virginia has been especially favored, and the inspiration and helpful suggestions given by these strong men have aided in creating an advanced educational sentiment. Influenced by these and other favorable conditions an earnest and aggressive class of young men and women have come to the front as educational leaders, and their work is nowhere more manifest than at the sessions of the State Educational Associations. The officers of this Association for the current year are as follows: President, Mrs. Mary R. McGwigan, Charleston, West Virginia; vice-president, William Folk, Huntington, West Virginia; secretary, C. R. Murray, Williamson, West Virginia; treasurer, J. F. Marsh, Charleston, West Virginia.

Educational Journals—Up to the year 1872 there was no publication issued in West Virginia that was of a distinctively educational nature. It is true that a good many enterprising editors of weekly papers gave place to educational articles and invited teachers to make reports as to the progress of their schools, but we depended upon other states to furnish us with educational literature so far as any was in use. Among the publications of this character which were very helpful were The Ohio Teacher, long edited by Hon. E. E. White, and The Pennsylvania Teacher. In October, 1872, Dr. J. G. Blair, who was then principal of the Fairmont Normal School, established the West Virginia Educational Monthly, which was published at Parkersburg by Blair & Gibbens. This publication, continued up to the time of Dr. Blair's death in 1878, and was very useful in stimulating educational effort. Meanwhile in 1878 Dr. John R. Thompson, who was at that time president of the West Virginia University, issued for about two years the West Virginia Journal of Education, which was intended primarily as a means of increasing interest in the University, yet it contained a large amount of educational news and it became a helpful agency in our educational work. Shortly after B. L. Butcher entered upon his duties as State Superintendent of Schools in 1881, he saw the need of some means of communication between the Department of Schools and the general public, and in connection with John M. Birch established the West Virginia School Journal, which under succeeding State Superintendents Morgan, Lewis, Trotter, and Miller was issued from the Department and became the official means of communication in matters relating to educational work. During all this period the Journal was issued at private expense by the State Superintendent, and sometimes at a financial loss, but it contributed in no small degree to the educational progress of the state. In 1904 the Journal was purchased by Barbe and Armstrong, both members of the faculty of the West Virginia University, who still continue as its editors and proprietors. While County Superintendent of Kanawha county, Mr. M. P. Shawkey established in 1906 the West Virginia Educator, at Charleston, which he continues to issue since chosen as State Superin-

tendent of Schools. Both of these publications, the Journal and Educator, have large lists of subscribers and are a most potent factor in our educational up-building. A few other educational publications have had a brief existence, such as the West Virginia Teacher, at Sistersville and the School News at Charleston, but none have been so well sustained as the two first named.

An interesting feature connected with most of the prominent schools in the state, is a student publication narrating the events in the life of the institution and giving items of news which are not only interesting at the present time, but which are also recording names, and detailing events which will be valuable for future reference. Among these publications are The Athenaeum and The Monongalian, at the University; The Parthenon, at Marshall College; The Bulletin, at Fairmont Normal School; The Normal Outlook, at West Liberty; The Picket, at Shepherd College; The Banner, at Glenville; The Preparatory Herald, at Keyser; The West Virginia Tablet, at Romney; The News at Grafton; The Bethany Collegian, at Bethany; The Pharos, at Buckhannon; The Acta, at Elkins; The Seminarian, at Charles Town; The Mount of Mt. DeChantal, and many others issued by high schools throughout the state. At many of the institutions also, a School Annual is issued which in point of local interest and artistic finish makes a most interesting publication. Among these are The Monticola, at the University; The Mound, at Fairmont; The Cohongoroota, at Shepherdstown; The Murmurmontis, at Buckhannon; and a number of others. While all these last named publications are of a distinctive local interest, nevertheless they furnish valuable information for future historical records.

Colored Institutions—One of the pioneer schools for the education of the colored youth is Storer College, at Harper's Ferry. Largely through the influence of James A. Garfield, then in Congress, a bill was passed transferring all the property owned by the United States government on Bolivar Heights to the trustees of Storer College. The institution was named in honor of Mr. John Storer, who had given $10,000 toward the founding of a school for colored people. Dr. N. C. Brackett had been sent out as a member of the Sanitary and Christian Commission, and while working in the Shenandoah Valley, towards the close of the war, he saw the necessity for some kind of instruction for the colored race, and without at first realizing what he was doing, established the first school of this character for the higher education of the colored youth. Storer College was opened on October 2nd, 1867, Dr. Brackett and his wife being the instructors. Nineteen earnest students were enrolled, but to-day the attendance reaches almost three hundred. In consideration of the work done by the school and the preparation of teachers, the legislature makes an annual appropriation for the institution. The course of study is that of a good secondary school, and domestic science and various kinds of handicraft are emphasized.

Dr. Brackett was connected with the school for over forty years, but on account of impaired health relinquished the principalship in 1903, but continued to serve as treasurer of the institution until his death seven years later. He was succeeded by Prof. Henry T. McDonald, a very competent man, who is supported by an excellent faculty numbering about twenty.

Storer College occupies a commanding site on Bolivar Heights, just above the confluence of the Shenandoah and Potomac, and in equipment of buildings and grounds surpasses many other institutions established for the training of colored youth.

The West Virginia Colored Institute and the Bluefield Colored Institute are also rendering good service to the State. In fact, the students

at these two institutions have better facilities for instruction in handicraft of various kinds and in practical preparation for active life, than do the students at the schools for whites. At both institutions young men are instructed in agriculture, carpentry, brick-making, plumbing, and other trades and vocations, while special opportunities are afforded the girls for instruction in domestic science.

OFFICIAL LIST, DEPARTMENT OF FREE SCHOOLS

M. P. Shawkey, State Superintendent; F. M. Longanecker, Supervisor of Examinations; L. L. Friend, Supervisor of High Schools; L. J. Hanifan, Supervisor of Rural Schools; W. C. Gist, Supervisor of Publications; John L. Ramsey, Supplies and Shipping; Evelyn V. Brown, Statistics and Accounts; Cina A. Hall, Assistant Examination Clerk; Laura Chambers, Catherine Hutchins, Stenographers.

J. F. Marsh, Secretary to State Board of Regents.

STATE BOARDS

STATE BOARD OF CONTROL.

Name.	Appointed from	Term Expires
James S. Lakin, President	Terra Alta, Preston County	June 30, 1915
John A. Sheppard	Williamson, Mingo County	June 30, 1917
E. B. Stephenson	Charleston, Kanawha County	June 30, 1913

STATE BOARD OF REGENTS.

Name.	Appointed from	Term Expires
Morris P. Shawkey, State Supt. Schools, President	Member ex-officio	March 4, 1917
J. B. Finley	Parkersburg, Wood County	June 30, 1913
G. A. Northcott	Huntington, Cabell County	June 30, 1912
Earl W. Oglebay	Wheeling, Ohio County	June 30, 1915
Geo. S. Laidley	Charleston, Kanawha County	June 30, 1914
J. F. Marsh, Secretary		

STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Name.	Appointed from	Term Expires
Morris P. Shawkey, State Supt. Schools, President	Member ex-officio.	
H. B. Work	Wheeling, First District	May 30, 1913
J. N. Deahl	Morgantown, Second District	May 30, 1912
L. W. Burns	Montgomery, Third District	May 30, 1915
L. B. Hill, Secretary	Middlebourne, Fourth District	May 30, 1914
C. R. Murray	Williamson, Fifth District	May 30, 1916

The State Board of Control manages all the material and financial affairs of every state instiution, thirty-one in number. This Board, composed of three men, lets all contracts for the construction of new buildings, fixes compensations for employees, except at educational institutions, issues all warrants on the auditor for the payment of bills, and, in general, has entire control of the financial affairs of the state.

The State Board of Regents, four of whom are appointed by the governor for a term of four years each, from the two leading parties, together with the State Superintendent of Schools, who is ex-officio president, has charge of all the educational institutions. The regents appoint all instructors and officers, prescribe the course of study that shall be pursued in each institution, fix salaries after consultation with the Board of Control, and in a definite way as prescribed by law, direct the work in all state educational affairs.

The State Board of Education consisting of one member from each Congressional district, and the State Superintendent, ex-officio, is appointed by the State Superintendent for a period of four years each, one retiring each year. Their duties are to prescribe the course of study for

the common, graded, and high schools of the state; to conduct examinations for, and issue the two classes of professional certificates provided for, and at the request of the State Superintendent they may assist in the preparation of questions for the several examinations, under the uniform system.

Below will be found a list of the educational institutions of the state which are supported in whole or in part at public expense:

West Virginia University, Morgantown	Thos. E. Hodges, president.
State Normal School, Huntington	L. J. Corbly, principal.
" " " Fairmont	O. I. Woodley, principal.
" " " West Liberty	John C. Shaw, principal.
" " " Athens	C. L. Bemis, principal.
" " " Glenville	J. H. Rohrbough, principal.
" " " Shepherdstown	Thos. C. Miller, principal.
Prep. Branch University, Montgomery	L. W. Burns, principal.
" " " Keyser	Jos. W. Stayman, principal.
Reform School for Boys, Grafton	H. E. Flesher, principal.
Industrial Home for Girls, Salem	Hilda M. Dungan, Supt.
Schools for Deaf and Blind, Romney	R. Cary Montague, principal.
Colored Institute, Institute	Byrd Prillerman, president.
" " Bluefield	R. P. Sims, principal.

The following is a list of the persons who have served as State Superintendent of Schools in West Virginia with the term of service of each:

1863-1869	William R. White.
1869-1870	Henry A. Ziegler.
1870-1871	A. D. Williams.
1871-1872, Dec. 1	Charles S. Lewis.
1873, Jan. 1-March 4	W. K. Pendleton.
1873-1877	B. W. Byrne.
1877-1881	W. K. Pendleton.
1881-1885	B. L. Butcher.
1885-1893	B. S. Morgan.
1893-1897	Virgil A. Lewis.
1897-1901	J. R. Trotter.
1901-1909	Thos. C. Miller.
1909-	*M. P. Shawkey.

The Awakening—Whatever may be said of our failure at this time to measure up to the standard of education set by some states of the Union, still, when we view the great advancement made within the last few years, we think we can say that a new educational awakening has come to West Virginia. Material conditions do not always measure intellectual progress, but such conditions are both an outgrowth and an indication of improved agencies. As is intimated in referring to some of our private institutions, splendid buildings have been erected, and the foundation for a permanent endowment has been laid; many of our towns and cities have not hesitated to expend hundreds of thousands of dollars in providing adequate school accommodations for their youth; and while the salaries paid are not so good as they should be, nevertheless they indicate a desire on the part of the people to recognize the claims of those engaged in the work of instruction. Some districts have bonded themselves for almost a half million dollars in order to furnish school facilities for the youth therein, and everywhere there seems to be a desire to make the school system as efficient as possible. The legislature has been more liberal in its appropriations for the support of the Normal Schools and the University, and the school sentiment throughout the state is very decidedly in favor of progress. Upon the whole, we think it can truthfully be said that West Virginia is going forward in educational work.

*Term expires in 1917.

CHAPTER XXXV

PROMINENT LEADERS IN WEST VIRGINIA

The reclaiming of the region from its wild condition, the founding of industries, and the development of natural resources, together with the establishing of schools, churches, and local governments in counties and towns, have called for leadership from the first years in Western Virginia, and later in West Virginia. A list of all who assisted in that work would be a nearly complete list of all who have lived in the region during nearly two hundred years. That is impossible. It is not impossible, however, to compile lists which contain the names of many leaders who have taken part in the great work which has been done. There are different degrees of prominence among those workers, and time alone can pass or has passed final judgment on the places to which each one is entitled.

It is assumed that when people select officers to represent them in any capacity, they choose men who have the gift of leadership or who have executive ability. An election is, for the time being, an expression of the people's judgment as to who is most worthy to represent them and to be their leaders for a certain time and for a specific purpose.

GOVERNORS

The territory now embraced in West Virginia furnished only one governor of Virginia during the period from 1776, when Virginia became a state in the Union, until the Civil war when the state was divided and West Virginia came into existence. That man was Joseph Johnson of Harrison county. In 1851 the Virginia assembly chose him governor. The next year the people, under the new constitution elected him for a term of four years. He defeated George W. Summers of Kanawha county by five thousand majority. Governor Johnson died in Harrison county in 1877.

Francis H. Pierpont was elected governor of the Restored Government of Virginia in 1861 and served six years. He was a resident of Marion county, West Virginia. He was not governor of West Virginia after it became a state.

A list of the governors of West Virginia follows:

Arthur Ingram Boreman served from June 20, 1863, to February 27, 1869. He lived in Wood county.

Daniel D. T. Farnsworth, of Upshur county, was elected governor to fill the unexpired term of Boreman, who had been elected to the United States Senate. He served from February 27, 1869, to March 4 following.

William Erskine Stevenson served from March 4, 1869, to March 3, 1871. He was a citizen of Wood county.

John Jeremiah Jacob, of Hampshire county, was governor from March 4, 1871, to March 3, 1877.

Henry Mason Mathews served as governor from March 4, 1877, to March 3, 1881. He lived in Greenbrier county.

Jacob Beeson Jackson, of Wood county, was in office from March 4, 1881, to March 3, 1885.

Emanuel Willis Wilson was governor from March 4, 1885, to March 3, 1893. He resided in Kanawha county.

William Alexander MacCorkle held the office from March 4, 1893, to March 3, 1897. He was a citizen of Kanawha county.

George Wesley Atkinson, of Ohio county, filled the governor's office from March 4, 1897, to March 3, 1901.

Albert Blackeslee White, of Wood county, was in office from March 4, 1901, to March 3, 1905.

William Mercer Owen Dawson, of Preston county, was governor from March 4, 1905, to March 3, 1909.

William Ellsworth Glasscock, of Monongalia county, was governor from March 4, 1909, to March 3, 1913.

JUDGES OF THE SUPREME COURT OF APPEALS

The Judges of the Supreme Court of Appeals of West Virginia since the state was organized in 1863 are named as follows:

William A. Harrison, of Harrison county, from July 9, 1863, to December 31, 1866; and from January 1, 1869, to December 31, 1870.

Ralph Lazier Berkshire, of Monongalia county, from July 9, 1863, to December 31, 1866; and from January 1, 1869, to December 31, 1872. He was twice president of the court.

James Henry Brown, from July 9, 1863, to December 31, 1871; was president of court, and a citizen of Kanawha county.

Edwin Maxwell, of Harrison county, from January 1, 1867, to December 31, 1872.

Charles Page Thomas Moore, of Mason county, from 1870, to December 31, 1880; was president of court.

John S. Hoffman, of Harrison county, from January 1, 1873, to December 31, 1876.

James Paull, of Ohio county, from January 1, 1873, to May 11, 1875, when he died.

Alpheus F. Haymond, of Marion county, from January 1, 1873, till January 1, 1883; was twice president of court.

Matthew Edmiston, of Lewis county, from June 13, 1876, to January 1, 1877.

Thomas C. Greene, of Jefferson county, from 1875, to December 4, 1889, when he died.

Okey Johnson, of Wood county, from January 1, 1877, to December 31, 1888; was president of court.

James French Patton, of Monroe county, from June 1, 1881, till March 30, 1882, when he died.

Adam C. Snyder, of Greenbrier county, from April, 1882, till November, 1890; was president of court.

Samuel Woods, of Barbour county, from January, 1883, till December 31, 1888.

Henry Brannon, of Lewis county, from January 1, 1889, till December 31, 1912; was four times president of court.

John Warth English, of Mason county, from January 1, 1889, to December 31, 1900; was twice president of court.

Daniel Bedinger Lucas, of Jefferson county, from January 1, 1890, till December 31, 1892; served as president of court.

Homer A. Holt, of Greenbrier county, from November, 1890, till December 31, 1895.

Marmaduke H. Dent, of Taylor county, from January 1, 1893, to December 31, 1904; was twice president of court.

Henry Clay McWhorter, of Kanawha county, from January 1, 1897, till December 31, 1908; was three times president of court.

George Poffenbarger, of Mason county, from January 1, 1901, till December 31, 1912; was twice president of court.

Warren Miller, of Jackson county, from January 17, 1903, until December 31, 1904.

Frank Cox, of Monongalia county, from January 1, 1905, to January 28, 1907.

William N. Miller, of Wood county, was appointed January 28, 1907, in place of Frank Cox, resigned, and the next year was elected to a term of eight years.

Joseph M. Saunders, of Mercer county, from January 1, 1905, till October 1, 1907; was president of court in 1907.

Ira E. Robinson, of Taylor county, was appointed October 9, 1907, as successor of Joseph M. Saunders. In 1908 he was elected for a term of eight years.

Luther Judson Williams, of Greenbrier county, was elected in 1908 for a term of twelve years.

REPORTER OF THE SUPREME COURT OF APPEALS.

That office was unique because of the fact that it was held by only one man, John Marshall Hagans of Monangalia county. He was appointed July 16, 1864, and filled the place till March, 1873, when the office

was abolished by the new constitution. He wrote five volumes of reports. As an introduction to the first volume he wrote a "Sketch of the Erection and Formation of West Virginia." This valuable document has formed the basis of all subsequent histories of the formation of West Virginia; but others have greatly enlarged upon it since. It is generally understood that Mr. Hagans was the author of the biography of Waitman T. Willey, published in Wiley's "History of Monongalia County," pages 152 to 219, which is really a history of the formation of the State of West Virginia.

CLERKS OF THE SUPREME COURT OF APPEALS

The Supreme Court of Appeals has been served by only four clerks from 1863 to 1912, a period of forty-nine years. The first was Sylvanus W. Hall, of Marion county. He was appointed July 9, 1863, and resigned August 18, 1874. Odell S. Long, of Ohio county, succeeded him, taking the office August 18, 1874, and serving till his death, December 26, 1897. James S. Holly filled the office from January 11, 1898, till November 17, 1902, when he resigned. William B. Mathews, of Kanawha county, began his term of service as clerk November 17, 1902.

MEMBERS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION 1872

On January 16, 1872, a convention met in Charleston to draft a new constitution for the state. The delegates were elected by senatorial districts, delegate districts, and by counties. The members who were returned by Senatorial districts were:

First—William K. Pendleton, A. J. Pannell.
Second—Joseph W. Gallaher, Alpheus F. Haymon.
Third—Waitman T. Willey, A. H. Thayer.
Fourth—Benjamin Wilson, Daniel D. Johnson.
Fifth—Okey Johnson, David H. Leonard.
Sixth — Blackwell Jackson, Samuel Woods.
Seventh—Nicholas Fitzhugh, Alonzo Cushing.
Eighth—Evermont Ward, Isaiah Bee.
Ninth—Samuel Price, William McCreery.
Tenth—James D. Armstrong, John T. Peerce.
Eleventh—Charles J. Faulkner, William H. Tavers.

The members of the convention who were elected by the nine delegate districts of the state were:

Clay-Nicholas district—Benjamin Wilson Byrne.
Cabell-Lincoln district—Thomas Thornburg.
Gilmer-Calhoun district—Lemuel Stump.
Greenbrier-Monroe-Summers district — Henry M. Mathews, James M. Byrnside, William Haynes.
Hardy-Grant district—Thomas Maslin.
Pocahontas-Webster district—George H. Moffett.
Raleigh-Wyoming-McDowell district — William Prince.
Randolph-Tucker district—J. F. Harding.
Wood-Pleasants district—James M. Jackson, W. G. H. Core.

The delegates who were elected by counties as a basis of representation were:

Barbour—Joseph N. B. Crim.
Berkeley—Joseph M. Hoge and Andrew McCleary.
Boone—William D. Pate.
Braxton—Homer A. Holt.
Brooke—Alexander Campbell.
Doddridge—Jephtha F. Randolph.
Fayette—Hudson M. Dickinson.
Hampshire—Alexander Monroe.
Hancock—John H. Atkinson.
Harrison—John Bassel, Beverley H. Lurty.

Jackson—Thomas R. Park.
Jefferson—Logan Osburn, William M. Morgan.
Kanawha—John A. Warth, Edward B. Knight.
Logan—M. A. Staton.
Marion—Fountain Smith, Ulysses N. Arnett.
Marshall—Hanson Criswell, James M. Pipes.
Mason—Charles B. Wagener.
Mercer—James Calfee.
Mineral—John A. Robinson.
Monongalia—John Marshall Hagans, Joseph Snyder.
Morgan—Lewis Allen.
Ohio—James S. Wheat, George O. Davenport, W. W. Miller.
Pendleton—Charles D. Boggs.
Preston—William G. Brown, Charles Kantner.
Putnam—John J. Thompson.
Ritchie—John P. Strickler.
Roane—Thomas Ferrell.
Taylor—Benjamin F. Martin.
Tyler—David F. Pugh.
Upshur—Daniel D. T. Farnsworth.
Wayne—Charles W. Ferguson.
Wetzel—Septimus Hall.
Wirt—D. A. Roberts.

The debates which occurred while the new constitution was in process of formation were never printed. The president was Samuel Price, of Greenbrier county; secretary, Gibson J. Butcher, of Lewis county; first assistant secretary, Barney J. Galligan, of Ohio county; enrolling clerk, John H. Woods, of Barbour county; sergeant-at-arms, Jacob B. Cunningham, of Hardy county.

VIRGINIA CONVENTIONS

The Virginia convention which assembled at Williamsburg, May 6, 1776, and adjourned July 5, 1776, framed the first Virginia constitution. That document was among the first of its kind and became a model for many subsequent state constitutions. It had defects, but was better than anything of the kind that had gone before. Territory now embraced wholly or in part in West Virginia, sent six delegates to that convention. Berkeley county elected Robert Rutherford and William Drew; Hampshire county sent Abraham Hite and James Mercer; while the District of West Augusta, which embraced most of Virginia's settled territory West of the Alleghany mountains, as well as part of the present state of Pennsylvania, to which Virginia at that time laid claim, sent Charles Simms and John Harvie.

On June 2, 1788, a convention assembled at Richmond to ratify or reject the United States constitution which had been framed at Philadelphia the preceding year and was sent to all the states for rejection or approval. There was much opposition to it. Many Virginians opposed it because they considered that it placed too much power in the Federal government and too little in the states. Patrick Henry was leader of the opposition and James Madison conducted the fight for ratification. Territory now in West Virginia had sixteen members, and fifteen of these voted for ratification and one, John Evans of Monongalia county, against it. Following is a list of West Virginia delegates.

Berkeley county—William Darke, Adam Stephen.
Greenbrier county—George Clendenin, John Stuart.
Hampshire county—Ralph Humphreys, Andrew Woodrow.
Hardy county—Isaac Van Meter, Abel Seymour.
Harrison county—George Jackson, John Prunty.
Monongalia county—John Evans, William McCleary.
Ohio county—Archibald Woods, Ebenezer Zane.
Randolph county—Benjamin Wilson, John Wilson.

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS FROM WESTERN VIRGINIA

From 1776 until 1863 what is now West Virginia was part of Virginia. In choosing congressmen to represent the state, certain districts were in the western part, and Western Virginians were elected. No congressman was elected west of the Alleghany mountains in Virginia before

1795, when the United States government was nineteen years old; but the portion of the state now forming West Virginia's eight eastern counties had participated in elections from the first. Hampshire county sent two delegates to the continental congress, John Harvie in 1777 and James Mercer in 1779.

The first national congress was represented by Alexander White of Berkeley county, and he served from March 4, 1789, to March 3, 1793. He was the first member of congress to be elected from the present area of West Virginia after the ratification of the United States constitution. Succeeding congressmen:

Joseph Neville, of Hardy county, served in congress from March 4, 1793, till March 3, 1795.

Robert Rutherford, of Berkeley county was a member from March 4, 1793, till March 3, 1797.

George Jackson, of Harrison county, served from March 4, 1795, till March 3, 1803.

John Dawson, of Harrison county, was a member of Congress from March 4, 1797, till March 30, 1814, when he died; but he was not a resident of Western Virginia the whole of the time. He moved to Eastern Virginia, was elected there, and continued to serve in Congress.

Daniel Morgan, of Berkeley county, who had been an officer in the Revolutionary army, was elected to a seat in congress in 1797 and served till March 3, 1799.

Philip R. Thompson was elected to congress from Kanawha county and served from 1801 to 1807.

James Stephenson, of Martinsburg, Berkeley county, served in congress from March 4, 1803, till March 3, 1805.

John Morrow was elected from Hampshire county and served from March 4, 1805, till March 3, 1809.

James Stephenson, of Berkeley county, was elected to congress and served from 1809 to 1811.

William McKinley was elected to succeed John G. Jackson who resigned his seat in congress, and served from December 21, 1810, till March 3, 1811.

William McCoy, of Franklin, Pendleton county, served in congress from March 4, 1811 till March 3, 1833.

John Baker, of Shepherdstown, Jefferson county, served in congress from March 4, 1811, till March 3, 1813.

Thomas Wilson, of Monongalia county, served in congress from March 4, 1811, till March 3, 1813.

Hugh Caperton, of Union, Monroe county, was a member of congress from 1813 to 1815.

Francis White, of Romney, Hampshire county, filled the office one term, from 1813 to 1815.

Ballard Smith, of Lewisburg, Greenbrier county, was in congress from March 4, 1815, till March 3, 1821.

Magnus Tate, of Berkeley county, filled a seat in congress from March 4, 1815, till March 3, 1817.

Edward Colston, of Berkeley county, held the office of congressman from March 4, 1817, till March 3, 1819.

James Pindall, of Wheeling, Ohio county, served in congress from March 4, 1817, till March 3, 1819.

Edward B. Jackson was elected to congress from Harrison county and served from March 4, 1819, till March 3, 1823.

Thomas Van Swearingen, of Shepherdstown, Jefferson county, served in congress from March 4, 1819, till June 7, 1822, when he died.

James Stephenson succeeded Van Swearingen as member of congress, and served until March 3, 1825. He was a citizen of Martinsburg, Berkeley county.

William Smith, of Lewisburg, was a member of congress from March 4, 1821, till March 3, 1827.

Joseph Johnson, of Bridgeport, Harrison county, was in congress from March 4, 1823, till March 3, 1827. He was elected again and served from March 4, 1831 till March 3, 1833; and again from March 4, 1835, till March 3, 1839; and again from March 4, 1845, till March 3, 1847.

William Armstrong, of Romney, was a member of congress from March 4, 1825, till March 3, 1833.

Isaac Leffler was in congress from March 4, 1827, till March 3, 1829. He was a citizen of Ohio county.

Lewis Maxwell, of Weston, Lewis county, served in congress from March 4, 1827, till March 3, 1833.

Philip Doddridge, of Wellsburg, Brooke, county, served in congress from March 4, 1829, till November 9, 1832, when he died.

John J. Allen, of Harrison county, served as a member of congress from March 4, 1833, till March 3, 1835.

Edward Lucas, of Charles Town, Jefferson county, was in congress from March 4, 1835, till March 3, 1837.

William McComas, of Greenbrier county, was a member of congress from March 4, 1833, till March 3, 1837.

Edgar G. Wilson, of Morgantown, Monongalia county, served in congress from March 4, 1833, till March 3, 1835.

William S. Morgan, of White Day, Monongalia county, occupied a seat in congress from March 4, 1835, till March 3, 1839.

Andrew Beirne, of Union, Monroe county, took his seat March 4, 1837, and occupied it till March 3, 1841.

Lewis Steenrod was elected from Wheeling and was a member of congress from March 4, 1839, till March 3, 1845.

George W. Summers, of Charleston, Kanawha county, was a member of congress from March 4, 1841, till March 3, 1845.

Samuel L. Hays, of Stuart's creek, Gilmer county, served in congress from March 4, 1841, till March 3, 1843.

William Lucas, of Jefferson county, was a member of congress from March 4, 1843, till March 3, 1845.

Augustus A. Chapman was elected to congress from Monroe county, and served from March 4, 1843, till March 3, 1847.

William G. Brown, of Kingwood, Preston county, was elected in 1847, and served till March 3, 1849.

Robert A. Thompson, of Kanawha county, served in congress from March 4, 1847, till March 3, 1849, and again from March 4, 1851, till 1852, when he resigned.

Henry Bedinger was elected to congress from Jefferson county and served from March 4, 1845, till March 3, 1849.

James M. H. Beale, of Point Pleasant, Mason county, was a member of congress from March 4, 1849 till March 3, 1853.

Alexander Newman was elected in 1849 from Ohio county, but died before taking his seat.

Thomas S. Haymond, of Fairmont, Marion county, served in congress from March 4, 1849, till March 3, 1851.

Charles J. Faulkner, of Berkeley county, held a seat in congress from March 4, 1851, till March 3, 1859.

George W. Thompson, of Ohio county, filled a seat in congress a short time, beginning March 4, 1851. He resigned.

Sherrard Clemens, of Ohio county, took his seat in congress December 6, 1852, and occupied it till March 3, 1853.

Zedekiah Kidwell, of Marion county, was a member of congress from March 4, 1853, till March 3, 1857.

John F. Snodgrass, of Parkersburg, served in congress from March 4, 1853, till March 3, 1855.

Charles S. Lewis, of Harrison county, was in congress from ——— 4, 1854, till March 4, 1855.

John S. Carlile was elected from Harrison county and took his seat March 4, 1855, and held it two years.

Albert G. Jenkins, of Green Bottom, Cabell county, was in congress from March 4, 1859, till March 3, 1861.

Alexander R. Boteler, of Jefferson county, served in congress from March 4, 1859, till March 3, 1861.

In 1861 the government of Virginia was reorganized by such of the counties as did not choose to go with Virginia into the Southern Confederacy. The Federal government recognized the reorganized government as the government of Virginia, and members elected to congress were admitted as the representatives of Virginia. Following are the men so elected, to serve from March 4, 1861, till March 3, 1863: William G. Brown, of Preston county; John S. Carlile, of Harrison county; Jacob B. Blair, of Wood county; and Kellian V. Whaley, of Wayne county.

Two members were elected to represent Virginia in the United States senate. They were John S. Carlile, and Waitman T. Willey, of Monongalia county. They served until the new state of West Virginia came into

existence, and Mr. Willey was then elected to the United States senate as a member from West Virginia.

West Virginia was admitted into the Union June 3, 1863, and began its separate existence as a state on that day. The names and terms of service of members of congress who have served since that time are shown below:

Jacob Beeson Blair, Wood county, March 4, 1863, till March 3, 1865.
Kellian V. Whaley, Mason county, March 4, 1863, till March 3, 1867.
William G. Brown, Preston county, March 4, 1863, till March 3, 1865.
Chester D. Hubbard, Ohio county, March 4, 1865, till March 3, 1869.
George R. Latham, Taylor county, March 4, 1865, till March 3, 1867.
Daniel Polsley, Mason county, March 4, 1867, till March 3, 1869.
Bethuel M. Kitchen, Berkeley county, March 4, 1867, till March 3, 1869.
Isaac Harden Duvall, Brooke county, March 4, 1869, till March 3, 1871.
John S. Witcher, Cabell county, March 4, 1869, till March 3, 1871.
James C. McGrew, Preston county, March 4, 1869, till March 3, 1873.
John J. Davis, Harrison county, March 4, 1871, till March 3, 1875.
Frank Hereford, Monroe county, March 4, 1873, till March 3, 1877.
John Marshall Hagans, Monongalia county, January 27, 1874, till March 3, 1875.
Charles J. Faulkner, Berkeley county, March 4, 1875, till March 3, 1877.
Benjamin Wilson, Harrison county, March 4, 1875, till March 3, 1883.
John Edward Kenna, Kanawha county, March 4, 1877, till March 3, 1881.
Benjamin Franklin Martin, Taylor county, March 4, 1877, till March 3, 1881.
John Blair Hoge, Berkeley county, March 4, 1881, till March 3, 1883.
Nathan Goff, Harrison county, March 4, 1883, till March 3, 1889.
William L. Wilson, Jefferson county, March 4, 1883, till March 3, 1895.
Charles Philip Snyder, Kanawha county, March 4, 1883, till March 3, 1889.
Eustace Gibson, Cabell county, March 3, 1883, till March 3, 1887.
Charles Edgar Hogg, Mason county, March 4, 1887, till March 3, 1889.
George Wesley Atkinson, Ohio county, March 4, 1889, till March 3, 1891.
John D. Alderson, Nicholas county, March 4, 1889, till March 3, 1895.
James Monroe Jackson, Wood county, March 4, 1889, till February 3, 1890.
Charles Brooks Smith, Wood county, February 3, 1890, till March 3, 1891.
John O. Pendleton, Ohio county, March 4, 1889, till February 26, 1890. He was re-elected, serving from March 4, 1891, till March 3, 1895.
James Capehart, Mason county, March 4, 1891, till March 3, 1895.
Blackburn B. Dovenor, Ohio county, March 3, 1897, till March 3, 1907.
Alson G. Dayton, Barbour county, March 4, 1895, till March 3, 1905.
James H. Huling, Kanawha county, March 4, 1895, till March 3, 1907.
Warren Miller, Raleigh county, March 4, 1895, till March 3, 1899.
Charles P. Door, Webster county, March 1, 1897, till March 3, 1899.
David E. Johnston, Mercer county, March 4, 1899, till March 3, 1901.
Romeo H. Freer, Ritchie county, March 4, 1899, till March 3, 1901.
Joseph Holt Gaines, Kanawha county, March 4, 1901, till March 3, 1909.
James A. Hughes, Cabell county, March 4, 1901, till March 3, 1909.
Harry Chapman Woodyard, Roane county, March 4, 1903, till March 3, 1909.
Thomas B. Davis, Mineral county, March 4, 1905, till March 3, 1907.
William P. Hubbard, Ohio county, March 3, 1907, till March 3, 1909.
George C. Sturgiss, Monongalia county, March 4, 1907, till March 3, 1909.

UNITED STATES SENATORS

Since West Virginia became a separate state in 1863 it has been represented in the United States senate by the following named persons:

Waitman T. Willey, Monongalia county, from March 4, 1863, till March 3, 1871.
Peter G. Van Winkle, Wood county, from March 4, 1863, till March 3, 1869.
Arthur I. Boreman, Wood county, from March 4, 1869, till March 3, 1875.
Henry G. Davis, Mineral county, from March 4, 1871, till March 3, 1883.
Allen T. Caperton, Monroe county, from March 4, 1875, till July 26, 1876.
Samuel Price, Greenbrier county, from December 4, 1876, till March 3, 1877.
Frank Hereford, Monroe county, from January 31, 1877, till March 3, 1879.
Johnson N. Camden, Wood county, from March 4, 1881, till March 3, 1887; again from January 28, 1883, till March 3, 1895.
John E. Kenna, Kanawha county, from March 4, 1883, till January 11, 1893.
Charles J. Faulkner, Berkeley county, from March 4, 1887, till March 3, 1889.
Stephen B. Elkins, Randolph county, from March 4, 1895, till 1912.
Nathan B. Scott, Ohio county, from March 4, 1899, till 1912.

STATE SUPERINTENDENTS OF FREE SCHOOLS

The following persons filled the office of superintendent of public schools of West Virginia:

William Ryland White, of Marion county, from June 20, 1863, till March 3, 1869.

Henry A. G. Zeigler, of Barbour county, from March 4, 1869, till February 17, 1870.

Alvin D. Williams, from February 17, 1870, till March 3, 1871.

Charles S. Lewis, of Harrison county, from March 4, 1871, till December 31, 1872.

William K. Pendleton, of Brooke county, from January 1, 1873, till March 3, 1873.

Benjamin Wilson Byrne, of Clay county, from March 4, 1873, till March 3, 1877.

William K. Pendleton, of Brooke county, from March 4, 1877, till March 3, 1881.

Bernard Lee Butcher, of Randolph county, from March 4, 1881, till March 3, 1885.

Benjamin S. Morgan, of Monongalia county, from March 4, 1885, till March 3, 1893.

Virgil A. Lewis, of Mason county, from March 4, 1893, till March 3, 1897.

James Russell Trotter, of Upshur county, from March 4, 1897, till March 3, 1891.

Thomas C. Miller, of Marion county, from March 4, 1901, till March 3, 1909.

LEADERS IN DIFFERENT PERIODS

The progress of the state and its institutions, from the earliest period until the present time, required the services of leaders, and in all cases the leaders appeared. The work which they did speaks for itself, and is set forth in the various chapters of this book. There were pioneers who had few followers but who did important work. They led their little colonies into the wilderness, faced dangers, endured hardships, fought Indians, cleared farms, and took the first steps in bringing civilization into the new country. A few men of that class, such as Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton, achieved renown; but there were not many such. Most lived in very narrow circles and were not known far beyond their neighborhoods; but they were leaders as truly as were those who became known farther from home.

The Revolution came in the midst of the Indian wars which harassed the frontiers, and the perils and vexations of that period called for leaders of a little higher order than were required to plant and watch over a frontier settlement in some remote valley. No greater courage was demanded, but a somewhat broader understanding of men and affairs. The history of the progress of the Revolutionary war, as it affected the people of what is now West Virginia, is found in the chapters of this book which deal with that subject, and the names of the leaders are recorded there. When men are thrown upon their own resources, as they were in a large degree west of the mountains during the Revolution, it develops the power of leadership in some who otherwise would never be heard of. Much executive ability was needed to hold the exposed settlements together in times of extreme peril, and letters and other documents of that period show how it was done. Without such leaders as John Evans, Benjamin Wilson, William Lowther, William Haymond, Jacob Warwick, John Minear, Ebenezer Zane, George Jackson, David Morgan, and others like them, the struggling settlers between the Ohio river and the Alleghany mountains would have turned their faces toward the east and quit the country between 1777 and 1782.

The war of 1812 called for no particular leadership in this state, neith-

er did the Mexican war, for peril was never imminent, and no complex problems were to be worked out; but the promptness with which the people responded to the calls that came and the willingness to be of service, was proof that leaders would have appeared had need for them come.

The chapters in this book which deal with the Civil war and the formation of the state during the troubled times, are little more than the biographies of leaders who responded to the call. They came from everywhere, from the lawyer's office, from the plow, from the pulpit, and from the school room. Some led regiments and companies to the front, while others remained at home and performed labor no less arduous, in shaping and controlling the affairs of state. The proceedings of the conventions which worked out ways and means for making a new state in the storm of war, and without a model to copy or a precedent to follow, are almost epics in the strength of leadership which they show, and tragedies in their delineation of character. The picture of Francis H. Pierpont, sitting down in the quiet of his home to read the United States constiution to see if it did not provide a way to do what he knew ought to be done, shows what it takes to make a leader, and how a leader, who can find no highway, is able to follow a blazed trail. For a long time, during that eventful year of 1861, those who were trying new paths were groping through darkness. Small men and shallow minds were for quick action without mature plans; but the real leaders were willing to move slowly and cautiously, in order to move surely and safely. There, too, the value of leadership was shown; for it sometimes requires more genius to hold a premature movement back than to carry a mature one forward. The half-finished work of organizing the new state could have been ruined in a few days had the real leaders lost their grip at the helm when the ill-advised cry: "West Virginia, now or never" was raised in Wheeling and the whole movement was in danger of being stampeded on the rocks and to destruction.

There have been leaders in peace as well as in war. The churches have had them and the schools have had them. When Bishop Asbury blazed the trails for Methodism among the mountains of West Virginia he at the same time opened the way for all other Christian denominations to enter the new fields beyond the Alleghanies; and when Alexander L. Wade published his "Graduating System for Public Schools," he blazed trails which have since been widened into educational highways. Along industrial lines the value of leadership has been very great. Courage and foresight as well as capital are needed to give value to buried wealth. For a hundred years men walked over the hundreds of millions of dollars worth of natural resources beneath the ground in this region, and saw no value; but the touch of the leader's hand changed it all to gold. It is all a matter of leadership, not of luck.

CHAPTER XXXVI

GROWTH OF CITIES AND TOWNS

No large city stands within West Virginia's borders. Many towns and villages are old enough, as age is measured in America, to have become cities, but not one has passed the fifty thousand mark, and their increase in size has been moderate. It is of interest, however, to note in what way they have grown, what has influenced their development, and why some have gone ahead while others have stood stationary, and a few have declined. More than an act of the legislature is required to make a town in the sense the term is understood in West Virginia. There must be population more or less fixed in the place. A temporary camp is not a town.

It seemed to be believed once in Virginia that towns could be created by acts of the legislature. Many a proposed town was put on paper with that mistaken notion. Virginia was not originally a state of towns and cities. It was agricultural. There was little business other than agriculture. People lived on plantations in the eastern part of the state and on farms in the west. The difference between a plantation and a farm was chiefly one of size. There was no mining, no railroading, no manufacturing, no lumbering. The people worked in fields, and lived at home. That was in the early days. Thomas Jefferson was almost a man before he saw a town. At that time there was not a village in Virginia larger than a respectable county seat is now. There were county seats then, but few of them were villages. The place usually consisted of a court house, tavern, a blacksmith shop, and a few residences, perhaps only two or three. The place was popularly spoken of as "courthouse." Such terms as "Orange Courthouse," "Spotsylvania Courthouse," and similar names were in common use in Virginia at the time of the Civil War.

Similar conditions prevailed in the part of the state which is now West Virginia. There were fewer plantations and more farms, but towns were small. County seats were often designated as "courthouses," and that term remained until recent years. Perhaps "Ritchie Courthouse," and "Clay Courthouse" were the last to pass out of common use in West Virginia.

There being little manufacturing and public works in Western Virginia, there was small need of towns, but from time to time the legislature was asked to pass acts creating or establishing towns. Early records are filled with such legislation. Frequently there was no reason or business judgment back of the proposition. Some landowner made up his mind that a corner of his farm would be a good place for a village, and he would survey a few lots, stake out streets, and ask the legislature to pass a law that the place might have a name and legal existence. Generally a few lots were sold, and sometimes houses were erected. Occasionally a village actually was built up, but not unless there was some reason for it.

Those town sites constituted an interesting theme for study. Many of them are fields to-day as they were then; but a few are villages, and now and then one has become a town and has outgrown the original plan of the promoter. Usually, the man who laid out the town on his land thought that a few acres was enough space for it. The reasons or circumstances which generally led the promoter to believe there was a de-

mand for the establishment of a town at the place where he wanted it were one or more of the following:

Two public roads crossed at a certain place, and it was a natural center for the surrounding country.

A ferry at a certain point suggested that a ferry would bring business and be a stopping place for travelers.

A highway along which travel was heavy needed taverns at the end or midway of day's journeys, and towns would naturally grow up about taverns.

Mineral springs were liable to attract people who would require accommodations, and such a situation seemed to be a good place for a town.

Considerations such as these led to the laying out of villages. It is needless to say that most of them never got much beyond the paper stage. The law which established the site for the town sometimes undertook to regulate the building of houses. It was required of the purchaser of each lot that he build within a certain time a house of specified size and material. A chimney of brick or stone was usually laid down as one of the conditions on which the purchaser of a lot was to receive full title—he must build the house with such and such a chimney. The time allowed for building was a certain number of years, usually two or three. Occasionally a side light is thrown on that method of town building by an amendatory act passed by the legislature years afterward extending the period during which the houses should be completed.

The promoters of such schemes seem never to have thought of anything which would really call for the building of a town. No factory was promised; no business was suggested; no undertakings that would draw capital or labor to the new townsite. It was fortunate that no large investments were made in such townsites. The promoter might pay some local surveyor ten dollars to lay off the lots; adjoining farmers might buy a lot apiece at about fifty dollars each; a blacksmith or a carpenter who was in a hurry "to get in on the ground floor" might purchase a lot for a shop on a prominent corner. Such were usually about as far as the purchases went.

There was another class of towns founded with a little more reason and built with rather more success. County seats were in that class. The location of a courthouse insured a few residents. The clerks must have houses, there must be a tavern, a store, and usually a church. If the surrounding country was prosperous, there would be some business to betransacted at the county seat.

On the Ohio river, the Kanawha, and the Monongahela, where boats had stopping places and roads crossed the streams, towns established themselves and grew in size as trade increased. Such towns needed no act of the legislature to give them a start, and lots were not sold with a clause in the deed binding the purchaser to build a house in a specified time, and with a particular style of chimney. Among towns of that kind were Wheeling, Parkersburg, Point Pleasant, Huntington, Charleston, Morgantown, and Fairmont.

There were towns in the interior which grew gradually without much special effort on the part of anybody, but they never reached large size until some kind of manufacturing began in their vicinity. From 1762 when Romney, the oldest incorporated town in the state, was established, till the beginning of the civil war, a period of ninety-nine years, 126 towns in what is now West Virginia were established by acts of the legislature. A considerable number of the names sound familiar yet, but many have passed from the memory of man. The list of the towns follows:

Romney, Hampshire Co., Nov., 1762.
Shepherdstown, originally Mechlenburg, Jefferson county, Nov., 1762.
Berkeley Springs, originally Bath, Morgan Co., Oct., 1776.
Moorefield, Hardy Co., Oct., 1777.
Martinsburg, Berkeley Co., Oct., 1778.
Lewisburg, Greenbrier Co., Oct., 1782.
Clarksburg, Harrison Co., Oct., 1785.
Morgantown, Monongalia Co., Oct., 1785.
Charles Town, Jefferson Co., Oct., 1786.
Frankfort, Hampshire Co., now Alaska, Mineral Co., Dec., 1787.
Middletown, Berkeley Co., Nov., 1787.
West Liberty, Ohio Co., Nov., 1787.
Watson, Hampshire Co., Dec., 1787.
Beverly, Randolph Co., December, 1790.
Springfield, Hampshire Co., Dec., 1790.
Wellsburg, Brook Co., originally Charles Town, Dec., 1791.
Darkesville, Berkeley Co., Dec., 1791.
Charleston, Kanawha Co., Dec., 1794.
Point Pleasant, Mason Co., Dec., 1794.
Vienna, Wood Co., Dec., 1795.
Wheeling, Ohio Co., Dec., 1795 (name changed from Zanesburg).
Pleasantville, Monongalia Co., Dec., 1796.
Smithfield, Berkeley Co., Jan., 1798.
Union, Monroe Co., Jan., 1800.
Newport, Wood Co., Jan., 1800.
Franklin, Pendelton Co., Dec., 1800.
Pruntytown, originally Williamsport, Taylor Co., Jan., 1801.
Elizabethtown, Marshall Co., now Moundsville, Jan., 1803.
Peterstown, Monroe Co., Dec., 1803.
Mount Pleasant, Monongalia Co., Jan. 5, 1907.
Guyandotte, Cabell Co., Jan., 1810.
Manchester, Hancock Co., Jan, 1813.
Middlebourne, Tyler Co., Jan., 1813.
Barboursville, Cabell Co., Jan., 1813.
Grandville, Monongalia Co., Jan., 1814.
Miles End, Harrison Co., Feb., 1814.
West Union, Ohio Co., Jan., 1816.
Bridgeport, Harrison Co., Jan., 1816.
Buckhannon, Upshur Co., Jan., 1816.
Morgansville, Randolph Co., Dec., 1816.
Westfield, Lewis Co., Jan., 1817.
Stebbensville, Lewis Co., and Randolph Co., Feb., 1819.
Preston, now Weston, Lewis Co., Feb., 1819.
Middleville, Nicholas Co., Jan., 1820.
Summerville, Nicholas C., Jan., 1820.
Middletown, Monongalia Co., Jan., 1820.
Milford, Harrison Co., Jan., 1821.
Williamsville, Wood Co., Jan., 1821.
Harrisville, Ritchie Co., Jan., 1822.
Elizabeth, Wirt Co., Jan., 1822.
Huntersville, Pocahontas Co., Dec., 1822.
Shepherdsville, Ohio Co., Dec., 1822.
Frankfort, Greenbrier Co., Jan., 1823.
Bolivar, Jefferson Co., Dec., 1825.
Lewisport, Harrison Co., Jan., 1826.
Suttonville (now Sutton), Braxton Co., Jan., 1826.
Fairfield, Harrison Co., Feb., 1826.
Mixville, Ohio Co., Jan., 1827.
Virginius, Jefferson Co., Jan., 1827.
Brandonville, Preston Co., Jan., 1827.
Mount Carmel (now Aurora), Preston Co., Jan., 1828.
Middle Wheeling, Ohio Co., Feb., 1828.
South Wheeling, Ohio Co., Feb., 1828.
Triadelphia, Ohio Co., Feb., 1829.
Lawnsville (Now Logan), Logan Co., Feb., 1829.
New Haven, Nicholas Co., Jan., 1830.
Blacksburg (now Blacksville), Monongalia Co., Feb., 1830.
Moundsville, Marshall Co., Jan., 1832.
Starksville, Harrison Co., Jan., 1832.
Valleyton, Randolph Co., Feb., 1832.
Brownsville, Cabell Co., Feb., 1832.
Wardensville, Hardy Co., Feb., 1832.
Ripley, Jackson Co., Dec., 1832.
Evansville, Preston Co., Jan., 1834.
Smootsvile, Logan Co., March, 1834.
Santerville, Tyler Co., March, 1834.
Hedgesville, Berkeley Co., Feb., 1836.
Meadowville, Greenbrier Co., Mar., 1836.
Greensburg, Ohio Co., Jan., 1837.
Harmansville, Cabell Co., March, 1837.
Marshall, Marshall Co., March, 1837.
Newport, Monongalia Co., March, 1837.
Beckley, Raleigh Co., April, 1837.
Princeton, Mercer Co., April, 1837.
Damascus, Marshall Co., Feb., 1838.
Martinsville (now New Martinsville), Wetzel Co., March, 1838.
Lumberport, Harrison Co., Apr., 1838.
Sistersville, Tyler Co., Feb., 1839.
Democratic-Republic, Lewis Co., March, 1839.
Buffalo, Putnam Co., March, 1839.
Boothsville, Marion Co., March, 1840.
Hartford, Lewis Co., Feb., 1842.
Smithville, Lewis Co., Feb., 1842.
Brownsville, Preston Co., March, 1842.
Fairmount, Marion Co., Feb., 1843.
Philippi, Barbour Co., Feb., 1844.
Claysville, Wood Co., March, 1851.
St. Mary's Pleasants Co., March, 1851.
Ravenswood, Jackson Co., March, 1852.
West Columbia, Mason Co., May, 1852.
Shinnston, Harrison Co., May, 1852.
Harpers Ferry, Jefferson Co., Dec., 1852.
Cassville, Wayne Co., Dec., 1852.
Oceana, Wyoming Co., Jan., 1853.
Aracoma, Logan Co., March, 1853.
Benwood, Marshall Co., March, 1853.
Hamlin, Lincoln Co., March 14, 1853.
Kingwood, Preston Co., March, 1853.
Bruceton, Preston Co., March, 1853.
Bethany, Brooke Co., April, 1853.
Fellowsville, Preston Co., Nov., 1853.
Fetterman, Taylor Co., March, 1854.
Piedmont, Mineral Co., Feb., 1856.
Mason City, Mason Co., Feb., 1856.
Mannington, Marion Co., March, 1856.
Glenville, Gilmer County, March, 1856.
Grafton, Taylor Co., March, 1856.
Brandonville, Preston Co., Feb., 1858
Rowlesburg, Preston Co., Feb., 1858.
Spencer (formerly New California), Roane Co., March, 1858.

Portland (now Terra Alta, formerly Cranberry Summit), Preston Co., March, 1860.
Independence, Preston Co., March, 1860.
Flemington, Taylor Co., March, 1860.
Fairview, Wayne Co., March, 1860.
Cameron, Marshall Co., Feb., 1861.
Rathbone, Wirt Co., April, 1861.

It is astonishing how long some of those little hamlets lived without growing. They existed from generation to generation with scarcely any increase in population or any falling off. No body moved in; nobody moved out; births balanced the deaths; a new house was built only when an old landmark careened on its sunken foundation, and had to give way before the march of time. The tavern, the store, and the blacksmith shop were the business and social centers of the place. Mail came once a week perhaps, and in later years a little oftener.

A new order of affairs came with the development of the regions natural resources. Commerce or manufacturing are necessary if towns and cities are to have much growth . When the timber from the mountains began to go to outside markets, people who had been engaged in the lumber business elsewhere were attracted to West Virginia, and the stimulus of new capital and new blood was soon felt. Towns grew up where none were before, and some which had long stood still were quickly transformed into business centers. The cutting, transporting, and marketing of several hundred million feet of timber a year brought money into the state, and it found investment in new homes for many of the old residents and also for those who had lately come. That kind of growth was particularly apparent in towns on the banks of floatable streams, for the rivers, in most cases in the early years of lumbering in West Virginia, were the lumbermen's highways from forest to market. The growth of Charleston will show this increase in town growth, due, in part, to lumber operations. In 1850 its population was 1,050; ten years later, 1,520; in 1870, 3,162; in 1880, 4,192; and ten years later, 6,742. That rate of increase was not extraordinary. It is cited as a fair example of what was occurring in most towns of the state which happened to be situated in places where they could take advantage of the new business which was growing up on all sides.

The lumber business was not alone responsible for growth in urban population. The commencement of coal mining came almost simultaneously with the cutting of timber, and in some localities contributed more to the rapid growth of old towns and the building of new ones. The old order of things had by that time passed away. The former Virginia idea of town building was as dead as the Latin language. Nobody thought of staking off a town in a cow-pasture or at the forks of the road, and offering the lots for sale, unless there was strong business reason for believing that something was going to happen in that vicinity to make a town. The usual course was to open a coal mine, put in tipple, build a branch railroad to the mine, and leave the town to grow in order to keep pace with business. No one took time to stipulate when selling lots, that a certain kind of house with a peculiar sort of chimney had to be built within a specified time. No Virginian with the slow old ideas of former times would have thought of laying out a town in some narrow gorge or on some rocky hillside, where coal miners and lumbermen built some of theirs. Yet that was where the laws of business and commerce ordained that they should be. The old idea was—as far as ideas figured in such matters—that business would go to the town, and so it was staked off at the forks of the road or in a cornfield; but the new idea was that the town would go to the business; business was the cause, and town was the effect. Therefore, the operators who opened coal mines and built coke ovens cared very little whether there was a fork of the road near, or

whether there was a level field in which to lay out streets for the proposed town.

Railroads have been powerful influences in town building in West Virginia; but railroads follow the same economic law as mines; the towns must come to them, for they will not go out of their way to reach towns. The Baltimore and Ohio railroad, which was the first to build across the state, turned neither to the right nor to the left to hit or miss any town; and every railroad built from that day to this has followed the same rule. Many a rural village with a top-heavy notion of its own importance has had the conceit taken out of it by seeing a railroad pass serenely by within a few miles without so much as setting up a whistling post to indicate the proximity of a town.

The oil and natural gas developments were important town builders in certain parts of the state. They exerted an influence different from that from mines. The men who bored wells and laid pipe lines did not build towns as places of residence, as coal miners did, but moved about from place to place, and constituted a shifting but rather numerous population. They were more like an army on the march, camping here and there, than like a people with fixed abodes.

The wealth brought into the region by gas and oil contributed much to the building of towns, but it was often at the expense of the country. Farmers became rich by leasing their land to operators who prospected for gas and oil. Old run-down farms, patches of scrub timber, rocky ridges, steep hillsides which would scarcely afford footing for goats or grass to feed them, were rented at prices which brought the owners up out of comparative poverty into opulence; and many of them turned their faces toward the towns and invested their easily-earned thousands in residences immeasurably better than the best they had known before. Some of the most prosperous West Virginia towns were largely built in that way. Retired farmers lived like retired senators. A corresponding shift took place in the rural population. Farms which had been tilled by owners since the day the first acre was cleared, passed to tenants who were placed there by absent owners to hold the neglected property together, without any purpose of making it profitable. It may be asserted with entire truth than many a fine town residence represented a neglected and almost abandoned farm some where in the oil and gas belts. In many instances the same observation would hold true for coal lands. Farmers who owned scores or hundreds of acres of coal were surprised to find that it was valuable. They had been accustomed to count it of little more worth than the limestone or sandstone strata above and below it in the hillsides. When they found that the coal would sell, and they might still retain the land if they wished to, they took cash for the coal and moved into town.

During the fifteen years following 1890 much of the state was overrun by lot sale boomers. Some of them were honest and put nothing on the market unless it had a present or prospective value; but many were sharks. Tracts of land adjoining towns were laid out with streets and lots, and after wide misrepresentation of their real value, they were auctioned off on a certain day amid the noise of brass bands and the revelry of a barbecue. Frequently the land so disposed of had no value other than as pasture or truck patch ground. Buyers who could be gulled were abundant. The lawful authorities whose duty it was to guard the public against swindlers sat idly by and saw tens of thousands of dollars filched from the pockets of innocent purchasers of lots which were practically worthless. The total amount of frauds of that kind perpetrated on the people of the state by lot sale promoters must have reached millions of dollars. It was the practice of the men in charge of those sales to de-

mand what they termed a small payment down, with notes for the residue. The hand money was usually several times the worth of the lot, and if no more was ever paid, the promoter already had more than he should have had; but the notes were generally collected afterwards.

Lot sharks of that kind searched the state from center to circumference for places where such sales could be pulled off. It was their practice to call them additions to such and such a town; but sometimes they were advertised as new towns and cities just springing into existence. The bubble was a long time in bursting, and before it burst, practically every important town, and many unimportant towns, in the state had passed through a lot sale which put several hundred or several thousand dollars into the pockets of men who had an eye single to their own individual gain, and who hurt towns ten times where they helped them once. Decaying stakes are still stumbled over in many a pasture field, marking the lots which were bought by people who lost all they put in them.

West Virginia had thirty-one cities in 1910. Wheeling, the largest city, had a population of 41,641, and Huntington, the second city, a population of 31,161. Charleston, Parkersburg, Bluefield, and Martinsburg, with 22,996, 17,842, 11,188, and 10,698 inhabitants, respectively, were the only other cities in the state having over 10,000 inhabitants. There were also six cities having from 5,000 to 10,000, nine from 2,500 to 5,000, and ten less than 2,500 inhabitants. The aggregate population of the thirty-one cities was 232,618, or 19 per cent. of the total population of the state.

The following list gives the population of cities and towns in the state for the years 1890, 1900 and 1910. The figures are from the United States census:

POPULATION OF INCORPORATED PLACES IN 1890, 1900, AND 1910

Town.	*County.*	*1890.*	*1900.*	*1910.*
Adamston	Harrison	.....	.....	1,200
Addison	Webster	.....	297	500
Alderson	Monroe	663	518	1,252
Alvord	Roane	.....	.....	229
Ansted	Fayette	.....	1,090	1,030
Athens	Mercer	.....	.....	575
Auburn	Ritchie	.....	.....	199
Avis	Summers	.....	.....	1,432
Barboursville	Cabell	.....	429	907
Barnstown	Marion	.....	.....	655
Bayard	Grant	.....	540	417
Beckley	Raleigh	158	342	2,161
Belington	Barbour	.....	430	1,481
Benwood	Marshal	2,934	4,511	4,976
Berkeley Springs	Morgan	.....	781	864
Bethany	Brooke	.....	245	433
Beverly	Randolph	343	464	438
Blacksville	Monongalia	.....	180	204
Bluefield	Mercer	1,775	4,644	11,188
Bolivar	Jefferson	804	781	687
Bramwell	Mercer	499	825	1,458
Brandonville	Preston	82	68	96
Bridgeport	Harrison	455	464	577
Brooklyn	Wetzel	285	632	627
Bruceton	Preston	.....	80	116
Buckhannon	Upshur	1,403	1,589	2,225
Buffalo	Putnam	238	364	384
Burkes Garden	McDowell	.....	.....	500
Burnsville	Braxton	.....	.....	770
Cairo	Ritchie	.....	653	668
Camden-on-Gauley	Webster	.....	.....	263
Cameron	Marshall	.....	964	1,660
Capon Bridge	Hampshire	.....	.....	213
Cass	Pocahontas	.....	.....	496

Cassville	Wayne	.....	.....	457
Cedar Grove	Kanawha	.....	.....	679
Centreville	Tyler	.....	156	113
Ceredo	Wayne	923	1,279	1,215
Charles Town	Jefferson	2,287	2,392	2,662
Charleston	Kanawha	6,742	11,099	22,996
Chester	Hancock	.....	.....	3,184
Clark	McDowell	.....	.....	165
Clarksburg	Harrison	3,008	4,050	9,201
Clendenin	Kanawha	.....	.....	815
Cowen	Webster	.....	257	312
Davis	Tucker	918	2,391	2,615
Durbin	Pocahontas	.....	.....	390
Eastbank	Kanawha	.....	468	551
Edgewood	Ohio	.....	.....	1,455
Elizabeth	Wirt	710	657	674
Elk Garden	Mineral	723	581	438
Elkins	Randolph	737	2,016	5,200
Ellenboro	Ritchie	.....	.....	204
Elm Grove	Ohio	594	768	1,899
Fairmont	Marion	1,023	5,655	9,711
Fairview	Marion	.....	.....	782
Fairview	Wayne	361	407	384
Falling Spring	Greenbrier	.....	.....	270
Farmington	Marion	.....	.....	519
Fayette Station	Fayette	.....	.....	399
Fayetteville	Fayette	.....	413	671
Flat Woods	Braxton	.....	.....	284
Follansbee	Brooke	.....	.....	2,031
Frametown	Braxton	.....	.....	163
Frankford	Greenbrier	.....	138	102
Franklin	Pendleton	.....	205	200
Friendly	Tyler	.....	253	217
Fulton	Ohio	.....	.....	1,038
Gassaway	Braxton	.....	.....	1,086
Glady	Randolph	.....	.....	281
Glen Jean	Fayette	.....	.....	722
Glenville	Gilmer	329	398	336
Grafton	Taylor	3,159	5,650	7,563
Grantsville	Calhoun	.....	225	282
Guyandotte	Cabell	1,502	1,450	1,702
Hambleton	Tucker	.....	.....	1,300
Harding	Randolph	.....	.....	105
Harman	Randolph	.....	.....	149
Harpers Ferry	Jefferson	958	896	766
Harrisville	Ritchie	361	472	608
Hartford City	Mason	446	515	358
Hawks Nest	Fayette	.....	109	120
Hedgesville	Berkeley	448	342	328
Henderson	Mason	.....	304	286
Hendricks	Tucker	.....	317	640
Henry	Clay	.....	339	392
Hill Top	Fayette	.....	263	761
Hillsboro	Pocahontas	166	204	181
Hinton	Summers	2,570	3,763	3,656
Hundred	Wetzel	.....	261	557
Huntington	Cabell	10,108	11,923	31,161
Hurricane	Putnam	207	240	422
Huttonsville	Randolph	.....	.....	251
Ivydale	Clay	.....	.....	236
Jane Lew	Lewis	.....	.....	327
Job	Randolph	.....	.....	190
Junior	Barbour	.....	335	435
Kenova	Wayne	.....	863	902
Keyser	Mineral	2,165	2,536	3,705
Keystone	McDowell	.....	1,088	2,047
Kilsythe	Fayette	.....	.....	730
Kimball	McDowall	.....	.....	1,630
Kingwood	Preston	.....	700	800
Laneville	Randolph / Tucker	.....	.....	333

Layopolis	Gilmer	.....	.....	156
Leatherwood	Ohio	.....	123	144
Leon	Mason	242	250	240
Lewisburg	Greenbrier	1,016	872	803
Littleton	Wetzel	.....	509	712
Logan	Logan	.....	444	1,640
Lumberport	Harrison	.....	.....	656
McMechen	Marshall	427	1,465	2,921
Mabscott	Raleigh	.....	.....	561
Macdonald	Fayette	.....	.....	1,153
Madison	Boone	.....	.....	295
Mannington	Marion	908	1,681	2,672
Marlinton	Pocahontas	.....	171	1,045
Martinsburg	Berkeley	7,226	7,564	10,698
Mason	Mason	1,029	904	784
Masontown	Preston	.....	.....	520
Matewan	Mingo	.....	.....	588
Middlebourne	Tyler	.....	403	546
Mill Creek	Randolph	.....	.....	740
Milton	Cabell	548	582	837
Monongah	Marion	.....	1,786	2,084
Montgomery	Fayette	.....	1,594	1,888
Montrose	Randolph	.....	.....	112
Moorefield	Hardy	495	460	646
Morgantown	Monongalia	1,011	1,895	9,150
Moundsville	Marshall	2,688	5,362	8,918
Mount Hope	Fayette	.....	351	494
New Cumberland	Hancock	2,305	2,198	1,807
New Martinsville	Wetzel	692	1,089	2,176
Newburg	Preston	778	751	823
North Point Pleasant	Mason	.....	.....	452
Northfork	McDowell	.....	.....	425
Oak Hill	Fayette	.....	.....	764
Oakvale	Mercer	.....	.....	278
Oceana	Wyoming	.....	187	129
Ogden City	Fayette	.....	.....	210
Parkersburg	Wood	8,408	11,703	17,842
Parsons	Tucker	.....	618	1,780
Patterson	Ohio	.....	.....	713
Paw Paw	Morgan	772	693	725
Pennsboro	Ritchie	570	738	930
Peterstown	Monroe	.....	167	257
Philippi	Barbour	378	665	1,038
Piedmont	Mineral	.....	2,115	2,054
Pine Grove	Wetzel	.....	.....	474
Pineville	Wyoming	.....	.....	334
Pleasant Valley	Ohio	.....	180	346
Point Pleasant	Mason	1,853	1,934	2,045
Powellton	Fayette	491	503	413
Pratt	Kanawha	.....	.....	306
Princeton	Mercer	.....	.....	3,027
Pullman	Ritchie	.....	.....	230
Ravenswood	Jackson	817	1,074	1,081
Reedsville	Preston	.....	.....	208
Reedy	Roane	.....	300	313
Richwood	Nicholas	.....	.....	3,061
Ripley	Jackson	417	579	591
Rivesville	Marion	165	164	190
Romney	Hampshire	451	580	1,112
Ronceverte	Greenbrier	481	968	2,157
Rowlesburg	Preston	560	652	936
St. Albans	Kanawha	.....	816	1,209
St. George	Tucker	316	152	245
St. Marys	Pleasants	520	825	1,358
Salem	Harrison	310	746	2,169
Scarbro	Fayette	.....	.....	1,533
Seebert	Pocahontas	.....	.....	190
Shepherdstown	Jefferson	1,515	1,184	1,070
Shinnston	Harrison	403	535	1,224
Sistersville	Tyler	469	2,979	2,684
Smithfield	Wetzel	.....	.....	765

South Buckhannon	Upshur	.....	.....	681
South Keyser	Mineral	.....	.....	692
Spencer	Roane	431	737	1,224
Springfield	Hampshire	.....	143	135
Star City	Monongalia	.....	.....	318
Stealey Heights	Harrison	.....	.....	511
Stuart	Fayette	.....	.....	697
Summersville	Nicholas	.....	223	204
Sutton	Braxton	276	864	1,121
Terra Alta	Preston	443	616	1,126
Thomas	Tucker	269	2,126	2,354
Thurmond	Fayette	.....	.....	315
Triadelphia	Ohio	515	287	261
Troy	Gilmer	.....	148	144
Tunnelton	Preston	.....	479	792
Union	Monroe	348	256	298
Wardensville	Hardy	106	152	123
Watson	Hampshire	.....	18	11
Welch	McDowell	.....	442	1,526
Wellsburg	Brooke	2,235	2,588	4,189
West Milford	Harrison	210	187	212
West Union	Doddridge	312	623	779
Weston	Lewis	2,143	2,560	2,213
Wheeling	Ohio	34,522	38,878	41,641
White Sulphur Springs	Greenbrier	.....	.....	338
Whitmer	Randolph	.....	.....	650
Wileyville	Wetzel	.....	.....	134
Williamsburg	Greenbrier	.....	.....	120
Williamson	Mingo	.....	.....	3,561
Williamstown	Wood	.....	.....	1,139
Winfield	Putnam	302	338	291
Womelsdorf	Randolph	.....	.....	665
Woodsdale	Ohio	.....	.....	831
Worthington	Marion	.....	.....	292

CHAPTER XXXVII

BOUNDARIES AND SUBDIVISIONS

The lines which form the boundaries of West Virginia are exceedingly irregular. Their total length is about 1170 miles. They coincide in part with the boundaries of five other states,—Ohio, Virginia, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. Some of these lines are associated with historical occurrences and with controversies not always friendly. The greater portion of those lines were fixed and agreed upon long before West Virginia became a state. The part of the boundary dividing Virginia from West Virginia follows county lines, and no resurvey was necessary when the new state severed the political bonds which united it with the old. Some controversy has arisen from time to time concerning the line between this state and Maryland, and the latter state has claimed the right to more territory than the old lines gave it, but West Virginia has insisted on the old surveys, all of which date back more than a century.

Virginia's earliest borders admitted of little dispute, because they extended to the Pacific, and no neighbor argued against them; but in time the claims of rivals were put forward, and Virginia's limits westward and northward were considerably curtailed. The first surveyed border which in anyway concerned the territory now embraced in West Virginia was that between Maryland and this state, west of Harper's Ferry. That line was not surveyed for the purpose of fixing the line between Virginia and Maryland, but it subsequently was accepted as the boundary. Maryland had no hand in fixing it, but Lord Fairfax and Virginia caused the survey to be made to settle the dispute concerning the area and the limits of the land owned by Lord Fairfax. The line was run in 1735 from Harper's Ferry along the south bank of the Potomac to the source of that stream. Before the line was surveyed it was not known that it would follow the river all the way, but it was supposed that the stream trended so far northward in the vicinity of the present town of Hancock, Maryland, that it would cross the fortieth parallel of latitude, and thus lie partly in Pennsylvania. It was found, however, that the Potomac did not anywhere approach nearer than three miles of the Pennsylvania line. The boundary of Lord Fairfax's land on the north became the accepted line between Virginia and Maryland, and consequently between Maryland and West Virginia. An effort was made long afterward, while settling the changes resulting from the Civil war, to annex Maryland's two western counties to West Virginia, and recompense Maryland for its loss of territory in the west by giving it the counties of Virginia on the Eastern shore. The deal was not consummated.

The Fairfax stone at the head of the North Branch of the Potomac became the Western limit of the Fairfax land, and also Maryland's farthest west. The distance, following the river in the first survey was 206 miles from the mouth of the Shenandoah.

The claim was set up by Maryland in 1830 that the stream known as the South Branch of the Potomac was the main Potomac river, and that all territory north of that stream and south of Pennsylvania belonged to Maryland. A line drawn due north from the source of the South Branch to the Pennsylvania line was to be the western boundary of Maryland. Had that state succeeded in establishing its claim and extending its juris-

diction, the following territory would have been transferred to Maryland: Part of Highland county, Virginia; portions of Randolph, Tucker, Preston, Pendleton, Hardy, Grant, Hampshire, and all of Mineral counties, West Virginia. The claim of Maryland was resisted, and Governor Floyd, of Virginia, appointed Charles J. Faulkner, of Martinsburg, to investigate the whole matter and ascertain if possible which was the main Potomac, and to consult all available early authorities on the subject. Mr. Faulkner filed his report November 6, 1832, and in this report he showed that the South Branch was not the main Potomac, and that the line as fixed by Lord Fairfax's surveyors remained the true and proper boundary between Virginia and Maryland. The line due north from the Fairfax stone to the Pennsylvania line remains the boundary in that quarter between West Virginia and Maryland, but the latter state is still disputing it.

The Mason and Dixon Line—The line dividing the northern limits of West Virginia from the southern limits of Pennsylvania was for many years a matter of dispute. Maryland and Pennsylvania had nearly a century of bickering concerning the matter before Virginia took it up in earnest. It is not necessary at this time to give the details of the controversy. A few facts will suffice. Pennsylvania and Maryland having contended for a long time over their common boundary line, two eminent astronomers, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, of England, were employed to mark a line five degrees west from the Delaware river at a point where it is crossed by the parallel of north latitude 39 degrees, 43 minutes, 26 seconds. They commenced work in the latter part of 1763 and completed it in the latter part of 1767. This line, called Mason and Dixon's line, was accepted as the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland, and the controversy was at an end. But beyond the west line of Maryland, where Virginia's and Pennsylvania's possessions came in contact, a dispute arose, almost leading to open hostilities between the people of the two states. Virginia wanted Pittsburgh and boldly and stubbornly set up a claim to territory, at least as far north as the fortieth degree of latitude. This would have given Virginia part of Fayette and Greene counties, Pennsylvania. On the other hand, Pennsylvania claimed the country south to the thirty-ninth degree, which would have extended its jurisdiction over the present territory of West Virginia included in the counties of Monongalia, Preston, Marion, Taylor, parts of Tucker, Barbour, Upshur, Lewis, Harrison, Wetzel and Randolph. The territory in dispute was about four times as large as the state of Rhode Island. It was finally settled by a compromise. It was agreed that the Mason and Dixon's line be extended west five degrees from the Delaware river. The commissioners appointed to adjust the boundary were Dr. James Madison and Robert Andrews on the part of Virginia, and David Rittenhouse, John Ewing and George Bryan on the part of Pennsylvania. They met at Baltimore in 1779 and agreed upon a line. The next year the agreement was ratified, by Virginia in June, and Pennsylvania in September. A line was then run due north from the western end of Mason and Dixon's line, till it reached the Ohio river. This completed the boundary lines between Virginia and Pennsylvania; and West Virginia's territory is bounded by the same lines. The Pennsylvanians were disappointed in their expectations that when the Mason and Dixon line was run to its western limit it would reach the Ohio river and throw into Pennsylvania the present counties of Marshall, Ohio, Hancock and Brooke.

Other Boundary Lines—The low water mark along the northwestern bank of the Ohio river forms the western boundary of the state for 256 miles. The Potomac's south bank is the boundary between Maryland and West Virginia. Neither the Potomac nor the Ohio river line is a definite-

ly fixed boundary. Low water is an indefinite term. It may vary by the constant washing and changing of the channels of the rivers. No serious controversy has ever risen on the question, but neither of the river lines is a mathematical fixity, as the Mason and Dixon line is, which is located by the compass and the fixed stars, and not by variable sand bars and mud flats.

The line between West Virginia and Kentucky ascends the Big Sandy river from its mouth and its Tug fork to the western end of McDowell county—which lies a short distance south of the Kentucky line, and borders on Virginia. Thence the boundary between West Virginia and Virginia follows the watershed between Tug and Levisa forks of Big Sandy to the southernmost point of the state; and thence it turns east and northeast, crosses the head of Dry fork of Tug river, and follows Horsepen creek and Big Stone ridge to the Mercer line. It runs thence across the Bluestone basin to the crest of East River Mountain; thence with that mountain and across New river to the crest of Peter's mountain. Here the line turns northeast and follows the crests of Peter's and Pott's mountains and the main ridge of the Alleghanies to the southeast corner of Pendleton county. It turns from there southeast across the Potomac basin to the crest of Shenandoah mountain which it follows some distance northeastward; thence southeast to the crest of North mountain; thence with the mountain and its foot hills to the Morgan county line; thence by a straight line running southeast across Back creek, Opequon creek, and the Shenandoah river to the crest of the Blue Ridge, thence with this mountain crest to the Potomac.

The longest airline across the state in any direction is 274 miles from Harper's Ferry to Kenova. The greatest distance north and south is 245 miles; and the state's area is 24,643 square miles according to revised figures given in the West Virginia Geological survey, 1911.

The present state of West Virginia contains but a small portion of Virginia's western territory at the close of the Revolutionary war. At the time the articles of confederation were under discussion in congress, 1778, Virginia's territory extended westward to the Mississippi river. The government of the United States never recognized the Quebec Act, which was passed by the English parliament before the Revolutionary war, and which extended the province of Quebec south to the Ohio river. Consequently, after the Declaration of Independence was signed, Virginia's claim to that territory was not disputed by the other colonies; but when the time came for agreeing to the articles of confederation which bound the states together in one common country, objection was raised to Virginia's extensive territory, which was nearly as large as all the other states together. The fear was expressed that Virginia would become so powerful and wealthy, on account of its extent, that it would possess and exercise an influence in the affairs of government too great for the well-being of the other states.

Maryland appears to have been the first state to take a decided stand that Virginia should cede its territory north and west of the Ohio to the general government. It was urged in justification of this course that the territory had been conquered from the British and the Indians by the blood and treasure of the whole country, and that it was right that the vacant lands should be appropriated to the use of the citizens of the whole country. Maryland took this stand June 22, 1778. Virginia refused to consent to the ceding of her western territory; and from that time till February 2, 1781, Maryland refused to agree to the articles of confederation. On November 2, 1778, New Jersey formally filed an objection to Virginia's large territory; but the New Jersey delegates finally signed the articles of confederation, expressing at the same time the

conviction that justice would in time remove the inequality in territories as far as possible. On February 22, 1779, the delegates from Delaware signed, but also remonstrated, and presented resolutions setting forth that the United States congress ought to have power to fix the western limits of any state claiming territory to the Mississippi or beyond. On May 21, 1779, the delegates from Maryland laid before congress instructions received by them from the general assembly of Maryland. The point aimed at in these instructions was that those states having almost boundless western territory had it in their power to sell lands at a very low price, thus filling their treasuries with money, thereby lessening taxation; and at the same time the cheap lands and the low taxes would draw away from adjoining states many of the best inhabitants. Congress was, therefore, asked to use its influence with those states having extensive territory, to the end that they would not place their lands on the market until the close of the Revolutionary war. Virginia was not mentioned by name, but it was well known that reference was made to that state. Congress passed, October 30, 1779, a resolution requesting Virginia not to open a land office till the close of the war. On March 7, 1780, the delegates from New York announced that state ready to give up its western territory; and this was formally done on March 1, 1781. New York having thus opened the way, other states followed the example and ceded to the United States their western territories or claims as follows: Virginia, March 1, 1784; Massachusetts, April 19, 1785; Connecticut, September 14, 1786; South Carolina, August 9, 1787; North Carolina, February 25, 1790; Georgia, April 24, 1802.

Division into Counties—The division of western Virginia into counties began almost before any other limit than the Pacific ocean was recognized. Essex county may be considered as the first which covered any known territory in what is now West Virginia. It embraced it all. Then Essex was divided and its western part was formed into Spotsylvania county, which covered everything belonging to Virginia west of the Blue Ridge, as well as much east. Next, the western portion of Spotsylvania was cut off to form Orange county, which in its turn included all of what is now West Virginia. That was the third and last county that had included the entire state. It continued to do so until 1738 when its western part was formed into Augusta and Frederick counties, both of which included some of West Virginia's present area. In fact, Augusta covered it all except what is now Jefferson, Berkeley, and part of Morgan. By that time the Fairfax lands had been surveyed, and a fairly accurate knowledge was possessed of the country's geography west of the Blue Ridge.

Hampshire was formed in 1754, and was the first county wholly in West Virginia. The line between Augusta and Frederick counties west of the Shenandoah valley was not entirely clear at the time, and to settle the boundaries of the proposed county of Hampshire beyond dispute, an act was passed by the Virginia assembly detaching from Augusta and annexing to Frederick all lands belonging to Augusta within the Fairfax grant, west of North Mountain. Hampshire county was then formed with boundaries including all of the Fairfax grant west of North and Shenandoah mountains, except what is now Jefferson and Berkeley and part of Morgan. The county extended over the Alleghanies and included about forty square miles now in Tucker county. It embraced nearly all of Grant and Hardy counties, all of Mineral, and the present county of Hampshire, and part of Morgan.

Though Augusta included all of Virginia's territory west of the Alleghanies, it now includes none. In 1769 Botetourt was cut off from Augusta and included in Western Virginia the territory now embraced in

the counties of McDowell, Wyoming, Mercer, Monroe, Raleigh and portions of Greenbrier, Boone, Logan and Mingo.

District of West Augusta—This was an anomalous division, lying west of the mountains in Virginia. It was not a county, and yet it exercised some of the functions of a county. It extended into the present territory of Pennsylvania. The boundary was never surveyed, but was fixed by act of the Virginia assembly in 1776 to conform, as was supposed, with natural geographical divisions; but it did not do so. If the distances and calls are carefully traced on a map it will be seen that the lines do not close—fail to complete an enclosure. The confusion was due to ignorance of the geography of the region at that time. From the District of West Augusta the county of Monongalia was supposed to be wholly taken, yet part of Monongalia was never in West Augusta. The act of 1776, declaring the line between Augusta county and the District of West Augusta reads as follows:

"Beginning on the Alleghany mountain between the heads of the Potomac, Cheat, and Greenbrier rivers, thence along the ridge of mountains which divides the waters of Cheat from those of Greenbrier, and that branch of the Monongahela called Tygart's Valley river to the Monongahela river, thence up the said river and the west fork thereof to Bingeman's creek, on the northwest side of the said west fork, thence up the said creek to the head thereof, thence in a direct course to the head of the Middle Island creek, a branch of the Ohio, including all the waters of said creek in the aforesaid District of West Augusta. All that territory lying to the northward of the aforesaid boundary, and to the westward of the states of Pennsylvania and Maryland, shall be deemed, and is hereby declared to be in the District of West Augusta."

The territory so laid off would include of the present counties of West Virginia a narrow strip through the center of Randolph, east of Cheat Mountain, one fourth of Tucker, the western half of Preston, nearly all of Marion, and Monongalia, Wetzel, Marshall, Ohio, Brooke and Hancock, part of Tyler and Pleasants, a small corner of Doddridge, and an indefinite part of the present state of Pennsylvania. The eastern parts of Tucker, Randolph and Preston, outside the boundaries of West Augusta, were subsequently included in Monongalia county, under the apparent presumption that they had belonged to West Augusta.

Formation of Counties—The chronological order of the formation of West Virginia's counties, together with their areas, and from whom named, is shown in the following list:

Hampshire, 630 square miles; formed 1754 from Augusta; named for Hampshire, England; settled about 1730.

Berkeley, 320 square miles; formed 1772 from Frederick; settled about 1730.

Monongalia, 360 square miles; formed 1776 from West Augusta; named for the river; settled 1758.

Ohio, 120 miles; formed 1776 from West Augusta; settled 1770; named for the river.

Greenbrier, 1000 miles; formed 1777 from Botetourt; settled 1750; named for briers growing on the river bank.

Harrison, 450 miles; formed 1784 from Monongalia; settled 1770; named for Benjamin Harrison, Governor of Virginia.

Hardy, 700 miles; formed from Hampshire 1785; settled 1740; named for Samuel Hardy, of Virginia.

Randolph, 1080 miles; formed 1786 from Harrison; settled 1753; named for Edmund Randolph.

Pendleton, 650 miles; formed 1787 from Augusta, Hardy and Rockingham; settled 1750; named for Edmund Pendleton.

Kanawha, 980 miles; formed 1789 from Greenbrier and Montgomery; settled 1774; named for the river.

Brooke, 80 miles; formed from Ohio 1796; settled about 1772; named for Robert Brooke, Governor of Virginia.

Wood, 375 miles; formed from Harrison 1798; settled about 1773; named for James Wood, Governor of Virginia.

Monroe, 460 miles; formed 1799 from Greenbrier; settled about 1760; named for James Monroe.

Jefferson, 250 miles; formed 1801 from Berkeley; settled about 1730; named for Thomas Jefferson.

Mason, 430 miles; formed 1804 from Kanawha; settled about 1774; named for George Mason, of Virginia.

Cabell, 300 miles; formed from Kanawha 1809; settled about 1790; named for William H. Cabell, Governor of Virginia.

Tyler, 300 miles; formed from Ohio 1814; settled about 1776; named for John Tyler.

Lewis, 400 miles; formed from Harrison 1816; settled about 1780; named for Colonel Charles Lewis.

Nicholas, 720 miles; formed 1818 from Kanawha, Greenbrier and Randolph; named for W. C. Nicholas, Governor of Virginia.

Preston, 650 miles; formed 1818 from Monongalia; settled about 1760; named for James P. Preston, Governor of Virginia.

Morgan, 300 miles; formed 1820 from Hampshire and Berkeley; settled about 1730; named for Daniel Morgan.

Pocahontas, 820 miles; formed 1821 from Bath, Pendleton and Randolph; settled 1749; named for Pocahontas, an Indian girl.

Logan, 400 miles; formed from Kanawha, Giles, Cabell and Tazewell, 1824; named for Logan, an Indian.

Jackson, 400 miles; formed 1831 from Kanawha, Wood and Mason; settled about 1796; named for Andrew Jackson.

Fayette, 750 miles; formed from Logan, Kanawha, Greenbrier and Nicholas 1831; named for Lafayette.

Marshall, 240 miles; formed 1835 from Ohio; settled about 1769; named for Chief Justice Marshall.

Braxton, 620 miles; formed 1836 from Kanawha, Lewis and Nicholas; settled about 1794; named for Carter Braxton.

Mercer, 400 miles; formed 1837 from Giles and Tazewell; named for General Hugh Mercer.

Wayne, 440 miles; formed 1841 from Cabell; named for General Anthony Wayne.

Barbour, 360 miles; formed 1843 from Harrison, Lewis and Randolph; named for James Barbour, governor of Virginia.

Ritchie, 400 miles; formed 1844 from Harrison, Lewis and Wood; named for Thomas Ritchie of Virginia.

Marion, 300 miles; formed 1842 from Harrison and Monongalia; named for General Marion.

Taylor, 150 miles; formed 1844 from Harrison, Barbour and Marion; named for John Taylor.

Doddridge, 300 miles; formed 1845 from Harrison, Tyler, Ritchie and Lewis; named for Philip Doddridge.

Gilmer, 360 miles; formed 1845 from Kanawha and Lewis; named for Thomas W. Gilmer of Virginia.

Wetzel, 440 miles; formed 1846 from Tyler; named for Lewis Wetzel.

Boone, 500 miles; formed 1847 from Kanawha, Cabell and Logan; named for Daniel Boone.

Putnam, 320 miles; formed 1848 from Kanawha, Cabell and Mason; named for Israel Putnam.

Wirt, 290 miles; formed 1848 from Wood and Jackson; settled about 1796; named for William Wirt.

Hancock, 100 miles; formed 1848 from Brooke; settled about 1776; named for John Hancock.

Raleigh, 680 miles; formed 1850 from Fayette; named for Sir Walter Raleigh.

Wyoming, 660 miles; formed 1850 from Logan; an Indian name.

Pleasants, 150 miles; formed 1851 from Wood, Tyler and Ritchie; named for James Pleasants, governor of Virginia.

Upshur, 350 miles; formed 1851 from Randolph, Barbour and Lewis; settled about 1767; named for Judge A. P. Upshur.

Calhoun, 260 miles; formed 1856 from Gilmer; named for J. C. Calhoun.

Roane, 350 miles; formed 1856 from Kanawha, Jackson and Gilmer; settled about 1791; named for Judge Roane of Virginia.

Tucker, 340 miles; formed 1856 from Randolph; settled about 1774; named for Judge St. George Tucker.

Clay, 390 miles; formed 1858 from Braxton and Nicholas; named for Henry Clay.

McDowell, 860 miles; formed 1858 from Tazewell; named for James McDowell, governor of Virginia.

Webster, 450 miles; formed 1860 from Randolph, Nicholas and Braxton; named for Daniel Webster.

Mineral, 300 miles; formed 1866 from Hampshire; named for its coal.

Grant, 620 miles; formed 1866 from Hardy; named for General U. S. Grant; settled about 1740.

Lincoln, 460 miles; formed 1867 from Kanawha, Cabell, Boone and Putnam; settled about 1799; named for Abraham Lincoln.

Summers, 400 miles; formed 1871 from Monroe, Mercer, Greenbrier and Fayette; named for Lewis and George W. Summers.

Mingo, about 400 miles; formed 1895 from Logan; named for Logan, the Mingo.

Population by Decades—The population of all the counties now in West Virginia is given by decades from 1790 to 1910 in the table which follows:

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Hampshire	7346	8348	9784	10889	11279	12245	14036	13913	7613	10336	11419	11806	11094
Berkeley	19713	22006	11479	11211	10518	19972	11771	12525	14900	17380	18702	19409	21999
Monongalia	4768	8540	12793	11060	14056	17308	12357	13048	13547	14985	15705	19049	24334
Ohio	5212	4740	8175	9182	15584	13357	18006	22422	28831	37457	41557	48024	57572
Greenbrier	6015	4345	5914	7041	9006	8695	10022	12211	11417	15060	18034	20683	24833
Harrison	2080	4848	9958	10932	14722	17669	11728	13790	16714	20181	21919	27690	48381
Hardy	7336	6627	5525	5700	6798	7622	9543	9864	5518	6794	7567	8449	9163
Randolph	951	1826	2854	3357	5000	6208	5243	4990	5563	8102	11633	17670	26028
Pendleton	2452	3962	4239	4846	6271	6940	5797	6164	6455	8022	8711	9167	9349
Kanawha		3239	3866	6399	9326	13507	15353	16151	22349	32466	42750	54690	81457
Brooke		4706	5843	6631	7041	7948	5054	5494	5464	6013	6666	7210	11098
Wood		1217	3036	5860	6429	7923	9450	11040	19000	25006	28612	34452	38001
Monroe		4188	5444	6580	7798	8422	10204	10757	11124	11501	12420	13130	13055
Jefferson			11851	13087	12927	14082	15357	14535	13219	15005	15553	15955	15889
Mason			1991	4868	6534	6777	7539	9173	15078	22296	22803	24142	23119
Cabell			2717	4789	5884	8163	6209	8020	6429	13744	23528	29252	40685
Tyler				2314	4104	6954	5498	6517	7832	11073	11662	18252	16211
Lewis				4247	6241	8151	10031	7060	10175	13209	15895	16980	18281
Nicholas				1853	3346	2255	3903	4627	4458	7223	9307	11413	17009
Preston				3422	5144	6866	11708	13312	14555	19091	20335	22727	20341
Morgan				2500	2694	4253	3557	3732	4315	5777	6774	7294	7848
Pocahontas					2542	2922	3598	3058	4069	5501	6814	8572	14740
Logan					3080	4309	3620	4938	5124	7329	11101	6955	14476
Jackson						4800	6544	8306	10300	10312	19021	22987	20956
Fayette						3024	3055	5007	6047	11560	20542	31087	51003
Marshall						6037	10138	12037	14941	18840	20735	20444	32388
Braxton						2575	4212	4092	6480	9787	13028	18004	23023
Mercer						2233	4222	6819	7064	7407	16002	23023	38371
Marion							10552	12722	12107	17198	20721	32340	42704
Wayne							4760	6747	7852	14739	18652	23019	24081
Taylor							5357	8463	6367	11455	12147	14078	16554
Doddridge							2750	5203	7076	10552	12183	13680	12672
Gilmer							3475	3750	4338	7108	9740	11762	11379
Wetzel							4282	6703	8550	13866	16841	22880	23855
Boone							3237	4840	4553	5824	6885	8194	10331
Putnam							5335	6301	7794	11375	14342	17830	18587
Barbour							9005	8958	10312	11870	12702	14198	15858
Ritchie							3902	6847	9055	13474	16621	18901	17875
Wirt							3353	3751	4804	7104	9411	10284	9047
Hancock							4050	4445	4363	4882	6414	6693	10465
Raleigh							1765	3367	3673	7367	9507	12436	25633
Wyoming							1645	2861	3171	4322	6247	8380	10392
Pleasants								2945	3012	6256	7539	9345	8074
Upshur								7202	8023	10240	12714	14696	16620
Calhoun								2502	2930	6072	8155	10256	11258
Roane								5381	7232	12184	15303	19852	21543
Tucker								1428	1907	3151	6459	14433	18675
Clay								1787	2196	3460	4659	8248	10233
McDowell								1535	1952	3074	7300	18747	47856
Webster								1555	1730	3207	4783	8862	9680
Mineral									6332	8630	12085	12883	16674
Grant									4467	5542	6802	7275	7838
Lincoln									5053	8739	11246	15434	20491
Summers										9033	13117	16265	18420
Mingo												11359	19431

CHAPTER XXXVIII

A HUNDRED YEARS OF PROGRESS

Virginia's increase in population and her development in other ways were slow and discouraging during the first century of her history. In 1610 a feeble colony was struggling for existence on the edge of an unexplored continent. The chances were against success. If the colony had not constantly received recruits from across the sea, it must inevitably have perished in a few years. But the slender thread of existence did not snap, and after a long time the foundation became strong enough to sustain a lasting superstructure. The following figures show Virginia's population by decades for 180 years, coming down to the time of the first Federal census:

1610	210	1710	87,000
1620	2,400	1720	116,000
1630	3,000	1730	153,000
1640	7,647	1740	200,000
1650	17,000	1750	275,000
1660	33,000	1760	346,000
1670	40,000	1770	450,000
1680	49,000	1780	520,000
1690	58,000	1790	747,000
1700	72,000		

The census for the year 1730 was the first which enumerated any population for territory now in West Virginia. There may have been one hundred people west of the Blue Ridge at that time, and probably half of them were in what is now Jefferson and Berkeley counties.

In 1790 the population of the territory now forming West Virginia was 55,873. There was not one postoffice in the region, and only one newspaper, the "Potomack Guardian and Berkeley Advertiser," which was evidently a combination of two older newspapers. It was published at Martinsburg. Newspapers from the eastern part of Virginia circulated west of the mountains, but the number was small. They could not have reached their western subscribers with regularity, for at that time, 1790, there was not a postoffice to serve them or a mail route into the territory. There were only seventy-five postoffices in the United States. Virginia had fifteen of them, New York only one, and not one was in Kentucky.

Nationality of the People—At the present day the census enumerators ask the nationality of the persons enrolled, that is, the place of their birth. That was not done when the early censuses were taken, and there is no information, so far as the existing lists show, as to the country or locality of birth. Efforts have been made to determine races by an examination of names. Within wide limits that method can be depended upon. The names of English, Germans, French, and the other nations are pretty well known. The name alone does not show where the person was born. It shows nothing more than the blood or strain, on the assumption that persons with English names are of English descent, or if they have German, Scotch, Irish, French, or Welsh names, or names belonging to any other nationality, the descent is indicated by that fact. Based on that assumption, it is found that in 1790 the English stock in the United States was 83.5 per cent. of the whole white population. If

the Irish and Scotch are added, the British stock is more than ninety per cent. The Germans contributed slightly less than six per cent., and the Dutch two.

In 1790 Virginia had a British population of 94 percent., and nearly all of the non-English were the Germans who had moved down from Pennsylvania and Maryland and settled in the Shenandoah valley. The most satisfactory results as far as Virginia is concerned are obtained from the state enumerations made in 1782 and 1785. The Virginia statistics procured by the Federal census in 1790 and 1800 were destroyed when the British burned the capitol at Washington in 1814; but earlier state lists are available. From these it is shown that nationalities were represented in Virginia as follows, in a total of 442,117: English 375,799, Scotch 31,391, Irish 8,842, Dutch 884, French 2,653, German 21,664, all others 884.

The figures are not complete for Virginia. Estimates for the state are based on statistics for 38 counties. Three of those counties were in Western Virginia, Hampshire, Monongalia, and Harrison. Their combined area at that time embraced about one-third of the present state of West Virginia, and included more than one-third of the population at that time. Hampshire county had 5,669 English and Welsh, 524 Scotch, 136 Irish, 74 Dutch, 35 French, 734 Germans, and 10 others. Harrison had 1,242 English and Welsh, 156 Scotch, 51 Irish, 7 Dutch, 14 French, 29 Germans, and 8 others. Monongalia had 2,019 English and Welsh, 192 Scotch, 91 Irish. The above figures are taken from the United States census, and were published in "A Century of Population Growth," 1909.

The *Transalleghany Historical Magazine,* published at Morgantown, W. Va., in its issue of July, 1902, gave some statistics and estimates along the line of population and the nationality of the people. The material came from a different source, and while the results are not exactly comparable, the disagreements are not very wide. The estimates were based on the number and names of men who filed on "tomahawk claims," (a sort of homestead) between 1766 and 1777 inclusive in Monongalia county. The nationalities were determined, as in the case of the statistics given in "A Century of Population Growth," by reference to names.

During the years included, that is, from 1766 to 1777, both included the number of men who filed on tomahawk claims in Monongalia county, and subsequently proved their claims, were 1,215. The territory embraced about 8,485 square miles, or one-third of the present area of West Virginia. At least one-half of Virginia's population west of the Alleghany mountains was in that area.

The estimate takes no account of settlers who were not tomahawk rights men. There were some such, but no one knows how many. The tomahawk rights men, 1,215 in number, have been classified as to their nationality: Scotch-Irish or Scotch 687, English 204, German 97, Irish 44, unclassified 183. The Scoth and Scotch-Irish form a much larger per cent. than in the estimates made by the Federal census. The writer of the article in the Transalleghany Historical Magazine, from which these figures are condensed, said of his conclusions: "I put no name down as Scotch or Scotch-Irish which did not stand the test of being found in good standing in Mr. Charles A. Hanna's most excellent work, 'TheScotch-Irish.' . . . It was a matter of surprise to me to find that the manner of investigation which I followed showed so small percentage of Germans among the original somesteaders of Monongalia county. I had supposed that nearly one-third of them were German: but I had based that supposition upon no careful analysis. When I took up name after name on the list of actual homesteaders, I found that the

German element became smaller. All who came from Pennsylvania acres our northern border in early years were not Germans, though some have apparently taken it for granted that they were. I suppose that the strongest German element in early times in western Virginia was in Grant and Pendleton counties. A considerable number of those Germans crossed the Alleghanies to the upper tributaries of the Monongahela, but they lacked much of being the predominating class west of the mountains."

Among Old Laws—The settlement of the territory now embraced in West Virginia commenced about 1730, and before the close of the eighteenth century there were cabins or colonies in the valleys of all the principal rivers of the State. The first settlers were governed by the laws in force in Virginia from the earliest occupation of our territory until 1863. A proper consideration of the history of the state requires that mention be made of some of the old laws. They should be studied to show the progress of society during the past century. There are persons who speak of the "good old times" as though everything were better than now, and who speak of the people of a hundred years ago as if they were greater, purer, nobler than the men of to-day, and as if, when they died, wisdom died with them. The historian knows that this belief is erroneous. Not only are there men now living who are as upright, wise, and patriotic as any who ever lived, but society, in all its branches and departments, has grown better. Only the pessimist refuses to see that the human race is climbing to a higher level, and not retrograding.

To bring this truth nearer home to the people, let a retrospective view of the customs and laws prevailing here a century ago be taken. That the people of Virginia tolerated barbarous laws long after the close of the Revolutionary war is proof that the laws were not obnoxious to a majority of the people, otherwise they would have changed them. Before proceeding to a statement of the acts of the Virginia legislature, let it be remembered that at that time Washington was president of the United States and the great men of Virginia, at the close of the last century and the beginning of this, were in their prime. They were responsible for the bad laws as well as for the good; if not directly, at least indirectly, for those men were looked upon as leaders. Patrick Henry, who had exclaimed, "give me liberty or give me death," was yet living and practicing law; John Randolph of Roanoke was entering his career of greatness; James Monroe, soon to be president of the United States, was a leader in Virginia; George Mason, the author of the Bill of Rights, had not yet lost his influence; James Madison, also to be president of the United States, was a leader among the Virginians; William Wirt, one of Virginia's greatest lawyers, was in his prime; Edmunde Randolph, governor of Virginia, was in politics; John Marshall, the famous chief justice, was practicing in the courts; Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, was in the height of power; and the list might be extended much further. Yet, with all of these truly great men in power in Virginia, the legislature of that state passed such laws as will be found below:

On December 26, 1792, an act was passed for the purpose of suppressing vice, and provided that for swearing, cursing, or being drunk the fine should be eighty-three cents for each offense, and if not paid, the offender should have ten lashes on the bare back. For working on Sunday the fine was one dollar and sixty-seven cents. For stealing a hogshead or cask of tobacco found lying by the public highway, the punishment was death.

On December 19, 1792, an act was passed by the Virginia legislature providing that any person found guilty of forgery must be put to death;

and the same punishment was provided for those who erased, defaced, or changed the inspector's stamp on flour or hemp. No less severe was the punishment for those who stole land warrants. But for the man who made, passed, or had in his possession counterfeit money, knowing it to be such, the penalty was death, without hope of mercy, commutation, or pardon. In the language of the law, that was called punishment "without benefit of clergy."

That term is no longer in use in America. It was one of the institutions inherited from England. In former times an exaggerated reverence for priests led to their exemption from punishment for many crimes, and the process or custom was known as "benefit of clergy." In times when ignorance and illiteracy were general, the person who was able to read and write was considered as a superior person, and occasionally he was exempt from punishment by extending to him the benefit of clergy. When courts became a little more merciful and the public somewhat more civilized, the benefit of clergy was occasionally extended to other persons. The ferocity of some of the laws was softened by providing a possible way to escape some of the extreme penalties. A capital offense might be let pass, and some milder punishment substituted for it, if the court was willing to grant the favor, and the law did not expressly forbid it. The law often did forbid it, however, as in the case of those who passed counterfeit money. The punishment was death, with no alternative.

The Virginia law made painstaking distinction between "clergyable" and "unclergyable" crimes. That law was placed on the statute books in 1789, the year of the adoption of the United States constitution. The unclergyable crimes were declared to be murder in the first degree, burglary, arson, the burning of a court house or prison, the burning of a clerk's office, feloneously stealing from a church or meeting-house, robbing a house in presence of its occupants, breaking into and robbing a dwelling house by day, after having put its owner in fear. For all these offences the penalty was death. A provision was made in some cases for benefit of clergy; but, lest the convicted man's punishment might not thereby be too much lightened, it was stipulated that he must have his hand burned before the other punishment was administered. The same law further provided that, although a man's crime might not be unclergyable, yet if he received the benefit of clergy, and it was subsequently ascertained that he had formerly committed an unclergyable offense, he must then be put to death without further benefit of clergy. In this law it was expressly provided that there should be no mitigation of punishment in case of women.

In 1803 a man was sentenced to be hanged for stealing, in Clarksburg, and in 1807 a negro woman was tortured by fire at the same place, and was then tied to a post and whipped. Her offence was grand larceny. The next year another negro woman at Clarksburg was found guilty of grand larceny, and was granted the benefit of clergy, after which she was burned and whipped.

By an Act of December 26, 1792, it was provided that the man who apprehended a runaway servant and put him in jail was to receive one dollar and forty-seven cents, and mileage, to be paid by the owner. This law was, no doubt, intended to apply chiefly to slaves rather than to white servants. If the runaway remained two months in jail unclaimed, the sheriff must advertise him in the *Virginia Gazette*, and after putting an iron collar on his neck, marked with the letter "F," hire him out, and from his wages pay the costs. After one year, if still unclaimed, he was to be sold. The money, after the charges were paid, was to be given to the

former owner if he ever proved his claim, and if he did not do so, it belonged to the state.

The law-makers believed in discouraging gossip and tattling. A law passed by the Virginia legislature, December 27, 1792, was in the following language: "Whereas, many idle and busy-headed people do forge and divulge false rumors and reports, be it resolved by the general assembly, that what person or persons soever shall forge or divulge any such false report, tending to the trouble of the country, he shall be by the next justice of the peace sent for and bound over to the next county court, where, if he produce not his author, he shall be fined forty dollars or less if the court sees fit to lessen it, and besides give bond for his good behavior, if it appear to the court that he did maliciously publish or invent it."

There was a studied effort on the part of the Legislators to discourage hog-stealing. It is not apparent why it should be a worse crime to steal a hog than to steal a cow; or why the purloining of a pig should outrank in criminality the taking of a calf; or why it should be a greater offense to appropriate a neighbor's shoat than his sheep. But the early law-makers in Virginia seem to have so considered it and they provided a law for the special discouragement of the hog thief. This law, passed by the legislature December 8, 1792, declared that "any person, not a slave, who shall steal a hog, shoat or pig," should receive thirty-five lashes on the bare back; or if he preferred to do so, he might escape the lashing by paying a fine of thirty dollars; but whether he paid the fine or submitted to the stripes, he still must pay eight dollars to the owner for each hog stolen by him. This much of the law is comparatively mild, but it was for the first offense only. As the thief advanced in crime the law's severity increased. For the second offense in hog-stealing the law provided that the person convicted, if not a slave, should stand two hours in a pillory, on a public court day, at the court-house, and have both ears nailed to the pillory, and at the end of two hours, should have his ears cut loose from the nails. It was expressly provided that no exception should be made in the case of women. If the hog thief still persisted in his unlawful business and transgressed the law a third time, he was effectually crued of his desire for other people's hogs by being put to death.

The slave had a still more severe punishment for stealing hogs. For the first offense he received "thirty-nine lashes on the bare back, well laid on, at the public whipping post." For the second offense he was nailed by the ears to a post, and after two hours of torture, had his ears cut off. For the third offense he was put to death. The law provided that if a negro or Indian were put on the stand as a witness against a person accused of stealing hogs, and did not tell the truth, he should be whipped, nailed to a post, his ears cut, and if he still testified falsely, he paid the penalty with his life. It is not provided how the court shall be led to the knowledge whether or not the witness had told the truth. It appears that the judge was presumed to be infallible in separating false from true testimony in trials for hog-stealing. After a hog had been stolen and killed, the relentless law still followed it to try to discover if some one else might not be punished. If a person bought, or received into his possession, a hog from which the ears had been removed, he was adjudged guilty of hog-stealing, unless he could prove that the hog was his own property. There was also a law forbidding any one from purchasing pork of Indians unless the ears went with the pork. There would be some inconvenience in retailing pork under this restriction, as it would require a skillful butcher to so cut up a hog that each ham, shoulder, side and the sausage should retain the ears.

If stealing hogs was a crime almost too heinous to be adequately pun-

ished in this world, horse-stealing was so much worse that the lawmakers of Virginia would not undertake to provide a law to reach the case. They, therefore, enacted a law, December 10, 1792, that the convicted horse-thief must be put to death; and, in order that he should certainly reach his fate as speedily and certainly as possible, he was denied the benefit of clergy, and it was added that the horse-thief should be "utterly excluded."

An act of unnecessary severity was passed December 22, 1792, against negroes who should undertake to cure the sick. It is reasonable and right that the law should carefully guard the people against harm from those who ignorantly practice medicine; but to us of the present day it appears that a less savage law would have answered the purpose. It was provided that any negro who prepared, exhibited, or administered medicine should be put to death without benefit of clergy. It was provided, however, that a negro might, with knowledge and consent of his master, have medicine in his possession.

The law of Virginia required every county to provide a court house, jail, pillory, whipping post, stocks and a ducking stool. But the ducking stool might be dispensed with if the county court saw fit to do so. The whipping post was the last of these relics of barbarism to be removed. So far as can be ascertained the last public and legalized burning of a convicted man in West Virginia occurred in July, 1828, in the old court house, in Hampshire county. A negro slave, named Simon the property of David Collins, was tried on a charge of assault. The record does not show that he had a jury. The court found him guilty and ordered the sheriff to burn him on the hand and give him one hundred lashes, chain him, and keep him on "coarse and low diet." The minutes of the court state that the sheriff "immediately burned him in the hand in the presence of the court," and gave him then and there twenty-five lashes. The remaining seventy-five were reserved for future days.

It is but justice to the lawmakers of Virginia, and the people at that time, to state that nearly all of those severe laws came from England, or were enacted in the colony of Virginia before or soon after the Revolutionary war. Some of them date back to the time of Cromwell, or even earlier. Although the people of Virginia took the lead in the movement for greater liberty, both mental and physical, they could not all at once cut loose from barbarism. They advanced rapidly along some lines, but slowly along others. They found those old laws on the statute books, and re-enacted them, and suffered them to exist for a generation or more. But we should not believe that such men as Patrick Henry, Edmund Randolph, Thomas Jefferson, George Washington and the other statesmen and patriots of that time believed that a man should be nailed to a post for stealing a pig, or that the crime of stealing a hymn book from a church should be punished with death without benefit of clergy.

With the establishment of penitentiaries in America, about 1796, the law granting benefit of clergy to others than slaves went out of use. The penitentiary was supposed to provide the grade of punishment not deserving death, and to provide a means of escaping the death penalty which "benefit of clergy" had formerly provided. But slaves were not deemed suitable persons for penitentiaries, so death penalities were retained for them, but benefit of clergy was possible until 1848 in Virginia, when it was abolished.

A law passed near the close of the last century, and still in force in 1819, provided sheriff's fees on a number of items, among which were the following. For making an arrest, sixty-three cents; for pillorying

a criminal, fifty-two cents; for putting a criminal in the stocks, twenty-one cents; for ducking a criminal in pursuance of an order of court, forty-two cents; for putting a criminal in prison, forty-two cents; for hanging a criminal, five dollars and twenty-five cents; for whipping a servant, by order of court, to be paid by the master and repaid to him by the servant, forty-two cents; for whipping a free person, by order of court, to be paid by the person who received the whipping, forty-two cents; for whipping a slave, by order of court, to be paid by the county, forty-two cents; for selling a servant at public outcry, forty-two cents; for keeping and providing for a debtor in jail, each day, twenty-one cents.

It was more expensive to be whipped or pilloried by the sheriff than by a constable, although there is no evidence that the sheriff did the work any more effectively. Since the person who received the punishment usually paid the fees of the officer who performed the service, it is probable that such person preferred being whipped or nailed to a post by a constable, because it was less expensive. Some of the constable's fees are shown below For putting a condemned man in the stocks, twenty-one cents; for whipping a servant, twenty-one cents; for whipping a slave, to be paid by the master, twenty-one cents; for removing a person likely to become a charge on the county, per mile, four cents.

Within the past century several important changes have taken place in the laws by which western Virginia and West Virginia have been governed. An act of assembly, passed November 29, 1792, provided that in cases where a person is suspected of having committed a murder, and the coroner's jury recommend that he be held for trial, and he eludes arrest, the coroner must seize his house and property and hold them until he surrenders himself or is arrested. Where a defendant was found guilty, the costs of the prosecution was collected by sale of his property, if he had any property; but he might pay cost and thus save his property. No constable, miller, surveyor of roads, or hotel keeper was eligible to serve on a grand jury. A law passed January 16, 1801, provided a fine of five dollars as a penalty for killing deer between January 1 and August 1 of each year. A law enacted January 26, 1814, provided that sheep-killing dogs should be killed. If the owner prevented the execution of the law upon the dog he was subject to a fine of two dollars for each day in which he saved the life of the dog. The bounty on wolves was made six dollars for each scalp, by a law passed February 9, 1819. But the bounty was not always the same, nor was it uniform throughout the counties of Virginia. Each county could fix the bounty within its jurisdiction. A law of January 16, 1802, provided a fine of thirty dollars for setting the woods on fire; and a law of January 4, 1805, punished by a fine of ten dollars the catching of fish in a seine between May 15 and August 15.

There was a severe law passed by the Virginia Legislature February 22, 1819, for the benefit of tavern keepers. It provided a fine of thirty dollars for each offense, to be levied against any person not a licensed tavern keeper, who should take pay from a traveler for entertainment given. Not only was this law in force in and near towns, but also within eight hundred yards of any public road. There was a law enacted by the assembly of Virginia December 24, 1796, which was intended to favor the poor people. It is in marked contrast with many of the laws of that time, for they were generally not made to benefit the poor. The law had for its object the aiding of persons of small means in reaching justice through the courts. A man who had no money had it in his power to prosecute a suit against a rich man. He could select the court

in which to have his case tried; the court furnished him an attorney free; he was charged nothing for his subpœnas and other writs; and he was not charged with costs in case he lost his suit. A law similar to that is still in force in West Virginia.

In 1792 an act was passed by the Virginia Legislature establishing ferries across the principal streams of the state, and fixing the rate of toll. The state was in the ferry business strictly for the money in it. The law provided that no person should operate a private ferry for profit where he would take patronage from a public ferry. The penalty for so doing seems unnecessarily severe. The person who undertook to turn a few dimes into his own pocket by carrying travelers across a river, when those travelers might go by public ferry, was fined twenty dollars for each offense, half of it to go to the nearest public ferryman and the other half to the person who gave the information; and in case the public ferryman gave the information, the entire fine went into his pocket. It will readily be surmised that the public ferryman maintained a sharp lookout for private boats which should be so presumptuous as to dare enter into competition for a portion of the carrying trade, and it is equally probable that competition with public service soon became unpopular, when a man might receive five cents for carrying a traveler across a river and to be fined twenty dollars for it.

Messengers and other persons on business for the state were not required to pay toll, and they must be carried across immediately, at any hour of the day or night. But, as a precaution against being imposed upon by persons falsely claiming to be in the service of the state, the ferryman was authorized to demand proof, which the applicant was obliged to furnish. This proof consisted of a letter, on the back of which must be written "public service," and must be signed by some officer, either in the civil or military service of the state. Inasmuch as the punishment for forgery at that time was death, it is improbable that any person would present forged documents to the ferryman in order to save a few cents toll. The men who kept the ferries enjoyed some immunities and privileges denied to the masses. They were exempt from work on the public roads. They were not required to pay county taxes, but whether this privilege was extended only to poll tax, or whether it applied also to personal property and real estate, is not clear from the reading of the regulations governing the business. They were exempt from military service due the state, and they were excused from holding the office of Constable.

The Courts—The oldest court in Virginia was the county court. It was in existence in 1624, and it is in existence still, though it has undergone changes. It has sometimes been a business body, and at times it has exercised the functions of a trial court. About twenty years after the first monthly court was established in Virginia, it was made a county court, and after that as new counties were formed, each was given one court. About forty years after the county courts came into existence, the commissioners or judges who composed them were made justices of the peace. They remained such officials for nearly two hundred years. The Revolutionary war brought no change in their organization. The governor appointed the justices who constituted the court. They held office for life. When a member died, the other members recommended a candidate for the place and the governor appointed him. Thus the court was self-perpetuating.

The justices nominated one of their number, usually the oldest in service, for sheriff, and the governor appointed him. After his term of sheriff expired he might drop back again among the justices, and there was nothing in the way of his appointment as sheriff again. Randolph county had one justice who was four times appointed sheriff in the course

of a long life, the last appointment being made when he was eighty-five years old. The justices also recommended candidates for militia officers and surveyors, and the governor appointed them. The surveyor was required to pass an examination before the officials of William and Mary's college, Williamsburg, Virginia. The law required such an examination, but it is not clear what purpose was served by it, as it does not appear that any candidate was ever rejected by the examiners who passed upon his proficiency in civil engineering.

West Virginia elected the members of the county court when it came into existence in 1863. Each magisterial district elected one. The body had no powers as a court of law. In 1872 when the new constitution was adopted the court was slightly changed.

The state is divided into circuits, thirteen in number, and a judge is assigned to each. This was a slow growth and dates back to 1777 when a beginning was made.

Court days in interior towns in early times were important occasions. Most citizens who considered themselves prominent in local matters went to court once or twice a year to meet old acquaintances and form new ones. Jury duty took a few dozen; others were summoned as witnesses; a few journeyed to the county seat on private business; but many went for the excitement furnished by the occasion. There was little else to go to. In early times when counties were much larger than they now are the journey to court was an affair of some moment. Two days going and two returning were not unusual, as for instance when the pioneer settlers on the Ohio about Parkersburg attended court at Clarksburg, or those on the upper waters of the Elk or Gauley rivers repaired to their county seat at Charleston. They usually traveled horseback, and followed paths which made it necessary to ride single file, when companies went. As population increased, the large counties were subdivided, and distances to court were shorter. Gradually the old customs changed, and courts became less than formerly the meeting places for people from near and far. Nowadays, persons who have no business at court seldom go far to be present. They can find amusement, recreation, and entertainment in other ways.

Militia musters—Periodic militia musters were required by Virginia law, but such was never the case in West Virginia since the state was formed. The muster of the militia held about the same charm as the circuit court for the lonesome backwoodsman who liked to meet the people he knew. The officers were provided for, and the men met to march and drill, preparatory for soldier duty, should occasion arise. It does not appear that the drilling amounted to much. When war came, the soldier had to be made out of pretty raw material; but there was a nucleus around which to build, and officers, such as they were, could be depended upon to collect the men and start the work of organization and drilling. The extraordinary number of colonels and captains in early times in Virginia was due to the milita system, which made a preponderating proportion of officers.

Vagrancy—The tramp is not a new thing. The human race has always developed him. Refined and cultivated society is not responsible, for loafer and wanderer were in the land in days when democracy was at its simplest. Industrial evolution is not the great mill for grinding out tramps which some social economists have imagined, for there were vagrants before railroads were invented or factory systems were known. There were always persons who would rather walk than work. It might be supposed that conditions in the backwoods of western Virginia offered so little encouragement to the vagrant that the calling would not be attractive; yet early court records tell an opposite story. The hard-

working people required protection against the wandering idler then as well as now. Numerous incidents from musty court records stowed away in old vaults till the story of that phase of industrial conditions long ago in regions where every man was supposed to be earning his bread by the sweat of his face.

In July, 1788, the court in Randolph county aimed a blow at idleness in these words: "Ordered, that a writ go forth to bring Grant Lambert before the next August court to show cause why he does not betake himself to lawful employment and demean himself as required by the laws of this commonwealth." The record is silent as to the future history of Grant Lambert, but he probably got wind of the writ, and took his way through the tall timber to some other region.

Eight years later another tramp order appeared on the Randolph county court records. The subject that time was John Gilberts, and all the constables in the county were ordered to make it their business to pass him down the line "from constable to constable until he shall be removed beyond the county the way he came." The constables were ordered to complete their work within fifteen days. It is presumed that the court's order was carried out, for John Gilbert's name occurs no more on the records of the county. Randolph was then 120 miles long and 60 miles wide.

It appears to have been the custom for one county to ship its vagrants into adjoining counties. That was, of course, only a make shift, and did not cure the evil. The only advantage, if it could be called an advantage, was that it kept the vagrant moving. There is a letter preserved in the early records of Hampshire county which gives an insight into the feelings of annoyance with which one county received a tramp shoved on from another county. The letter is worth quoting in full. The tone of high respect and the diplomatic cast of the language do not conceal the irony and sarcasm which the writer evidently intended to convey:

WINCHESTER, COUNTY OF FREDERICK,
STATE OF VIRGINIA, AUG. 4, 1794.

TO THE HONORABLE COURT OF HAMPSHIRE COUNTY,
STATE OF VIRGINIA, GENTLEMEN:

GREETING: The court of Frederick beg leave to inform the court of Hampshire that we have just received a visit from one Simon Pelman, a pauper, who informs us that he was sent to us by the court of Hampshire. The court of Frederick beg leave to inquire to what may we attribute the honor of this visit from Mr. Pelman, late of your county? This court were not aware that they had merited the distinction of being thus waited upon by your envoy extraordinary. But, notwithstanding this court were taken by surprise, they find themselves in a position to return the honor by returning Mr. Pelman to Hampshire, by the road which he came; with the suggestion that when it shall please you to accredit to us an ambassador of Mr. Pelman's rank, you will so far observe the rules of diplomacy as to inform us of your purpose, that we may not again be taken by surprise, but may be prepared to meet your envoy on our frontiers and receive him in a manner becoming his rank and dignity, and the dignity of the court which sent him.

COURT OF FREDERICK COUNTY.

Indicting Road Overseers—The most numerous indictments in early courts in Western Virginia were for drunkenness, but the next in point of numbers were for neglect of duty by road overseers. Such indictments were common years before the close of the eighteenth century. Sometimes half of the road overseers in a county were under indictment. They were seldom found guilty, and fines were usually light, only a few cents. The most frequent charge against them was that trees which were thrown by wind across the roads were not promptly removed. Most of the roads were narrow paths and traversed forests many miles at a stretch, and it was almost impossible to cut out tree

trunks in compliance with laws which had been made for conditions in tidewater Virginia. In numerous instances paths were turned aside and passed round fallen trees rather than wait for the overseer to cut them out. In time this resulted in paths as tortuous as the tracks of snakes; and when the paths were widened for roads, some of the bends and turns remained, so powerful is the habit of persons who travel through woods to follow the tracks of others without looking for a shorter and better way.

Human Interest in Court Records—Buried away in dust and darkness of vaults and cubby holes in West Virginia court houses are many old, time-stained records which now seldom see the light of day, because few lawyers have business with them, and no one else is supposed to have any interest in things belonging to so long a time ago. Yet those records are full of human interest, though mixed with and almost lost in masses of rubbish which can never again be of any use to anybody. In a few instances local historians have had the patience and endurance to dig through ten thousand or twenty thousand manuscript pages of early records in old West Virginia court houses to collect the scraps of real history which throw light on the men who redeemed the country from the wilderness. But generally little investigation has been done in a thorough and intelligent way, though many persons have skimmed the surface. Rich finds are sometimes made by those who are doing the digging, as when the late Richard Ellsworth Fast, professor of history in the West Virginia University, fished out of a trash barrel in the basement of the Monongalia county court house the names and locations of 1,215 of the "tomahawk rights" men who first broke the wilderness solitude in northern West Virginia. To the local history student it was as great a find as the lost books of Livy would be to the antiquarian.

The laws of Virginia were strict against profanity, and attempts were often made to enforce the law by fining the person found guilty. The old court records are full of proceedings of that kind, and they are often written in quaint language, without regard to spelling, punctuation, or grammar. That was common, however, with most early court records; for the older clerks or their deputies often wrote no better than school children. For example, Samuel Bingham in 1811 was indicted, and the record shows it thus: "For provanely swearing one oath to wit by god within two months last past a true bill." That was in Randolph county. A record in Harrison county is fifteen years older, and reads: "Ordered that John Prunty be fined for seven oaths sworn in the presence and hearing of the court 83 cents each oath, also fifteen oaths in the hearing and presence of William Robinson a justice of the peace at 83 cents each oath." John Prunty was the sheriff, and being out of humor because he was not paid a few cents which he said ought to come to him, he used the language which led to the fine. The record shows that the sheriff was twice put in the stocks that day, once for five minutes and the next time for the remainder of the day, and the next day he was dragged to jail by force and arms.

All sorts of indictments, entries, and orders are mixed together in the old books. One avaricious tavern keeper whose place of business was near the source of the Monongahela river was indicted in 1789 for charging too much for apple brandy. It appears that five members of the grand jury which indicted him were his patrons, and they appeared as witnesses against him and testified that he had charged them more than the brandy was honestly worth. They got even with him by acting in the dual capacity of witnesses and jurors, thus catching him at an extreme disadvantage. The next year two members of the county court were caught in the grand jury's wide-reaching dragnet in Randolph county. One of the justices,

Edward Jackson (grandfather of Stonewall Jackson) went before the grand jury with the information that one of his associates on the bench, Robert Maxwell, was drunk. Both men were indicted, and another was included, not because he was charged with being intoxicated while on the judge's bench, but because he was accused of "carrying corn meal on Sunday." Two men were indicted for not assisting the sheriff to arrest and put in the stocks a man "who was swearing at the court."

It appears that contempt of court was a very common offense, and the contempt usually consisted in cursing the judge on the bench or some officer who chanced to incur the ill will of a citizen who believed that he had not received a square deal. "Ordered," runs one of the old records, "that Robert Ferguson be fined $1.66 (83 cents each) for swearing two oaths in the presence of the court;" and immediately following is another: "Ordered that Robert Ferguson be fined $20 for contempt of court, and that he be imprisoned until he pay the fine." A short time after the man was locked up, he appeared in court, carrying the prison bars with him. He was a blacksmith and had put the bars in, and when he needed to take them out he knew how to do it. The one over-mastering achievement of his life, as he considered it, was putting shoes on General Washington's horse at the time of the Whiskey Insurrection; and when he walked into court he threw the prison grate before the judge exclaiming: "Take that from the man who shod George Washington's gray horse."

Under date of 1803 a number of unusual indictments were placed on record in the words, "for not giving or offering to give their votes for a member of congress and two members of the general assembly of the state." One of the indicted men was John Haddan, great grandfather of Stonewall Jackson. This is the only known instance in Western Virginia where men were indicted for failure to vote, but old records may contain other instances. Twenty-one men were indicted, and several were found guilty and were fined a few cents each.

The meagerness of some of the primitive records is remarkable. It is often impossible to learn what the issue was. It appears that the court officers knew the matters so well, with all the details, that a full record was considered unnecessary. Half a dozen examples will give an idea of the vagueness of the documents. Following are the complete records extant concerning the matters: Jacob Stalnaker vs. William Blair; agree. John Wilson vs. Uriah Gandy; jury; the plaintiff must have the horse. The commonwealth vs. Gabriel Powell; 3s. John Haddan vs. David Lilly; two blankets, instead of one. James Taffee vs. William Bonner; next. The commonwealth vs. Charles Parsons; tree in the road.

Race horses were one of the possessions of which Virginia was proud, but there appears to have been obstacles in the way of quietly enjoying the sport of racing, for in 1827 ten indictments were found against horse racers in a single Western Virginia county, and fines were imposed in every case.

The circuit courts of early times did not usually take up matters of as small nature as was done by county courts. The justices who composed the county court had to answer when the circuit court called them. In 1820 all the justices of the peace in a county in Western Virginia were indicted in the circuit court for failing to build a jail. The county court often heard indictments against road overseers, but seldom fined them; but when the overseers fell into the hands of the circuit court the fines were usually heavy.

Virginia imprisoned men for debt. Nearly all of the old county seats in Western Virginia had "prison bounds." That term has now gone out of use, since persons are not now imprisoned for debt in this

state. The debtor was not actually confined in the prison all the time, but during the day, or on certain days, he was permitted to walk about the yard, and in certain directions he might go a considerable distance, but was on honor bound to report at the jail to be locked up at a certain hour. The distance which he was allowed to walk was called the prison bounds. The court fixed the limits. The following copy of an old bond (it is one of hundreds) is taken from the Randolph county records. It is here quoted only to show in what manner those who went security for others, bound themselves to go to prison: "Solomon Parsons, of this county, who having qualified to his sufficiency, came into court and undertook for the defendant that in case he should be cast in this suit, that he would pay and satisfy the condemnation of the court, or render his body to prison in execution for the same, or that he, the said Solomon Parsons, would do it for him."

CHAPTER XXXIX

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE STATE

A century and a half have passed since the first events occurred in this region of which history can properly take note. That period is brief in comparison with the epochs with which the world's history in general is concerned. Viewed in that light it was only yesterday that Washington led his surveying party into the upper valleys of the Potomac; that Christopher Gist explored the Kanawha Valley; that John Salley navigated the western rivers in a buffalo-skin boat; that two hermits lived in a sycamore tree on the Greenbrier river, and the two deserters occupied a similar dwelling on the Buckhannon river; that two families dared the dangers of Tygart's Valley and paid dearly for it; that the McColloch and Nemacolin trade routes to the west were laid out across the mountains; that the first canoes of white men appeared on the Ohio, the Monongahela, and the Kanawha. These things were among the beginnings of Virginia's transmontane history; and they attracted little attention at the time. Even the adventurers and the pioneers who thus blazed the trails and made the first camp fires among the mountains did not very clearly understand the meaning of the movement to which they were giving form and direction. Little did Gist foresee the future of the rugged region about the Kanawha when, in the solitude of his night camp he wrote in his diary how his pet parakeet was killed by a fall of his pack horse. If he could have looked forward a century and a half, and have seen the smoke of coke ovens and have heard the roar of freight trains in the valleys below, he would have thought the age of miracles had again come to earth. As McCulloch led his trains of pack horses across the Alleghany mountains, slowly and laboriously transporting the pitiful product of western forests to eastern markets, no vision of the future was open to him, of the faster, mightier trains which one day would dash at forty miles an hour along the very route which his pack horses were following.

Farsighted men looked for changes, but they saw darkly. Washington, who from the commercial and political standpoint, was the best prophet of his time, looked for nothing better than a wagon road across the Alleghanies to connect the systems of navigable rivers on the eastern and western sides of the ranges. Even as late as thirty years after Washington's death, when the actual construction of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad was underway, and the preliminary surveys had been run from Baltimore to the Ohio river, nothing better had been planned than a tramway with cars drawn by horses. It seems that most of the movements were a sort of groping through darkness, yet they were in the right direction. Foundations were laid by those who did not clearly see what the superstructure would be, and of them it can be truthfully said that they builded greater than they knew. One hundred and fifty years of progress have been built on humble but firm foundations, and the present splendid commonwealth of West Virginia is the result. No one architect planned it all, and no one set of builders developed the structure. The result has been a growth in which grandparents and grandchildren in their turns have taken part. Let none suppose that the work is finished, or that the days of great achievements are ended.

It is fitting and proper at the end of a century and a half of progress

to pause long enough to review the result. Such a review will inspire with courage the workers who must deal with the future, and carry forward the undertaking whose end no man can now see.

The unbroken wilderness which the pioneers encountered when they came into this region has been converted into farms, pastures, towns, and factories which support more than a million people. That result was accomplished by work, patience, and perseverance. The geographical position of the region which now forms West Virginia rendered some of the obstacles in the way of progress hard to remove. Political conditions added to the task; for the state of Virginia, whose wealth and power were in the east, had little love for the mountain country and its people. The struggle with difficulties provided by man and against obstacles interposed by nature was a long one, and every step gained was gained only by effort and energy. When the new state came into possession of its own in 1863, it was looked upon as one of the poorest of the states. Its resources were undeveloped, and to a large degree unknown. Fortunately, its affairs fell into the hands of honest, efficient men, both in business and politics. The state has been well-governed. Political scandals have been unknown. The commonwealth has been kept out of debt. Revenues have been carefully laid, honestly collected, and wisely expended. The system of government, for the state, county, and district, has been such as to secure justice and to lay no unnecessary burden on the people. The number of officers has been sufficient to transact the public business, and there have been no supernumeries.

One of the first tasks to be undertaken when West Virginia entered the family of states in 1863 was a provision whereby necessary institutions were assured—schools, hospitals, courts. Virginia had provided little in the way of governmental machinery for the region west of the mountains. There had been prisons and whipping posts, and the foundation had been laid for the asylum for the insane at Weston. Public schools and higher institutions of learning were wanting. Good roads were few, bridges scarce, and the isolation of the different communities was as complete as governmental neglect could make it. The new state took steps as soon as circumstances would allow, to supply to the people what was lacking. Schools had to be built from the foundation up. About all there was to begin with was public sentiment which was, on the whole, favorable to public schools. The value of property was so low, because of lack of development, that taxes were necessarily high, and even then it was not possible to raise revenue to build the needed school houses and provide salaries for the teachers. During the years immediately following the civil war the educational outlook in the state was discouraging. There was almost nothing to begin with; but the state was fortunate in having men at the helm who made the best of every available resource. Slowly and steadily the work of building school houses in the counties went on. The towns inaugurated graded schools. In time the normal school for the training of teachers put in its appearance; and the nucleus of a state university was organized. No backward step was ever taken in matters of education; free schools were popular with the people; and the result was that small beginnings grew steadily until the days of small things educational were passed in West Virginia.

The growth of churches kept pace with the growth of schools. The half a century since 1863 has witnessed a remarkable change. Denominations which were struggling then against poverty and other adverse circumstances, have grown wealthy, and their wealth has been generously devoted to the erection of creditable houses of worship. These are not

confined to towns and villages. Rural communities now have churches better than most of the towns could afford in 1863.

Manufacturing had a feeble beginning fifty years ago. Wheeling was producing a few iron and steel products; a boatyard or two turned out an occasional vessel for traffic on the western rivers; sawlogs cut convenient to floatable streams went out at times of flood; some of the salt wells were sending their products to market; but all of these activities combined amounted to little when judged by modern standards. The growth and expansion have gone steadily on from that time till the present. To summarize the existing manufactures of the state would be to recapitulate several chapters of this book. The history of manufacturing in West Virginia constitutes an important part of the history of the state. It is a record of the building up process, an account of growth, a story of development. Fifty years ago the highest aim of the villages and towns in the way of manufacturing was to supply commodites to the farming communities for a few miles round. The shoemaker, the saddler, the blacksmith, the tanner, the harness maker, the cabinet maker, the woolcarding mill, and a few others of similar kind, were the factories of that time. They were shops. Each was capitalized at a few hundred or at most a few thousand dollars. It was impossible that they could make anything to be exported out of the state, even if they could have competed in general markets. Such shops still remain to some extent, but they are not thought of as manufacturing concerns. Important events have come to pass. Factories of the first rank have grown up, and the supplying of the home market is only incidental. The nation and the world are now the market for the products of West Virginia factories.

Agricutlure has progressed in the state in the past half century. It may not have kept pace with manufacturing, but it has gone forward. The average farmer is a better educated man than he was fifty years ago. He reads farm journals and he attends lectures. He has found out that knowledge counts with him as with other occupations and professions. The mowing machine enables horses to cut the hay; the wheat and oats are harvested by the horse-drawn reaper; the potatoes are planted, cultivated and harvested by horse power; the grain is thrashed by steam. These improvements, which are only a few among many, have made it possible for the West Virginia farmer to hang up the flail, scythe, and cradle, and relegate the hoe to a minor place in the economy of the farm. The agriculturist is learning to use his land without abusing it. He rotates the crops, lets the land rest ocasionally, and while it is resting he covers it with grass or clover to shelter it from the leaching rain which used to wash out the soil's fertility, but which—thanks to greater intelligence on the part of the farmer—does less of it now than formerly.

The orchards which surrounded the farm houses two or three generations ago were not possessions to be despised, for they were valuable. They stand out in the memory of many an old resident who was a child once, and it would require a more skillful argument than the best pomologist on earth could put up, to convince the average sexigenarian that apples are now better than they used to be. Nevertheless, the last ten or twenty years in West Virginia have witnessed no less advance in the growing of fruit than in other lines of development. It was known long ago that it was a region fit for orchards, but how preeminently fit it is has been a recent discovery. The topography is diversiefid; there are elevations low and high, soils of clay, sand, loam, and limestone. Situations of all kinds are available, and the orchardists are selecting the kinds which suit best their particular needs. Formerly no farmer attempted to sell apples, except at the village store. An exception to that rule prevailed along the bank of the Ohio river in early times when apples went

by boats to the lower country, down the Ohio. Generally throughout the state the apple crop never left the farm where it grew. A different condition exists now. Commercial orchards cover many a hill, and in the autumn the fruit goes by carloads to the best markets of this country. Improvement in the stock, and better transportation facilities, have brought this about.

It would be difficult to overestimate the influence which railroads have exercised over the development of West Virginia, and they occupy a high place in the region's history. They hold an important position wherever they have gone, anywhere in this country, but they have been peculiarly valuable to West Virginia. They have afforded the transportation which could not possibly have come in any other way. Some of the state's resources which happen to lie near navigable rivers might be carried to market by water; but that means of transportation would have been, and still would be totally inadequate. The construction of railroads in the state has gone hand in hand with the development of the region's resources. That has been dwelt upon in former pages of this book. The danger now is that people are so familiar with steam roads that they fail to appreciate how vitally necessary they are, and how utterly impossible development of a region like West Virginia would be without them. An idea on that subject may be had by looking back to the time when the wagon and the pack-horse carried all that went eastward to market from West Virginia, except farm stock which, being able to walk, furnished its own transportation. Had railroads remained unknown, West Virginia would probably now be selling little but live stock, except what its own people might buy.

The mining interests of the state have become enormous. The upbuilding in that line began late but it has been steady. The buried treasure of coal was a long time in attracting the attention of capitalists. The early land speculators bought large tracts at a few cents an acre and took little or no thought of the timber on the surface or the coal that lay beneath. It is difficult to understand why those speculators bought the land at all, since they had no appreciation of its real value. Long after railroads were headed toward the region, and had penetrated it in a number of places, the price of coal land was so low that men of foresight laid the foundation of fortunes by wisely buying. For the most part, the coal areas of the state have passed into strong hands, and the development has reached a scale which calls for heavy outlay of capital. The returns are commensurate with the outlay. Operations are upon a large scale, and the successful miner of coal in West Virginia must accustom himself to think in terms of thousands and millions, for the day of small things in that line exists no longer.

The manufacture of coke is keeping pace with the mining of coal. A tendency has manifested itself in recent years which promises to relegate the wasteful beehive coke oven to oblivion and substitute for it the by-product oven which saves the gas, nitrogen, and other valuable constituents of the coal, instead of wasting them as was done when coke was made in the old way. The value of this saving, if the process shall be generally adopted, is so great that it amounts almost to industrial revolution. It deserves a prominent place in the history of economic development in West Virginia.

The river traffic which affects the business of the state reached its greatest importance when coal and coke began to seek markets in large quantities. Improvement of waterways which have been in progress three-quarters of a century, have made all the rivers of the state navigable as far as it is practicable to do so.

The history of the lumber business of the state records increase until

the maximum output has probably been reached. Unfortunately, little has been done to save the forests. The lumbermen have cut unsparingly, stripping large areas, and leaving the slashings a prey to fires. Little effort has been made to give the young growth a chance to produce a valuable second crop. The areas of virgin forests have become fewer and smaller every year, while the cut-over lands have grown in size and deteriorated in quality. The individual lumberman has felt that his unsupported efforts to conserve the timber supply by protecting the cut-over land would be futile, and there has been no concert in action. The general policy has been to rake off the visible harvest and to take no thought for the future. Large owners of timber lands bought then for the standing timber only; and having cut that, the lands have generally been abandoned as far as care of them is concerned. That policy has been short sighted. It kills the goose that lays the golden egg. It brings to a speedy end a resource which might be made perpetual. When coal is mined once it can never be mined again; but a forest may be lumbered once, and in course of years, it may be lumbered again; but not if the young growth is uncared for, and is left a prey to fire.

A tendency may be observed which promises a change for the better in manufacturing and development in the state. Wasteful methods are decreasing. Conservation problems are given more consideration. Gas wells which were formerly left open to blow their product into the air, are now turned into pipes and the fuel is put to proper use. The by-product coke oven is putting in an appearance. Strong companies are attacking the habits of waste in coke-burning. The beehive oven is still in evidence far and near, but it is no longer the only one. The lumberman now cuts trees and sells the lumber of species which were formerly abandoned in the woods. Sawmills work up their waste better than formerly. The farmer is more careful to preserve the fertility of his land. He has learned how to plant better, harvest more economically, and sell to better advantage. Highway builders are learning also. The people who use roads have found out that low first cost is not economy; but that a road which is correctly located, and properly constructed is cheapest, without much regard to what the first cost may be. It has been learned that an unnecessary climb over a hill is costly; that there is no money made by dragging wagons through mud while macadamizing materials are cheap and abundant; that bridges are good investments; that it is cheaper to remove a boulder from a highway once than to climb over it or squeeze past it ten thousand times. The people are bringing conservation and economy into home life. They are building better houses and barns. Shelters for cattle, sheep, and hogs pay in winter. A barn large enough to house the hay and the farm machinery is a profitable investment. The old time outdoor hay stack and straw rick, with cold, bony, humpbacked cattle huddled about in rain and snow, are less familiar sights on the West Virginia farms than formerly. The farmer is finding out that it is cheaper to build a warm house than to furnish fuel to heat a cold one. He is learning, too, that few things pay better than a paint brush applied to farm buildings. It is coming home to the farmers that it is no more difficult to grow a good variety of corn, wheat, or potatoes than a poor one; that high class apples and peaches occupy no more space in orchards, and call for no more care, than indifferent specimens which are neither profitable nor creditable. Fine cattle, horses, sheep, hogs, and poultry eat no more than runts and scrubs, and are far easier to turn into ready cash. This is true conservation, which consists in doing things in the sensible way. Waste is nearly always due to ignorance. No sensible person will continue to waste his substance after he finds out that it will pay better not to do it.

History can do little more than bring records down to the present time, and that has been attempted in these pages. The record covers more than one hundred and fifty years. The story of the state's beginning, growth, progress, and development is yet incomplete. The future historian must finish it, and many things must come to pass before that can be done. Movements which at the present time are only fairly under way will reach their end, and round out their conclusions only in years to come. Many great events recorded in these pages are now wholly completed. Time to come cannot change them. The story of the early settlements is told, and the action is over. The French and Indian war, the War of the Revolution, the conflict with England in 1812, the Civil war—these things are entirely in the past, and if history has already told of them, it has done all it can do, and is done with them. But there is a history which has had a beginning but as yet has had no ending. So far as can be foreseen, this history will deal with the development of material things, the using of resources which are now known and in part understood. It will be a record of construction, of unfolding, of building up of industrial wealth, of improvements in the condition of the people. It is going on now, and it will continue to go on, let it be hoped, for an immense period of time. It will not end until progress has reached an end, and no period of years can be set for that.

As far as can now be foreseen, the principal development in West Virginia will be in material things, but these will be made to serve the people more perfectly than in the past. No millennium need be looked for in the near future. No great change in the thoughts, actions, hopes, and aspirations of the people should be expected. Progress will be attained in the future as in the past by hard work, but that work will be, year by year, more intelligently directed. Farmers will continue to study their soils and their crops. Waste places and sterile tracts will be made more fruitful under scientific management. Modern tendency is to put the soil to growing the crops which will grow best. Agricultural schools and experiment stations are pointing the way. The time will come, and it should come soon, when a farmer, an orchardist, a gardener, or a stock raiser, would no more think of entering upon his calling in life without a careful education for it than the lawyer or the doctor would enter upon his without special study and technical education. The laborer who does simply what he is told to do, may continue in the old way; but the man who oversees and is responsible must prepare himself for the work if he expects to win. Popular education is itself a development which is only fairly getting under way. It was not so long ago that the educated man was he who knew two or more dead languages, and a little abstract philosophy which had no particular application to earthly things. That kind of education was better than none, but it is fortunately giving way to a better kind now. It is being found out that the proper study of mankind relates to the things which concern man, and the more directly it concerns him, the greater is the practical value of the education. The modern technical school teaches the "nature of things" much better than Lucretius taught the subject; and the agricultural college, the mining school, the engineering institute, the trade school, and the university which trains for industrial (including professional) pursuits, are becoming the levers which shall make it possible for many a modern Archimedes to move the world.

The West Virginians of today, and those who will follow, have many problems to work to a conclusion. The soils must be conserved, in order that farm crops shall not fail during the long periods to come. No region with tilable land should depend for food and clothing upon other regions. Every district should be made as nearly self-sustaining as possible. The

mountain slopes, steep coves, and narrow bottom lands, and rolling hills which make up the surface of the state demand care, or they will cease to yield; care for them properly, and they will yield forever. The improvement of the varieties of fruits must go on; for great are the possibilities in that direction. The woodlands must not be left to be skinned and burned until the higher mountains and the steeper slopes are converted into rock heaps and deserts. Unless trees continue to clothe the mountains, many other great resources will perish also. The future must deal with that problem more vigorously and more intelligently than the present is dealing with it or than it has been dealt with in the past.

A great work lies ahead in caring for the mineral wealth which nature has bestowed upon West Virginia with a hand so bountiful and a generosity so unstinted. There has been a tendency to forget the years to come. The present owes a debt to the future, and it should not default in payment. The present has a right to use what it needs, but no right to waste what it will not use. Mineral resources are exhaustible; and since they cannot be renewed, it becomes the more important that wise counsel should prevail in their use. The problem has been taken up, and it must be worked out during the coming years. The natural gas seems to be on the decline; the petroleum probably has passed its maximum production; the salt output is less than formerly, but that is due to economic conditions rather than failure in supply of brine; the iron ore wealth has been scarcely touched; building stone quarries are as nearly inexhaustible as any mineral resource can be; and the same may be said of the materials within the state for the manufacture of cement.

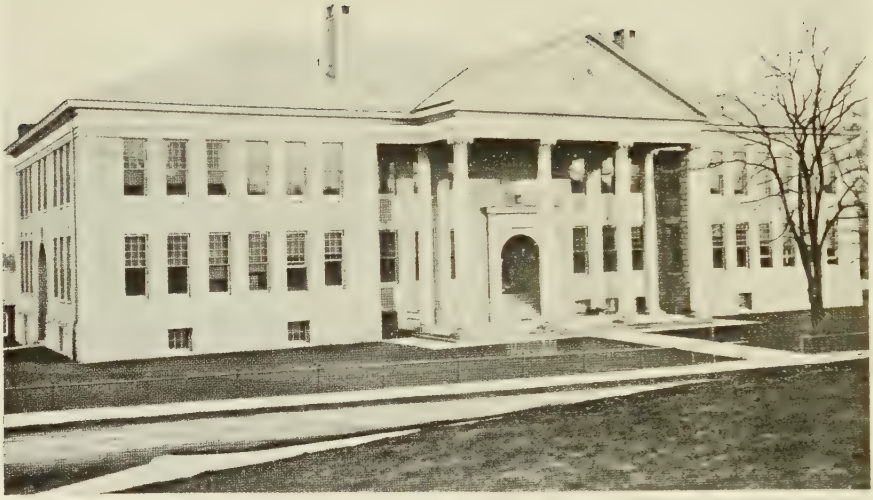
An important problem which is waiting for solution in nearly all parts of the state concerns the municipal water supply. The streams which flow down from the mountains were once as free from contamination as any flowing water in the United States. The banks of the streams and the hills and mountain slopes were forested; and in most instances the channels were paved and walled with rocks and gravel. Many such watercourses were scarcely muddied by long-continued rain, because little solid matter found its way into them. They were pure enough for use without filtering.

That condition naturally passed away when lands were demanded, population was increased, and mines and factories began operation. Most towns in the state procure water from the running streams. Expensive filtration plants are necessary to protect the users from the impure water which flows in the streams. The problem is not much different from that which must be met by most towns and cities; but it is none the less necessary to meet it here. Prevention is preferable to cure, and in the future—perhaps it will be in the far future—it may be found easier to keep the streams clean than to purify contaminated municipal water supplies. Diversion of sewage from the streams instead of leading it to them; the disposal of drainage from mines and refuse from factories otherwise than emptying them into the rivers to mingle with the water; and the reforesting of mountain slopes and watersheds to check surface wash, will probably sometime appeal to the authorities as some of the processes for water purification in West Virginia.

The state has a resource which is not yet a proper subject for historical discussion, because it lies in the future, and does not fall within the scope of history. It may, however, be properly referred to in a summary and general view of the state at the present time. It is the state's natural scenery. It will sometime be a great source of profit and enjoyment. The great backbone of the Alleghany mountain crosses the state nearly north and south. Its elevation at all points is above three thousand feet, and in many places is above four thousand. The mountain's summit

is bold and imposing. Parallel or nearly parallel ridges flank it on both sides. Isolated peaks of those ridges in places overtop the Alleghanies. Deep valleys and abysmal ravines lie between. There are precipices, gorges, pinnacles of stone, and myriads of geological and geographical freaks, wonders, and curiosites. There are waterfalls and caves; quiet dales which in summer are flecked with sheen and shadow; deep forests and open woodlands; glades and mountain meadows.

The time will come when that mountain region, two hundred miles in length and thirty or forty in width, will become a great summer resort. The scenery is magnificent, the attractions many. The construction of a fine highway along the whole length of the Alleghany summit, winding in and out among the crags, across the plateaus, and through the passes, would be the first step toward development of one of West Virginia's greatest resources. Hotels, parks, camps, and resorts would make their appearance on demand. Those who have known the clear summer sunshine and cool air of those heights, and have seen the unsurpassed glory of the starry nights during the silent watches of darkness, can well understand that West Virginia's burned and barren summits, and deep ravines with trees, rocks and living fountains, are destined sometime to become famous among the finest resorts in America. It is a waste place now, but its very solitude is splendid.



SHEPHERD COLLEGE NORMAL SCHOOL—MAIN BUILDING.

BRIDGES OVER POTOMAC AT SHEPHERDSTOWN.
A mile below, Lee's army crossed after the battle of Antietam.

ADDENDA

Shepherd College State Normal School—This institution began in 1872 as a private school, and was subsequently taken over by the state. When the county seat of Jefferson was moved from Shepherdtown to Charlestown, the building which had been used as a courthouse remained vacant. The citizens of the town resolved to convert it into a school, and when they took the first official step in that direction they laid the foundation for the normal school at that place which has grown into one of the state's substantial educational institutions. The school was incorporated in January, 1872, and was called Shepherd College, a name conferred in honor of one of the large land proprietors of Jefferson county who had been liberal in support of progressive movements. The original purpose was that the college should draw its support wholly from private sources, and the first teacher was employed with that understanding; but before the school had a made a fair beginning, the state was asked to endow it with $50,000.

The request for an endowment was not granted in the manner asked for in the petition, but the establishment of a state normal school in place of the proposed private college was a direct result of the request for an endowment. On February 27, 1872, the legislature passed an act establishing "a Branch State Normal School at Shepherd College, in Jefferson county." The first board of regents consisted of the state superintendent of schools and the board of trustees of the college. Thus the private institution passed into and was merged with a state normal school, and its career of usefulness began immediately, but there were vicissitudes of fortune. At times during the early years the state was not liberal in its support, and at one period failure to make appropriations threatened to end the school's existence. The people of the town rallied to its support, and the crisis was safely passed.

The original building had cost about $30,000. In 1897 the state erected another at a cost of $25,000, but four years later it was destroyed by fire. An appropriation of $40,000 by the legislature was promptly made and the burned building was replaced.

Marshall College, Huntington—Marshall Academy was established in 1837, shortly after the death of the great jurist, Chief Justice John Marshall, of the Supreme Court of the United States, one of Virginia's greatest men as well as one of our country's greatest jurists, and received its name in honor of that distinguished Virginian.

The school was organized as a private institution. In 1856, Marshall Academy, by vote of the trustees and by many decided changes in the organization of the courses of study, became Marshall College. The effects of the Civil War were severely felt in this section of Virginia (now West Virginia) and little attention, as a result, could be given to educational matters during that period and for a few years afterward. In 1867, after much earnest and self-sacrificing effort by the more substantial friends of the school, Marshall College, the private institution, became Marshall College, a state normal and academic institution.

Until 1902 the work was almost wholly academic, there being no training department for teachers and but a very limited amount of professional work other than in an academic way. In January, 1902, the department of education was organized, and the nucleus of a model or training school was opened. Since then the department has grown to one of the strongest in the school.

The school now offers in addition to four-year "secondary" normal and academic courses, two years of full college work; also a three-year course in Expression; a three-year course in Voice, a three-year course in Art, a five-year course in Piano.

MARSHALL COLLEGE, NORTHWEST VIEW, 1894.

MARSHALL COLLEGE, SOUTHWEST VIEW, 1907.